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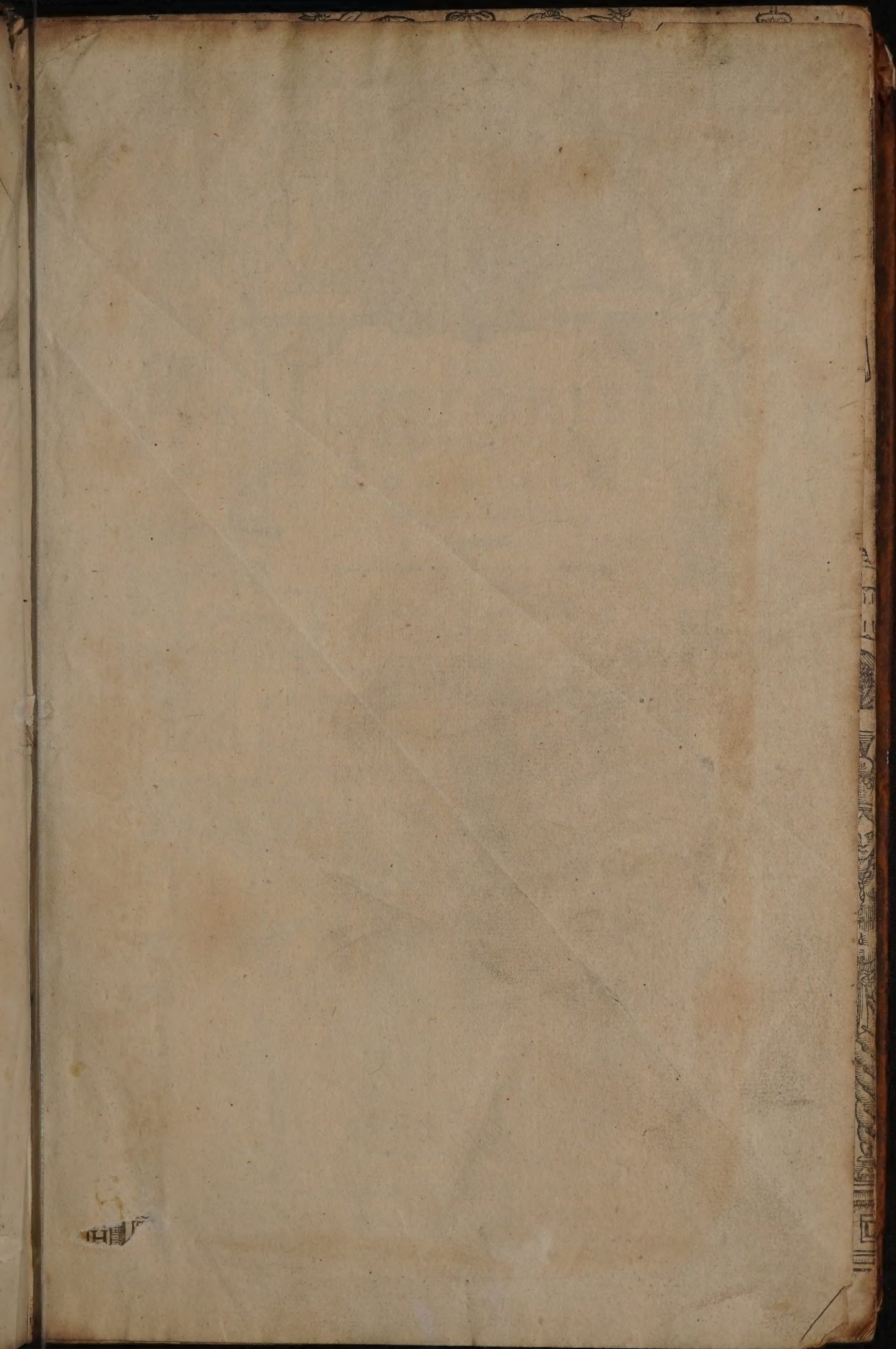
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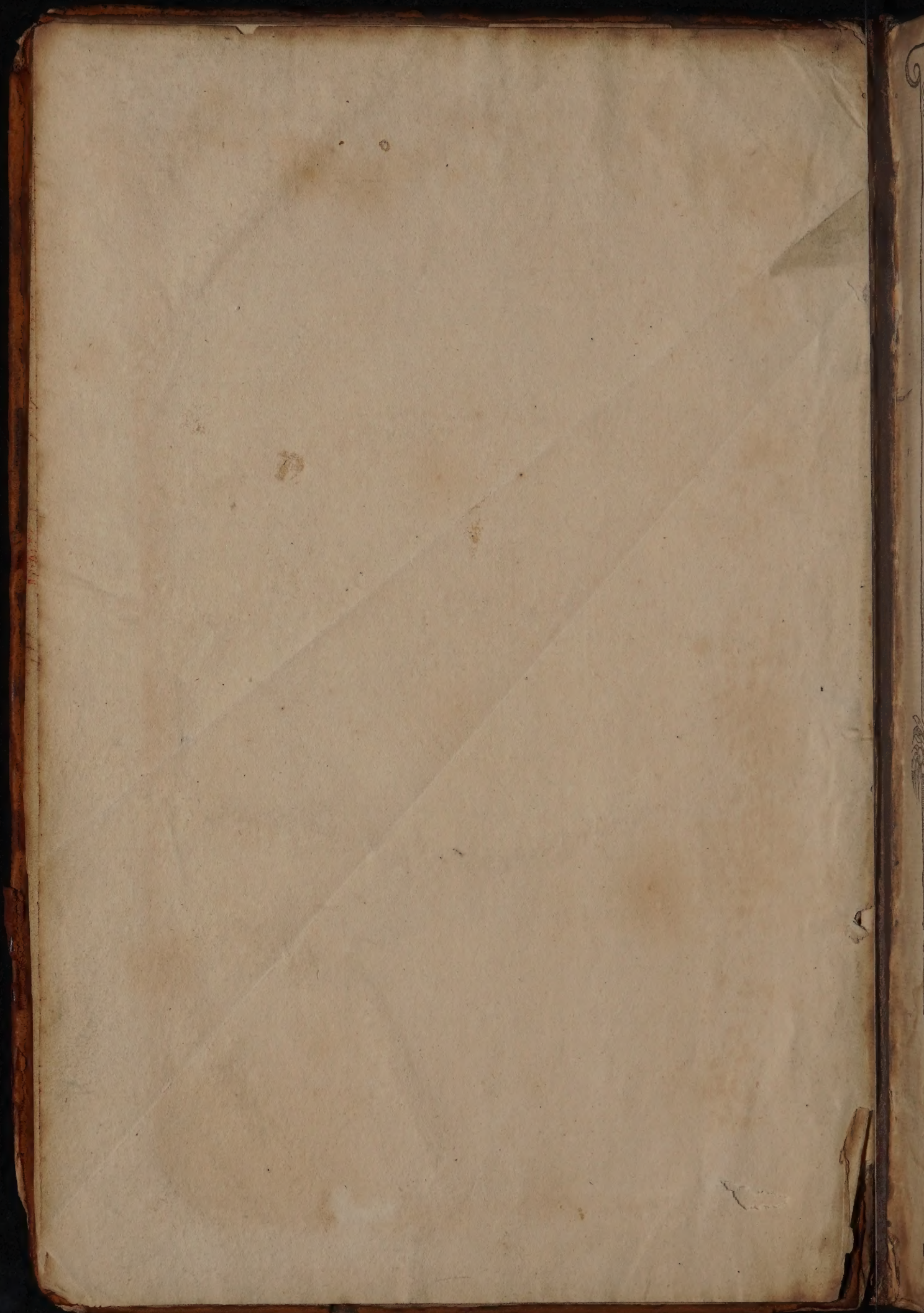
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Comines, Philippe de

S.T.C. 5604





THE
HISTORIE
OF PHILIP DE
COMMINES
Knight, Lord of
Argenton.

LONDON
Imprinted for Iohn Bill.
1614.

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
COMMISSIONERS

Knights, Lord of

London

Printed for John Baily

1714



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD
Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England,
Knight of the honorable order of the
garter, and Master of hir Maiesties
Court of Wardes and
Liveries



It is now, Right Honorable, thirty yeeres since I presented to your L. and the late Earle of Leicester my Lord and Master, the historie of COMMINES rudely translated into our vulgar tongue, the which of later times at the request of the late Lord Chauncellor sir Christopher Hatton, I perused anew, and enlarged with such notes and pedegrees as seemed necessary, as well for explanation as (in some few places) for correction of the history. Since his death, certaine gentlemen to whose hands the booke happened to come, tooke so great pleasure and delight therein, that they determined to put it to the presse, supposing it a great dishonor to our nation, that so worthie an history being extant in all languages almost in Christendome, should be suppressed in ours. Notwithstanding their resolution, they forbore of curtesie to put it in execution till their purpose should be made knowen to me. And albeit that I alleaged many reasons why in my conceit bookes of this nature, treating of Princes secrets were vnfit to be published to the vulgar sort, the rather because the Author in some places seemeth to be of that opinion himselfe : yet none of my reasons could preuaile, but they continued in their former determination: adding thereunto, that others besides my selfe had taken paines in this history, and though I of pecuifhnes would suppress my labors, yet they would not suppress theirs. So that would I could I to the presse the booke must go, being already warranted by publike authority thereunto. I seeing the

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

matter aduanced thus far, thought it no time to draw backe any longer, but in the end tooke the burthen vpon my selfe, doubting if I had done otherwise, both the blemishing of the history, wherein I may boldly say, that I haue more trauelled than any man that hath entered therewith; and also that the worke should be presented to some patrone that had no interest therein. Wherefore hauing againe examined it, and freed it from some faults that me thought fit to be reformed: I haue presumed to publish it vnder the protection of your Lordships honorable name, to whom of right it appertaineth in many respects. First, because the author thereof was a noble man, one of your owne cote, the wisest, and the best acquainted with all matters of state of any man in his time. Whereunto I adde, that he continued a Counsellor successiuelly to so many French Kings, that he was reputed one of the ancientest Counsellors in Christendome at his death, wherein your Lordships fortune is not onely correspondent, but hath also surmounted his. Secondly, your Lordship hath the ains title to it, and lastlie the right of suruiour casteth it vpon you by course of common law. Wherefore all these circumstances well considered (my particular duties also not forgotten) I thought it a kinde of sacrilege to suffer your Lordship to be robbed of your right. May it therefore please you to receiue this historie into your honorable protection as your owne, as well in regard of the Author, being a man of such condition as aboue is rehearsed; as also of the worke treating of that subiect wherewith your Lordship at this day is better acquainted than any man liuing: and lastly in respect of your owne title thereunto. Which no whit doubting but that your Lordship will most willingly vouchsafe to doe, beseeching the Almighty long to preferue you to the great stay of this flourishing estate, most humbly I take my leaue this first of Nouember 1596.

Your L. most humble and

obedient to commaund

Thomas Danett.

The life of *Philip de Commines* Knight, Lord of *Argenton*, gathered out of diuers good authors, together with a

brieft answere on his behalfe to certaine accusations, where-

with *IACOBVS MEYERVS* a Flemming in his *An-*

nales of Flaunders, chargeth very *unjust-*

lie both Commines historie

and his life.



PHILIP DE COMMINES author of this present histo-
rie, was borne at *Commines* a towne in *Flaun-*
ders, being a gentleman of a very ancient house,
and ioyned by blood and alliance to the best of
that nation. His surname was *Clytus*, his father
and vnclie had been both of them vnder *D. Philip*
of *Burgundy* chiefe *gouernours* of *Flaunders*,
called by *Meyer*, *Summi praetores Flandriae*; and to
them he giueth this title: *Domini Ruscunij, Bascu-*
nij & Watenenses: whereby appeareth of how
great Nobility and goodly reuenewes *Commines*
was, not only in *Flaunders*, but also in *Haynault*.

In his youth, namely, from the nineteenth yeere of his age, and the yeere of our
Lord 1464. till the 27. of his age, and the yeere 1472. he serued *Charles* Duke of
Burgundie, and afterward *Lewis* the eleuenth of that name King of *Fraunce*, who
employed him in his weightiest and secretest affaires. He was of tall stature,
faire complexion, and goodly personage. The French tongue he spake perfect-
ly and eloquently, the Italian, Duche, and Spanish reasonably well. He had read
ouer very diligently all histories written in French, especially of the *Romaines*;
and bare them all in memory. He much acquainted himselfe with strangers;
thereby to increase his knowledge. He had great regard to the spending of his
time, and abhorred all idlenes. He was of an excellent, yea incredible memory:
for he often indited at one time to fower Secretaries, seuerall letters of waightie
affaires appertaining to the state, with as great facilitie and readines, as if he had
but one matter in hand. A vertue so rare that I haue not reade the like of any but
of *Julius Caesar* and him. Nothing more greeued him; than that in his youth he
was not trained vp in the Latine tongue, which his misfortune he often bewail-
led. After he was entred into the seruice of King *Lewis*, he was highly in his fa-
uour, and during his raigne bare great sway in the realme. The said King also
greatly aduanced him: for he made him first one of his priue chamber, than of
his priuy Counsell, Seneschall of *Poictu*, and Lord of *Argenton*. He married be-
ing of good yeres a gentlewoman of the house of *Montforeau* vpon the borders of
Aniou, named *Helena*. But after King *Lewis* his death, he fell into great troubles:
for because he was a stranger, many enuied his prosperitie, so far forth that at the
length his enemies caused him to be imprisoned in the castle of *Loches* in the Du-
chie of *Berrie*, (a place appointed onely for those that are attached of high trea-
son) where he was very extremely handled, as himselfe in his history reporteth.
Notwithstanding his wife by earnest and continuall sute, in the end obtained so
much fauour, that he was remooued thence and brought to *Paris*: where when
he had remained a certain space, he was led to the parliament house to be arraing-
ned. He had many enimies and those mightie, and of so great athoritie at that

The Authors life.

time in Fraunce, that for feare of them no Counsellor durst plead his cause: wherefore necessitie enforcing him to defend himselfe, he pleaded there by the space of two howers, being verie attentiuely heard by the whole audience, and in the ende so acquit himselfe, that by the Iudges sentence he was discharged. Among other things he rehearsed at the barre how sundrie troublesome and dangerous voiajes he had sustained for the King and the common wealth. How highly King *Lewis* both had fauoured him, and for his faithfull seruice rewarded him: for his owne part, he said that he neuer had done any thing couetously, ambitiously, nor cruelly: and further, that if he had sought only to aduance and inrich himselfe, he might haue had as goodly possessions as any man in Fraunce. He was prisoner almost three yeeres. The next yeere after his deliuerie he had a daughter borne named *Iane*, which married with *Rene* Earle of Pantabria descended of the Dukes of Britaine, by whom among diuers other children shee had issue *John* late Duke of Estampes, Lieutenant of Britaine, Knight of the French Kings order, and Lord of diuers goodly Seniories. But to returne to *Commines*, in prosperity he gaue for his posie this sentence. *He that will not labour let him not eate: but in aduersity this, I sailed into the deepe of the sea, and a sudden tempest overwhelmed me.* He died the threescore and fourth yeere of his age, the yeere of our Lord 1509. the 17. day of October, in his owne house of Argenton in the countrey of Poictu, from whence his bodie was conueighed to Paris, and there lieth buried in the Augustine Friers. I was heere purposed to haue staied my pen, and further not to haue spoken either of *Commines* history or his life, had I not called to minde diuers accusations of *Iacobus Meyerus*, who in sundry places of his Annals of Flaunders inueigheth very bitterly as well against *Commines* life as his historie, whose accusations I am forced to lay open to the iudgement of the world, to the end it may appeare whether they be grounded vpon iust prooffe. Notwithstanding before I enter into the examination of them, thus much in the commendation of *Commines* historie I cannot passe ouer in silence, that two of the greatest & worthiest Princes that raigned in Europe these hundred yeeres; namely, the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and *Francis* the first King of Fraunce, made so great account of this historie, that the Emperor carried it continually about with him, as *Alexander* did the workes of *Homer*, no lesse esteeming it than he did them, & the King was as much displeased with the printing and publishing therof, as was the same *Alexander* in times past for the setting forth of *Aristotles* workes called *Acromatica*, as rehearseth *Gellius*: so desirous was he to haue reserued to himselfe and a few of his owne subiects the great treasures of wisdom hidden in this small volume. But let vs now heare what *Meyer* objecteth against this historie. In the 17. booke of his Annales of Flaunders writing of the battell fought at Saintron betweene *Charles* Duke of Burgundie and the Liegeois, hee hath these words, *Pugna commissa caduntur magno numero & profligantur, ad nouem millia cecidisse tradit qui interfuit Philippus Cominius. Sed Brabantia scriptor & quidem scriptor Flandriae (quibus plus habeo fidei) tria tantum millia occubuisse memorant.* For answere hereunto, if this place be indifferently weighed it shall appeare to be wholly grounded vpon malice and no colour of reason, much lesse iust prooffe: First, because *Meyer* preferreth the credit of these obscure Annalistes that write but vpon report, before the credit of him that was an eie witnesse, and that no way could aduantage himselfe by reporting a lye. Secondarily, sir *Oliuer de la Marche*, who liued also in that time and was Steward of the Duke of Burgundies house, writeth that a great number of these Liegeois were slaine at this battell, and also at the siege of Saintron, but that their friends and kinsfolkes trusted vpe their
their

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their dead bodies in vessels full of lime ; partly to the ende the discomfigure might appeare the lesse, and partly that they might be buried among their ancestors, in the which feate (saith he) the Liegeois shewed a wonderfull audacity and courage: whereby it should seeme a great number to haue beene thus trusted vp, by meanes whereof the dead appeared the fewer, and were reported accordingly, which deceiued diuers, and happily these Annalists of Brabant and Flaunders. The like practise we read of in diuers authors, and of the like writeth Meyer also himselfe. Lastly, the Annales of Burgundie agree with *Commines*, and report the number as he doth, so that this answer I hope shall suffice for this point. Againe, in the same booke fol. 364. Meyer writeth thus, *Loquitur Comminius de nobili quadam femina attrebatensis ditionis proditrice patrie, cuius adere non vult nomen, falsus in hoc ut in ceteris historicus.* Sure if it were an vndoubted truth that a Ladie of Artois could not send the King such aduertisement as *Commines* reporteth that she did: or if Meyer were *Pythagoras* that *ipse dixit* might passe for prooffe, the credit of *Commines* should happily hang in ballance : but if you reade the place in his historie, the very circumstances will induce any indifferent man to thinke, that which is there written of this Ladie to bee no lie. Againe fol. 366. Meyer hath these words, *Hic est Comminius ille transfuga, gente Flandrus, qui multa de Carolo & Lodouico provinciali lingua bene scripsit, sed quedam etiam scripsit plane mendaciter, multaue dicenda infideliter reticuit.* This is so generall and vncertaine a charge that answer in truth it deserueth none : notwithstanding, I refer to the iudgement of those that shall read this historie, whether *Commines* conceale his Masters faults therein or not (for that is *Meyers* meaning in this place.) True it is that he vttereth them not in such railing barbarous termes as Meyer very vnseemely vseth of so great a Prince as King Lewis was, and is offended with *Commines* for not doing the like, a thing which becommeth Meyer himselfe very ill, and would haue become *Commines* much worse. But our author as he concealeth not his Masters faults, but layeth them open enough to the vnderstanding of the wise and attentive Reader : so deliuereth he them, so sparingly, and vnder such termes as truth being vttered, the Kings honor be no further impeached, than very necessitie doth enforce ; a matter very commendable in a gentleman writing of a Prince, a seruant of his Master, and a subiect of his Soueraigne. Lastly, Meyer fol. 365. hath these words, *refert Comminius exercitum Caroli adeo fuisse extenuatum, ut exhibere illum Anglis non auderet, sed hoc falsum est.* But you must beleue Meyer vpon his word, other disprooffe of *Commines* report he can bring none, neither grounded vpon any circumstance, nor produced out of any good author that writ of those times. But on the contrarie side for the confirmation of that which *Commines* writeth in this place, first *La Marche* reporteth that the bloody fluxe entred into the D. campelying before Nuz, which it is very like consumed many, & impaired the health of many more. With him also agree the Annales of Burgundie, which report that the Duke lost 15000. men before Nuz : which being well considered, and this withall, that the siege endured a whole yeere, and yet in the end the Duke forced to depart frustrate of his purpose, whereby his soldiers had not onely their bodies tired, but also their minds discouraged : I suppose no man of sounde iudgement will thinke that the Dukes armie could be otherwise than in verie poore estate. Now that you haue heard all that Meyer hath or can obiekt against the credit of this historie (which also how substantially he hath prooued I leaue to the iudgement of the wise and indifferent reader to consider :) it is good reason you should also heare what opinion other authors haue both of *Commines* and of his historie, and how honorable testimonie in their writ-

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things they giue to them both. *Annales Burgundiae lib. 3. pag. 930.* speaking of *Commines* testifie thus of him. *He was one of the wisest gentlemen of his time, and the best acquainted with all matters of state, as appeareth by his historie: whereof the Emperour Charles made so great account, that he neuer slept before he had reade certaine Chapters thereof, for the finishing of his daies worke.* Which sure this noble and sage Emperour would neuer haue done, if *Commines* had beene a reporter of lies, especially of the said Emperours owne great grandfather, whose life and death are so ampie in this historie treated of. *Paulus Aemilius* giueth such credit to *Commines*, that all that he writeth in the history of France of the raigne of *Lewis* the 11. is onely an abridgement of him, and wholly taken out of his writings. *Ferron* in his supply to *Paulus Aemilius* historie maketh in many places very honorable mention of *Commines*, highly commending him both for his great wisdom and vertue and sincerity in his historie. *Lodouico Guicciardini* no French man, but an Italian, in his description of the lowe Countries fol. 220. calleth *Commines* a writer worthie of great commendation. And fol. 310. and 311. thus he writeth. *Of the Noble house of Commines was Philip de Commines Lord of Argenton, who wrote the historie of his owne time very sincerely, he was a noble personage, of great enterprize, and of him diuers authors make honorable mention.* Heere we haue the true testimony of sundrie worthy writers (for to vouch all were too tedious) on *Commines* behalfe, which ioyned with the approbation of the Noble Emperour *Charles* the fift, are sufficient, as I suppose, to maintaine his credit against the venemous dartes of *Meyers* sclandrous accusations. Now as touching *Commines* life, the onely thing that *Meyer* blameth therein, is his departure from the Duke of Burgundies seruice: for the which he inueigheth no lesse bitterly against his person, than before he did against his historie, for fol. 355. where hee maketh mention of the D. of Burgundies cruelty vsed at the castle of Nesle, which he tooke by assault the yeere 1472. he hath these wordes. *Crudelis hic visus Corolus & animo turbato, crediturque quosdam ex familiaribus parum habuisse fideles, ex quibus haud dubie erat Philippus ille Comminius ortu Flandrus, Dominus Ruscurey, qui hoc anno transfugit ad regem, qui si vir fuisset probus & integer, nequaquam deserto Domino suo, deserta & abiurata patria ad talem transfisset tyrannum, aliosque ad idem faciendum sollicitasset, quantiscunque muneribus inuitatus.* Againe fol. 366. thus he sayth. *Causam cur transfugerit alijsque nonnullis author fuerit idem faciendi non lego, cum autem Comminius in suis scriptis causam suae defectionis reticeat, non dubium puto quin ob fœdum aliquod patratum scelus more proditorum aufugerit.* Whereunto somewhat to answere in *Commines* behalfe, I say that what cause mooued him to leaue the Duke as we certainly know not, so is it not like that he departed from him for any heinous offence, because he was neuer charged with any, neither is *Meyer* able to produce any one testimony (as euen himselfe in this place is forced to confesse) that he forsooke the Duke in any treacherous sort, neither is he able to prooue that he solicited any to leaue the Dukes seruice during the Dukes life, though without all prooffe most vniustly hee charge him therewith. For if *Commines* had departed with the betraying of townes and castles to the enimie as *de Cordes* did; if for attempting to destroy the Dukes person, as *Baldwin* the Dukes base brother, and the Earle of Estampes his cosin did; if for both, as the Earle of Campobasso did, his offence could no more haue been concealed, than the others aboue mentioned was. Wherefore, as *Meyer* reasoneth that because *Commines* nowhere in his writings, vttereth the cause of his departure, it is like he departed for some hainous offence: so on the other side with much more reason it may be answered, that because neither *Meyer* nor any other

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Historiographer in their writings vtter the cause of his departure ; like it is that he departed for no hainous offence, but only for his owne advancement or safetie, or both, without seeking by traiterous practises to harme the Duke, as the aboue named with diuers others did. But let vs now examine what by all presumption was the cause of his departure from the Duke: and secondarily, whether his departure from one Master to another being in hostilitie be excusable: which two points being thoroughly discuffed, it shall plainly appeare to the world, whether he be iustly to be charged with any euill dealing, for leauing the Duke of Burgundie his first Master, and vnder whose dominion he was borne. As touching the first point, I am of opinion that *Communes* by his departure from the Duke of Burgundie, sought both his owne advancement and his safety, the former whereof he had iust cause to hope for at King *Lewis* his hands, as a thing well deserued, at the Kings being at Peronne, where *Communes* wisdome and great credit with the Duke of Burgundie (as say the Annales of Burgundie) stood the King in so good stead, that by his onely meanes he was restored to his realme, libertie and life, which otherwise had been in great danger, as by the course of this historie most plainly doth appeare. Wherefore *Communes* could not but assure himselfe of great advancement at King *Lewis* his hands, as well because of the Kings great liberalitie, as also for his owne desert: neither did his hope faile him, as the sequele well declared. On the other side, at the Dukes hands no great advancement was to be looked for, both because the qualitie of his seruice to the Duke and the King was not alike, and so consequently the desert vnlike; and also because the Dukes liberalitie was inferior to the Kings, his attempts so impouerishing him, that he had not to be liberall of as the King had. Whereunto I adde, that he made no such account of his seruants as the King did, but attributed all his good successe to his owne braine, wherby their seruice was the lesse esteemed and the worst rewarded, or rather not at all esteemed nor rewarded: for he neuer vsed any mans counsell but his owne, so that wise men lost but their time with him. Yea *Meyer* himselfe reporteth him to be, *Durum, asperum & ingratum, à quo milites maligne admodum stipendia accipiebant, raro blande & liberaliter appellarentur, quanquam multis in locis extremis periculis se obiectarent, plurimumque algoris, inedia & aestus sustinerent.* If then the Duke were of this disposition towards his foldiers, and so euill rewarded them whose helpe he daily and houely vsed: what reward could any wise man looke for at his hands, whose aduice he seldome asked and neuer followed? Further, the Duke was of nature very cholericke, and ready to offer his seruants iniurie, as for example, to the Earle of Campobasso he gaue a blow, which in the end cost him his life, and whether any such outrage offered to our Author caused or furthered his departure we know not: but that advancement (which was to be looked for at the Kings hands, and not to bee hoped for at the Dukes) was one cause, is already, as I suppose, sufficiently prooued. The second cause of *Communes* departure from the Duke in mine opinion was safetie; for the Duke, as *Communes* himselfe reporteth, forced not to venture his seruants into any danger were it neuer so great, which all men (especially despairing of reward of their seruice) will seeke to auoide: for as our Author himselfe saith in one place of his historie, most men by seruice seeke to aduance themselues, but all men will haue an eye to saue themselues. Further, *Communes* being a very wise man foresaw the Dukes attempts to be such, as would in the end ouerthrow both himselfe, his subiects, and his dominions, wherefore he thought it best to dislodge in time, and to saue one. These in mine opinion were the principall causes of his departure from the Duke, which being honest and

reaso-

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reasonable, and his departure likewise void of all treason and trecherous practises against the Duke: I see no reason why for his departure he should not rather be commended than condemned. The last point that we haue to consider is, whether he being the Dukes subiect might leaue his Master and depart to the King, were the causes of his departure neuer so reasonable and honest. Whereunto I answer, that *Commines* was not absolutely the Dukes subiect: for Flaunders was held in soueraigntie of the crowne of Fraunce, and both the Earle and all the people sworn to beare no armes against the King of Fraunce, and diuers examples too long to rehearse, are to be read in the histories of diuers Earles of Flaunders that haue been arrested, imprisoned, and together with their people fined for breach of this oath. Wherefore seeing our author was a Flemming borne, and Flaunders held in Soueraigntie of the King of Fraunce, and the Duke of Burgundie in hostilitie with the King of Fraunce, contrary to the oath he either tooke or ought to haue taken; and further violating diuers, nay I may say all those points whereunto by his alleagance he was bound to the French King: I see no reason why *Commines* might not, or rather ought not to leaue an inferior rebellious Lord, and cleaue to his soueraign Prince and King, to whom he ought a soueraign duty both by alleagance and oth. And if after his reuolt, he gaue any aduice to the furtherance of the Kings affaires, he did therein in mine opinion the duty of a faithfull seruant and true subiect. Thus much I haue been forced to speake in defence both of *Commines* life, and historie, whereof as the former appeareth to haue been both honest and vertuous, as well by the reasons aboue alleaged, as also by the notable discourses wherewith he farceth his historie, which breath nothing but vertue and sinceritie: so is the latter confirmed by the consent of diuers good histories, and approoued by the iudgment of the noblest Princes that Europe bred these many hundred yeeres, as I trust is sufficiently declared. Wherefore our Authors credit standeth vpright, as well for good conuersation of life, as sincere report in historie, both the which *Meyer* no lesse falsely slandereth, than he doth in other places of his Annales the noble races of the Kings of England and Fraunce, which ignorantly or maliciously he reporteth to bee more vile and base than any honest eare can endure to heare. Thus hauing I trust sufficiently defended the credit of this woorthy writer, I will heere abruptly
for auoiding of tediousnesse
stay my pen.



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FINIS.

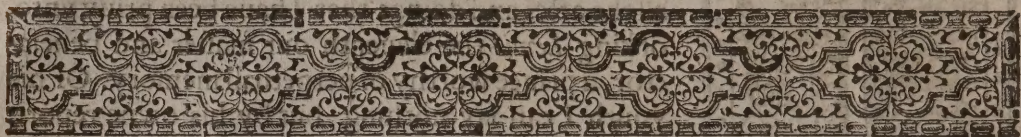
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THE PREFACE OF THE AVTHOR
TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
VIENNA in Fraunce.



O satisfie your request (right reuerend) so often moued vnto me, I send you heere a memoriall as agreeable to truth, as I can possibly call to minde, of all the actes and doings that I haue been priuy vnto, of king *Lewis* the eleuenth our master and benefactor, a prince worthy of perpetuall memory. Of his youth I can say nothing but by his owne report. But from the time I entred into his seruice, till the hower of his death whereat my selfe was present, I was more continually resident with him than any man of my estate that serued him, being euer either of his priuy chamber, or employed in his weightie affaires. I found in him as in all other Princes that I haue knowne or serued, both vertue and vice. For men they are as we be, and perfection is proper to God onely. But sure that Prince whose vertues and good partes surmount his vices, deserueth great commendation, the rather because commonly noble personages are more prone to all kind of wantonnes than other men: partly for that in their childhood they are brought vp without due chastisement and correction, and partlie because when they are growne to man's estate, each man seeketh to feede their humors and soothe them in all they say or doe. But for mine owne part because I loue not to flatter nor misreport the truth, somewhat may happily be found in this historie not tending altogether to the kings praise, but I trust the readers will weigh the reasons aboue alledged. Sure thus much I dare boldly say in his commendation, that in mine opinion he was the prince in his age (all things considered) least subiect to vice. Yet haue I knowne and beene conuersant with as many great Princes, both spirituall and temporall as any man in Fraunce of my time, as well the princes of this realme, as those also that haue liued in Britaine, Flaunders, Almayne, England, Spaine, Portugall, and Italie. Diuers others also whom I haue not seene: yet haue I knowne, partly by conference with their ambassadors, and partly by their letters & instructions which are meanes sufficient to enforme men of their natures and dispositions. Notwithstanding I minde not by setting forth his commendation in this worke, to detract from the honor and renoune of others, but send you, penned in hast all that I could call to mind, trusting that you haue required it of me to turne it into some worke that you purpose to publish in Latine (to the perfection of which tongue you haue attained) whereby may appeare both the woorthines of the prince I now write of, and also the excellency of your owne wit. Farther sir, if I happen to faile in any point, you haue my L. of Bouchage, and others who are better able to enforme you of these affaires than my selfe, and to couch their words in much eloquenter language. Although to say the truth considering how honorably the King entertained me, how great familiaritie it pleased him to vse towards me, and how liberally he bestowed vpon me, neuer intermitting one of the three till the hower of his death, no man hath iuster cause to remember those times than my selfe, whereunto I also adde the losses I haue sustained, and the dangers I haue been in sithence his decease, which are sufficient I thinke, to put me in minde of the great benefits I re-

ceiued at his hands during his life. Notwithstanding that I know it to be a matter of course that after the death of great and mightie Princes, great alterations ensue to the losse of some, and gaine of others: for riches and honors follow not alwaies their expectation that hunt after them. To conclude sir, the better to enforme you of the time sithence I entred into the Kings familiaritie (which is your desire) I am forced first to rehearse what hapned before I came to his seruice, and so orderly to proceede from the time I became his seruant, till the houre of his death.



The occasion of the warres betweene Lewis the eleventh and the Earle of Charolois after ward Duke of Burgundie.

Chapter. I.

¹ Commynes when he came to the Earle of Charolois seruice was 19. yeeres of age.

I 464.

² Charles Earle of Eu, Peter of Moruillier, & John de Harcourt Bishop of Narbonne were the ambassadors here mentioned,

they arriued at Lisle the 5. of Nouember, *Annales Burgundie.*

³ Whether the king ment to haue taken the Earle of Charolois prisoner by this Rubempre,

read *Annal. Burgundie*, lib. 3. pag. 880. and Meyer lib. 16. fol. 334. who shal charge him with it.

⁴ Sir Oliuer de la Marche heere named wrote a Chronicle of these times. ⁵ The cause why the King sent Rubempre into Holland was not (as he said) to take the Earle of Charolois, but the Vicechancellor of Britaine named in Meyer, *Ioannes Rocuilla*, and by our author in the third Chapter of this first booke *Rauville*, whom the Duke of Britaine had sent into England to make a league betweene the realme of England and him, and because the King supposed this Vicechancellor would visit the Earle of Charolois in his returne: he sent this Rubempre into Holland to take him and bring him into Fraunce, *Annal. Burgund. Meyer.* ⁶ For the better vnderstanding of the Dukes answere, I am forced to passe the bounds of a note. Wherefore it is to bee vnderstood that in the declination of the Romaine Empire, the Burgundians anno 408. being chased out of Almaine, where they inhabited, the countries now subiect to the Palgrane of the Rhyne, inuaded Fraunce, and conquered the countries, now knowne by the names of the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie, together with Sauoy, Daulphine, Prouince, and the greatest part of Switzerland, and anno 414. chose them a king named *Gondiachus*, with whom (after diuers battels fought with changeable fortune) *Aetius* the Emperour, *Honorius* his lieutenant in Fraunce, at the length made peace. And *Gondiachus* remained king of Burgundie, and aided the Romaines against *Attila*. Soone after failed the maleline of *Gondiachus*, and by the mariage of *Clotilde* daughter to *Chilperic*, *Gondiachus* his sonne, with *Clodouens* King of Fraunce: Burgundie fell to *Clotarins* sonne to the saide *Clotilde* and *Clodouens*, and continued in the house of Fraunce till the yeere 843. when the sonnes of the Emperour *Lodowicus Pius* warring together, Burgundie was deuided into *Burgundiam Transuranam*, and *Cisuranam*. *Transurana* containing Sauoy, Daulphine, Prouince and



and Lyonnois, remained to *Lotharius* the Emperour, with the title of King of Burgundie. *Cisurana* containing the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie, was also dismembred, for that part now knowne by the name of the Countie of Burgundy, fel also to *Lotharius* share: but that part now knowne by the name of the Duchie of Burgundie, was together with the Realme of France yeeled to *Carolus Calvus*: But after the death of the Emperour *Lotharius*, his two sons *Lodouicus* and *Lotharius* made another partition of their part of Burgundie: for the Realme of Austrasia, with the Countie of Burgundie fel to *Lotharius*, after whose death his vncler *Carolus Calvus* King of France ambitiously through violence conquered also that part of Burgundie, and ioyned it to the Crowne of France, so that the said *Carolus Calvus* possessed all Burgundie *Cisurana*, that is, both the Countie & Duchie of Burgundie. *Lodouicus* the other sonne of the Emperour. *Lotharius* possessed with the Empire all Burgundie *Transurana*, together with the title of King of Burgundie, and left behind him one onely daughter named *Hermingarde*, married to *Boson* brother to *Richilde*, *Carolus Calvus* his wife, in respect of which marriage the said *Calvus* gaue to *Boson* all Burgundie *Cisurana*, which he the said *Calvus* then held. And thus had *Boson* all the Realme of Burgundie, viz. *Transurana* in the right of his wite, and *Cisurana*, by his brother in lawes gift. Farther the said *Calvus* being both Emperour and King of France, created the aboue named *Boson* King of Burgundie, anno 879. to whom succeeded *Lodouicus* his sonne, from whom *Ralph* king of France (sonne to *Richard* that first entialed himselfe Duke of Burgundie) won the greatest part of Burgundie *Cisurana*. To this *Lewis* succeeded his sonne *Ralph* King of Burgundie, who not being able to defend his realme, gaue it to the Emperour *Conradus 2.* who notwithstanding obtained the least part thereof: for as touching *Transurana*, *Beralde* Duke of Saxe had before this gift wooon from King *Ralph*, Sauoy and a great peece of Switserland, Dauphine, Lyonnois, and Prouince *Gniguellegras* the fift *Dauphin*, had likewise conquered. And as touching *Cisurana* by treaty made betweene the Emperour *Conradus 2.* and *Henry* King of France, onely the Countie remained to the Empire, and the Duchie to the Crown of France. This I haue written, because some holde opinion that the Countie of Burgundie ought also to be held of the Crowne of France, whereas indeede rather the Duchie with all *Transurana* (the greatest part whereof the French King at this day possesseth) ought to bee held of the Empire, from which the saide French Kings haue pulled so many Prouinces, that now (as one properly speaketh) the Eagle hath lost so many Feathers, that hardly he can flie.

in no respect subiect to the Crowne of France. Notwithstanding if it coulde beeduely proued, that he had said or done any thing preiudiciall to the Kings honour, he would see him punished according as the fault deserued. And as touching the Bastarde of Rubempre, he said that true it was that he was apprehended for great causes of suspition giuen, and strange behauour vsed by him & his men about the towne of Lahaye⁷ in Holland, where at that present his sonne, the Earle of Charolois remained, adding that if the said Earle were suspitious, he took it not of him, for he was neuer so, but of his mother, who had been the most ieaalous Lady that euer liued. But notwithstanding quoth he, that my selfe neuer were suspitious; yet if I had been in my sonnes place at the same time, that this bastard of Rubempre haunted those coasts: I would sure haue caused him to be apprehended as my sonne did. Lastly, he promised, that if this Bastard were not guilty of this fact, to wit, a purpose to haue taken his sonne (as common reporte said he was) he would forthwith deliuer him out of prison, and send him to the King according to his ambassadors demands. The D. answered ended; *Mornuillier* began againe, charging with great and hainous offences, *Frances D.* of Britaine, and alleadging that at the Earle of Charolois late being at Tours (whither hee went to visite the king) the said D. and he had giuen their faith each to other in writing, to become brethren in armes, which writings he said were enterchangeably deliuered by the hands of master *Tanneque du Chastel*, who since hath beene gouernour of Roussillon, and borne some sway in this Realme: This fact *Mornuillier* aggrauated in such sort, that nothing hee omitted in setting foorth this offence, that might tend to the disgrace and dishonour of a Prince. Whereunto the Earle of Charolois made offer eftsloones to answere, being maruellously out of patience to heare such reprochfull speeches vsed of his friend and confederate. But *Mornuillier* euer cut him off, saying: My Lord of Charolois, I am not come of ambassage to you, but to my L. your father. The said Earle besought his father diuers times to giue him leaue to answere, who in the end saide thus vnto him: I haue answered for thee as mee thinketh, the father shou'd answere for the sonne, notwithstanding if thou haue so great desire to speake, bethinke thy selfe to day and to morrow speake & spare not. Then *Mornuillier* to his former speech added that he could not imagine what had moued the Earle to enter into this league with the D. of Britaine, vnlesse it were because of a pension⁸ the king had once giuen

⁷ Labaie in our author, and in *Annal Burgund.* where Rubempre, should haue taken the Earle of Charolois, is named in *Meyer Gorkum*.

⁸ The pension the Earle of Charolois had of the King with the gouernment of Normandy was 36000 franks, *Annal. Burgund.* La Marche, Meyer.

giuen him, together with the gouernement of Normandy, and afterward again taken from him.

The next day in presence of the selfe same audience, the Earle of Charolois kneeling vpon a veluet cushion, addrested his speech to his father, and began with this bastard of *Rubempre*, affirming the causes of his imprisonment to bee iust and lawfull, as the course of his arraignment should well declare. Notwithstanding I thinke nothing was euer proued against him, though I confesse the presumptions to haue been great. Five yeeres after I my selfe saw him deliuered out of prison. This point thus answered, the Earle began to discharge the D. of Britaine and himselfe, saying, that true it was that the D. and hee were entred into league and amity, and had sworne themselues brethren in armes, but that this league tended in no respect to the preiudice of the King or his reamble, but rather to the seruice and defence thereof, if neede should so require. Lastly, as touching the pension taken from him, he answered, that he neuer receiued but one quarters benefite thereof, to the value of nine thousand franks, ⁹ and that for his part he neuer made sute neyther for it, nor for the gouernment of Normandy: for so long as he enioyed the fauour and good will of his father, he should not need to craue of any man. I thinke verily, had it not been for the reuerence hee bare to his said father who was there present, and to whom he addrested his speech, that he would haue vsed much bitterer terms. In the end D. *Philip* very wisely, humbly besought the King lightly not to conceiue an euill opinion of him or his son but to continue his fauour towards them. Then the banquet was brought in, and the ambassadors tooke their leaue both of the father and the sonne: But after the Earle of Eu, and the Chancellour had taken their leaue of the Earle of Charolois, who stood a good way from his father, he said thus to the Archbishop of Narbonn that passed forth the last of the Ambassadors: Remember my most humble duty to the King, and tell him he hath made his Chancellour to vse me very homely here, but before a yeares end he shall repent it: which message the Archbishop did to the King at his returne into France, as hereafter you shall perceiue.

These *Moruelliers* words aboue rehearsed, caused the Earle of Charolois hatred against the King to take deepe roote, the seedes whereof, were before sowne by the Kinges late redeeming of the townes situate, vpon the riuer of Somme ¹⁰, namely, Amiens, Abbeuille, Saint Quintin, and the rest which King *Charles* the seuenth had engaged by the treaty of *Arras* to his father. D. *Philip* of Burgundie to haue and to hold to him, and to his heires males, till they were redeemed for fowre hundred thousand crownes ¹¹. How these matters passed, I know not perfectly, but true it is, that in the D. old age he was so gouerned by the Lords of Croy and Chimay, being brethren, and others of their house, that hee agreede to take againe his money, & restore the said territories to the King, greatly to the Earle his sonnes discontentation: for besides that they were the frontier townes of their dominions, they lost in them a number of able men for the warres. The Earle of Charolois charged the house of Croy with this fact, so farre forth that after extreame age was growne vpon his father (whereunto hee euen then approached) he banished all the said house out of his dominions, and confiscated all their lands, estates and offices.

⁹ A franke is two shillings and six pence sterling, after eight soue to an English shilling, so that the Earles pension after that rate amounted to fower thousand five hundred pound sterling.

¹⁰ The townes and territories vpon the riuer of Somme engaged to D. *Philip* by the treaty of *Arras*, which was in the yeere 1435. are named in the Articles of the said treaty rehearsed in *Annal. Burgund.* p. 760 and 761. & in the first book of *La Marche*, and in the 16. of *Meyer* and others.

¹¹ They were engaged as our author and *Annal. Burgund.* write for 400000. crownes, but *Meyer* saith 450000 but other were redeemed for 400000. anno 1463. *La Marche*, *Meyer*, *Annal.*, *Burgund.*

*How the Earle of Charolois and diuers noblemen of Fraunce leuied
an army against King Lewis, vnder colour of the
weale publique. Chap. 2.*



Oone after the abouenamed Ambassadors departure, *John* Duke of Bourbon that last died, arriued at the towne of Lisle, pretending that he came to visit his vncl Duke *Philip* of Burgundie, who aboueall houses loued especially this house of Bourbon, and no maruell: for this Duke of Bourbons mother was Duke *Philips* sister. Shee had liued a widow many yeeres, and sojourned there at that time with her brother, both her selfe and diuers of her children, to wit, three daughters and one sonne, notwithstanding this was not indeed the cause of the Duke of Bourbons arriual, but his comming was to perswade the Duke of Burgundie to suffer an army to be leuied in his dominions, assuring him that all the Princes of Fraunce would doe the like: meaning thereby to giue the King to vnderstand how euill and vniust gouernment he vsed in his realme, and purposing to make themselues so strong, that they might constrain him by force to redresse this inconuenience, if praier could not preuaile. This warre was afterward called THE WEALE PVBLIQUE, because the authors thereof vsed the common wealth for colour of their enterprise. The said good Duke *Philip* (for so is he surnamed since his death) agreed that an armie should be leuied in his dominions, but the bottom of the enterprise was neuer discovered to him: for hee thought not that the matter should haue come to hand strokes as after it did. Immediately began the musters through all the Dukes dominions, and the Earle of Saint Paule afterward Constable of Fraunce, accompanied with the Marshall of Burgundie, being of the house of Neuf-chastell, repaired to Cambray (where Duke *Philip* then lay) to the Earle of Charolois, who immediately after their arriual assembled his fathers Councell, and a great number of his subiects in the Bishops palace at Cambray, where he proclaimed all the house of Croy traitors to his father and him. And notwithstanding that the Earle of S. Paule alleadged, that by this proclamation he should be greatly indamaged, because long before this, he had giuen his daughter in marriage ¹ to the Lord of Croies sonne: yet was the said house of Croy (all that notwithstanding) forced to abandon the Dukes dominions ², where they lost great riches. With the which dooing, Duke *Philip* was much discontented, especially because his chiefe chamberlaine (afterward Lord of Chmay) a yoong man well disposed, and nephew to the Lord of Croy, was forced for feare of his life, to depart without leaue taken of his master, being aduertised that if hee did otherwise hee should either bee slaine or apprehended: but the Dukes olde age caused him to beare this matter more patiently than otherwise hee would. All this trouble hapned in his house because of the restitution of the territories aboue mentioned, situate vpon the riuer of Somme, which the Duke had restored to King *Lewis* for the summe of 400000. crownes, by the perswasion of this house of Croy, as the Earle of Charolois laid to their charge.

The said Earle after he had pacified his father, and reconciled himselfe to him the best that mought be, put his whole force incontinent into the field, being accompanied with the Earle of S. Paule, the principall gouernor of his affaires, and

¹ The Earle of S. Paule had betrothed his daughter to the L. of Croys sonne, but seeing the Earle of Charolois hatred against the said Croy, he would haue broken of the marriage again, but Croy in whose house the saide daughter remained, contrary to his fathers will made vp the match, for the which cause the Earle of S. Paule hated the said Croy to the death, *Annal. Burgund.*

² The Earle of Charalois besides this matter here alleadged charged *John L.* of Croy, that he had called him great diuell, threatened him, & sought to poison him. *Meyer.*

3 Every French man of armes is allowed three men to accompany him in the warres, one to beare his head peece, called, in Latin *Ferentarius*, & two archers. *La Marche*. but the Burgundians had here some 5. some fixe.

4 These archers were crossebow-men mounted on horsebacke, as harquebussiers on horsebacke are now.

5 He that maketh such offer of himselfe, seeketh prey not seruice, wherefore this reiecting of so many, was done according to the rules of the arte of war.

6 Of the excesse of this house of Burgundie. *Annal. Burgund.* write thus, lib. 2. pa. 917. and 918. All fashions of apparell were growne in vse among the subiects of this house of Burgundie, and those so indecent and dissolute, that none could

he that had the greatest charge in his armie, for he had vnder him by the Earle of Charolois commandement 300. men of armes, and 4000. archers, besides a number of valiant knights and esquires of Artois, Haynalt, and Flaunders. Like bands and as great were also vnder the leading of the L. of Rauastin, the D. of Cleues brother, and the L. *Anthony* bastard of Burgundie, other capitaines for breuitie I passe ouer, but aboue all the rest, two knights there were especially, in great credit with the Earle of Charolois, the one named the L. of Hault-bordin an ancient knight, bastard brother to the Earle of S. Paule, the other the L. of Contay. They had both been trained vp in the long wars between Fraunce and England, at the same time that *Henry* the 5. of that name King of England, raigned in Fraunce, being confederate with this Duke *Philip* of Burgundie. They were two valiant and wise knights, and had the principall charge of the whole armie: of yoong gentlemen there were a number, but one especially very famous, called master *Philip* of Lalain, issued of a race that hath euer been so valiant and couragious, that they haue in maner all died in the warres in their Princes seruice. The Earles force was great: for his men of armes were to the number of 1400. but euill armed, and vntrained, because of the long peace these Princes of Burgundie had liued in. For since the treaty of Arras by the space of 36. yeeres and more, they neuer had war that endured, nor almost taste of warre, saue a few broyles against the Citie of Gaunt, which were soone pacified. Notwithstanding his men of armes were well mounted, and well accompanied, for few or none should you haue seen without fise or fixe great horses of his retinue. 3 The archers 4 were eight or nine thousand, and when they mustred they were more vnwilling to depart then to giue their names, but the ablest were chosen and the rest dismissed 5.

The subiects of this house of Burgundie liued then in great prosperitie, partly because of their long peace, and partly because of their Princes goodnes, who leuiued but few subsidies vpon them, so that these Seniories seemed comparable to the land of promise in those daies: for they flowed in wealth, and had continued in great quietnes the space of 23. yeeres, to wit, till the beginning of these warres now mentioned, which till this day endure vnended: their expenses in apparell both of men and women were great and superfluous 6, their feasts and banquets more sumptuous and prodigall then in any countrey that euer I saw, their bathes and other pastimes with women wanton and dissolute, yea somewhat too shamelesse, I meane of women of low estate. To bee short, the subiects of this house, thought at that time, no Prince able to withstand them, at the least none too mighty for them, but at this present, I know no country in the world so miserable and desolate as theirs, and I doubt me the sinnes they committed in their prosperitie, cause them to suffer this aduersitie, because they acknowledged not all these gifts and benefits to proceed from God, who disposed and bestowed them as to his heavenly wisdom seemeth best.

The Earles army thus furnished euen in a moment, of all things necessarie, be more. The Ladies and gentlewomen ware vpon their head a strange kinde of attire, fashioned in pyramydall forme, the top thereof halfe an ell good aboue the crowne of their head, and thereupon a carchefe of lawne or some other fine linnen hanging downe to the very ground: a fond attire and worthy to bee derided. The men disguised themselves no lesse than the women, some ware their clothes so short, that they hardly couered those parts that nature her selfe shameth to discouer: their haire was curled and of such length that it hindred their sight: vpon their heads they ware felt-hats copetanked, a quarter of an ell high or more: they stuffed their dublets about their shoulders and breast marvellous full of bombast, to the end they might seeme square and broad breasted, a thing greatly displeasing God: their cokes were not so short but their gownes were as long, for they trained after them vpon the ground. To be short, the whole world could not deuise stranger kinds of disguising than they had, and that was worst of all is this, that every rascall and every woman in beggars estate would be apparelled princelike, and imitate the fashion of Court, without regard either of cost or calling. Compare this with the excesse of England at these daies, and we shall see in a glasse our owne vanities, and haue iust cause to looke for the same miseries that fell vpon this house of Burgundie after this excesse.

marched

marched forward, ⁷ the whole force being on horsebacke, saue those that conueied the artillery, which was mightie and strong for that time, and the straglers appointed for the cariage, the which was so great, that the Earles owne cariage inclosed the greatest part of his campe: he marched first towards Noyon, and besieged a little castell called Nefle, which was soone taken, notwithstanding the resistance made by the garrison that was within it. The Marshall *Ioachim* (one of the fower Marshalls of Fraunce) issuing out of Peronne coasted continually along by the Earles campe, but could not endamage him, for his force was so small, that when the Earle drew neere to Paris he retired thither. All the way as the Earle passed he made no war, but what his men tooke they paid for: wherefore the townes vpon the riuer of Somme and all other townes that he passed by, receiued his men in small troupes, and solde them for their mony whatsoeuer they would buy, as men resting in suspence whether the King or the Princes should haue the vpper hand ⁸. So farre marched the Earle that he came to S. Dennis neare to Paris, where all the Lords of the Realme had promised to meete him but none came, notwithstanding that the Vicechauncellor of Britaine the D. Ambassador resident in the Earles campe, forged newes of their comming from time to time at his owne pleasure, vpon certaine blancks that he had signed with his masters hand: he was a Norman borne, and a very wise and sufficient man, and so behooued it him to be, for the whole campe murmured against him. The Earle of Charolois shewed himselfe before Paris ⁹, where was a hot skirmish, hard at the towne gates, but to the Citizens disaduantage. Men of warre, within the towne were none, saue onely the Marshall *Ioachim* with his company, and the Lord of Nantoillet, afterward Lord great Master, who did the King as good seruice in these wars as euer did subiect, King of Fraunce at his neede, and yet in the ende was euill recompensed, rather by his enemies malice, than the Kings fault, though neither of both are wholly to be excused. The poore people of the citie were in so great feare the day of the skirmish, that they cried often (as I was afterwards credibly enformed) that wee were entred the towne, but without cause. Notwithstanding the L. of Hault-bourdin aboue mentioned (who had bin brought vp in the towne, when it was nothing so strong as now it is) gaue aduise to assault it, and the souldiers desired nothing more, contemning the townes men because the skirmishes were hard at their gates, yet the contrarie opinion tooke place, whereupon the Earle retired to S. Denis. The next day in the morning he debated with his Councell whether he should go to meete with the Dukes of Berry and Britaine or not, who were at hand as the Vicechauncellor of Britaine said, shewing also their letters testifying the same, but he had forged them vpon his blancks, and other newes knew he none. In the end the Earle resolved to passe the riuer of Seine, notwithstanding that the most part of his Councell gaue aduise to returne home, seeing the rest of the confederates had broken day, alleaging it to be sufficient to haue passed the riuers of Somme and Marne, and more than needed to passe this riuer of Seine. Some also put foorth great doubts, because we had no places on our backe to retire into if we should be distressed. But all this notwithstanding the Earle passed the riuer and encamped at Pont S. Clou ¹⁰, wherefore the whole armie murmured much against the Earle of S. Paule and this vicechauncellor, who were the principall persuaders of him thereunto. The next day after his arriuall there, he receiued letters from a Lady of this land written with hir owne hand, wherein she aduertised him that the king was departed out of Bourbonnois, and came downe with all speede to fight with him.

⁷ The 15. of May faith Meyer, but the 25. *Annal. Burgund.* the Earle departed from his father.

⁸ The Earle of Charolois as he passed named himselfe the Duke of Berries lieutenant, for the which cause the townes here mentioned the willinglier receiued him. *Ann. nales Burgund.*
⁹ The Earles army shewed it selfe before Paris about the 12. or 13. of Iulie, at which time all the Princes should haue met him there. Meyer.

¹⁰ The Earle of S. Paule tooke a great boate vpon the riuer of Seine, in the which he passed the riuer, and tooke Pont S. Clou. *Annal. Burgund.*

I must

¹¹ Reade a letter written by the King to the Duke of Bourbon and his answer thereunto.

Annal. Burgund. pag. 889.

¹² This Cardinal of Bourbon was Archbishop of Lyons, and brother to the Duke of Bourbon, *Annal. Burgund.* for the which cause I thinke it best in the French to reade *freres* for *frere*, because the Earle of Beauuieu and this Cardinall were both brethren to the Duke of Bourbon.

I must here declare the occasion of the Kings voyage into Bourbonnois, which was this : So soone as he vnderstood that all the princes of his realme had conspired against him (at the least against his gouernment) hee determined to preuent them, and before they were assembled, to inuade the D. of Bourbon, who was the first that openly discovered himselfe to be of the confederacie, ¹¹ : and because his countrey was weake hee hoped soone to subdne it, as in deede diuers places he tooke, and would easily haue taken all, had not succours come thither out of Burgundie vnder the leading of the L. of Coulches, the Marquesse of Rottelin, the L. of Montague, and others, with whom Master *William* of Rochefort Chauncellor of Fraunce (a man at this day of great estimation) was also in armes. This force was leuied in Burgundie by the sollicitation of the Earle of Beauuieu, and the Cardinall of Bourbon, ¹² brethren to D. *John* of Bourbon, and by them receiued into Molines. Aide came also of another side to the D. of Bourbon, vnder the leading of the D. of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the L. of Albert, being accompanied with a great band of soldiers, some of the which were good men of armes of their countries, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and put themselues into their seruice. But the greatest part of their men were vtterly vnfurnished of all things, and forced for lacke of pay to liue vpon the poore people. The King notwithstanding these their great forces gaue them yenough to do : wherefore in the end they fell to treate of peace, especially the D. of Nemours, who solemnly promised and sware to take part with him, and yet did afterwards the contrarie : whereupon the King conceiued so great displeasure against him, that afterward he could neuer brooke him, as eftsoones he hath told me. To be short, the King perceiuing that he could not achieue his enterprise in Bourbonnois so speedily as at the first he hoped, and fearing if the Earle of Charolois forces which approached neare to paris, and the forces of the Duke of Berry his owne brother, and of the Duke of Britaine which were comming out of Britaine, should ioine together : that the Parisians would receiue them into their towne, because they all pretended the common wealth for colour of their enterprise: and knowing also as the towne of Paris did, so all the other townes in his realme would follow ; for these causes I say, he resolved with all speede possible to put himselfe into Paris, meaning to keep these two great armies a sunder : but his purpose was not to fight, as he hath himselfe diuers times told me in communing of these affaires.

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montl'hery, and of the battell fought there betweene the King of Fraunce and him.

Chap. 3.



He Earle of Charolois supposing that the King (being departed out of Bourbonnois (as before you haue heard) came downe purposely to fight with him : resolved likewise to set forward against the King, and then read openly the contents of the letter sent him by the Lady aboue mentioned, (but suppressing her name) and required his souldiers to play the men, saying that he was fully resolved to hazard the battell, wherefore he marched and encamped at a village neere to Paris called Longiumeau, and the Earle of S. Paule with the vawarde lodged at Montl'hery, two leagues beyonde Longiumeau, from whence hee sent foreriders and scouters abroad, to vnderstand of the Kings comming, and what way hee tooke : farther in the presence of the Earle of S. Paule, the Lord of Hault-bourdin, and the Lord of Contay, Longiumeau was assigned for the place of the the battell, and thither it

was

was agreed that the Earle of S. Paule should retire with the vaward if the King hapned to come.

Now you shal vnderstand that the Earle of Maine with seuen or eight hundred men of armes lay continually in face of the Dukes of Bery & Britaine, who were accompanied with a number of wise and valient Knights, that King Lewis had put from their pensions and offices at his first cōming to the state, (notwithstanding the great seruices they had done his father, in the recouering and pacifying of the realme :) whereof afterward full often hee repented him. Among these knights was the Earle of Dunois, a man of great experience in all matters¹, the Marthall of Loheac, the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lord of Bueil, and diuers others, accompanied with the number of fīue hundred men of armes who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and retired themselues to the Duke of Britaine, of whose onely subiects this whole force consisted. The Earle of Maine who lay continually in the face of the two Dukes campe, (as you haue heard) finding himselfe too weake to encounter with them, dislodged continually before them, approaching neerer and neerer to the King, in like maner the Dukes of Berry and Britaine endeouored to ioine with the Burgundians, Some haue held opinion that the Earle of Maine had secret intelligence with the Princes, but I could neuer vnderstand any such thing, neither doe I beleue it².

The Earle of Charolois lying in campe at Longjumeau (as you haue heard) and his vaward at Montlhery, was aduertized by a prisoner, that the Earle of Maine with his whole force, all the men of armes of the Kings ordinary retinue, being to the number of two and twenty hundred, and the arriere ban³ of Dauphine together with forty or fifty gentlemen of Sauoy, excellent good soldiers, were all ioined with the King.

The King in the meane time consulted with the Earle of Maine, the high Seneschall of Normandy called *De Brezey*, the Admirall of France who was of the house of Montauban, and others what was to be done, and in the end whatsoever was said or aduised to the contrary, resolved not to fight, neither to approach neere to the Burgundians campe, but onely to enter into Paris,⁴ which in mine opinion was the best and safest course. He stood in great doubt of this high Seneschall of Normandy, and therefore desired him to tell him truly whether hee had giuen his faith in writing to the Princes that came against him: whereunto the Seneschall answered after his meery iesting manner, that he had, and that the writing should remaine with them, but the body should serue him, which his answer the king tooke in good part, and gaue him the leading of his vaward, and put also vnder his charge, the guides whose helpe he vsed, because he ment to shun the battell as you haue heard. But the Seneschall being wedded to his his own wil, said priuily to certaine of his familiar friends, that he would that day ioine the two armies so neere together that he had need to be a good man of warre that should seuer them without battell, which his promise he performed, though to his own cost, for the first man that was slaine was himselfe⁵, and his band with him. These his words, the King hath often since rehearsed to me, for I serued then the Earle of Charolois.

But to proceed, the 27. of Iuly,⁶ the yeare 1465. the Kings vaward came to Montlhery where the Earle of Saint Paul lodged who incontinent aduertised the Earle of Charolois lying two leagues thence (namely at Longjumeau, the

him supposed it had beene the King, *Annal. Aquitan.* but *Meyer* saith, he was reported to be slaine by the Kings procurement, which I know not where he findeth. Of the day of the battell, *Annal. Franc.* agree with our author, but *Annal. Burgund.* & *Annal. Aquitan.* say 17. *Meyer* hath 17. *Cal. Augusti*, that is the 16. day of Iuly, and with him agreeth *Gaguin* & *La Marche*, who was present at the battell and knighted in it.

¹ This *Iohn* Earle of Dunois was bastard to Lewis Duke of Orleans. *Meyer.*
² Yet *La Marche* saith that the Earle of Maine was of the Princes confederacy.
³ The Arriere-ban is an edict neuer proclaimed but in cases of great extremity: for all as well nobles as others are thereupon bound to repaire to the King, diuers of the which before the proclamation thereof are not bound by their tenure to moue.
The Arriere-ban of Dauphine heere named, were all those of the countrie of Dauphine, that helde by this tenure.
Reade the edict made by King Francis anno 1543. and *Girarde* of the state of France, lib. 2. fol. 113.
⁴ The King by the perswasion of the Earle of Maine and the Seneschall *Brezey* resolved at the last to fight. *Annal. Burgund.*
⁵ *Brezey* had changed armor with the King, which caused his death: for those that slue

place assigned for the battell) of their arriuall, desiring him of aide with all speede, and alledging that because all his men of armes and archers were lighted on foot, and inclosed with their carriage, he could not possibly retire to Longjumeau, according to the order agreed on, without seeming to fly, whereby hee should both discourage and endanger the whole army. Which message receiued: the Earle of Charolois sent forth with the bastard Burgundy called *Anthony* with a great band of men to ioine with the Earle of S. Paule, and debated with himselfe whether he should goe thither in person or not, and in the end marched forward with the rest and came to the place about seuen of the clocke in the morning: but before his arriuall fise or fixe of the Kings Ensignes were displaied along vpon a great ditch side betweene the two armies.

The Vicechauncellor of Britaine called *Rouuille* was yet in the Earle of Charolois campe, and with him an ancient man of armes named *Maderey*, the selfe same that deliuered Pont. S. Maxence to the Burgundians: against these two the whole army murmured, because the battel being now ready to be giuen: the forces they had so much vanted of were yet vncome. Wherefore they were both in great fear, and fled before the two armies ioined, taking their way to the Britaines campe. The Earle of Charolois company set themselves in order of battel as they marched, and at their arriuall found the Earle of S. Paule on foote, & all the archers dismounted, each man hauing a pale pitched before him. Farther, they beat out the heads of diuers pipes of wine to drinke: and sure for those few battels I haue bin in, I neuer saw men in my life more desirous to fight, which me thought was a good signe and a great comfort. Order was giuen at first that we should al light on foot none excepted, but that order was afterward altered. For almost all the men of Armes mounted againe on horsebacke, saue certaine valiant Knights and Esquiers appointed to fight among the footmen, namely, Monsieur de *Cordes*, & Master *Philip* of Lalaine, with diuers others: for at that time among the Burgundians the honourablest personages fought on foot among the archers, to the end the infanterie might be the better assured & fight the more couragiously, which order they learned of the Englishmen, with whom Duke *Philip* being confederate in his youth) made war vpon the realme of France the space of 32. yeeres without truce⁷. But the burden of these warres lay vpon the Englishmens shoulders, who were at that time rich and mighty, and had a wise, goodly and valiant King called *Henry*, accompanied with sage, hardy, and expert captaines, namely, the Earle of *Salisbury*, Talbot and others, whom I passe ouer, because those wars were before my time, notwithstanding I haue seen the reliques of them. For when God ment to withdraw his goodnes from the Englishmen, this wise king died at Bois de Vincennes, and his son who proued but a simple man, was crowned king of France and England at Paris. Soone after, all was turned topsie turuy in England For ciuill wars arose among them which haue endured almost till this present, by reason that the house of Yorke vsurped the Crown, or held it by good title, I wot not well whether, for the lot of kingdomes is giuen from heauen.

But to returne to the history, this dismounting & remounting of the Burgundians, caused both great delay of time, and losse of men, for at this instant, that yoong valiant knight Master *Philip* of Lalaine, beeing but slenderly armed was slaine⁸. The Kings forces marched scatteringly along by the Forrest of Torfou, being hardly 400. men of armes at our first arriuall, so that if we had then charged them, in mine opinion we had found no resistance, for they that were behinde could not haue aided the former, because they could not march forward vpon a front, but one by one after an other. Notwithstanding, their number continually increased

⁷ The Duke was ioined with the Englishmen but 15 or sixteene yeeres, as saith also *Introducion de la Marche*, for the league began anno 1419. and ended anno 1435
⁸ The burgundians dismounted so suddenly, that lying downe their compleate armor they had not leasure to buckle their lighter armor about them, which was the cause of *Lalains* death, *Annal. Burgund.*

increased, which this wise knight Monsieur de Contay perceiuing, came and told his master the Earle of Charolois, that if he would obtaine the victorie it was time to giue the charge, confirming his opinion by diuers good reasons, and adding that if he had assailed his enemies at his first arriuall, they had already been discomfited, for then their number was small, but now greatly increased as easie it was to be discerned, and sure he said true. Then was euery mans aduise asked, and the former order cleane altered, but in the meane time a great and hot skirmish was already begun, at the very entry into the village of Montlhery, all of shot on both sides. The Kings bands were led by *Poncet* of Riniere, being all archers of his ordinarie retinue, glistering in gilt and very well appointed. But the Earles shot was out of order, obedient to no man, and doing all things of their owne braine. Thus began the skirmishes in which the Lord *Philip* of Lallain¹⁰, and *James* of Mas a valiant gentleman, afterward master of the horse to Duke *Charles* of Burgundie, fought on foote among the archers. The Burgundians being the greater number, tooke a house, and bare two or three doores before them, wherewith they couered themselves in stead of Targats, and after they were entred the street, set fire on a house, the winde was with them, and blew the flame in their enemies faces, who thereupon retired, and afterward tooke horse and fled, with the which hue and cry, the Earle of Charolois began to march, leauing the order first deuised. For order was first giuen that the Earles battell should rest twise by the way, because his vaward and his battell were farre asunder¹¹. The Kings army stood neere to the castle of Montlhery, a great hedge and a ditch being between them and vs. The fields beyond them bare that yeere wheate, beanes, and other graine, growne maruellous high and thicke: for the soile there is very good. All the Earles shot marched on foot before him in very euill order, notwithstanding that in mine opinion in a battell the principall hope of victorie consisteth in the shot, I meane if the force of shot be great (for small force serueth to small purpose) and either euill mounted (to the end they be not vnwilling to forsake their horses) or not mounted at all. Farther the day of battle, those that are ignorant of the wars will doe a greater exploit, than those that haue been long trained vp therein, this is the Englishmens opinion, who are the best shot in the world: order was first giuen (as you haue heard) that the Earles battle should rest twise vpon the way, to the end the foot-men mought breath them, because the vaward and it were far asunder, and the corne high and thicke which troubled their going, yet notwithstanding the cleane contrary was done, as though men would purposely haue lost all. Wherefore hereby, God manifestly declared that he is the Lord of hostes, and disposeth of the victorie as seemeth best to him, and sure for my part, I cannot be perswaded, that the wisdome of one man is sufficient to gouerne such a number of men, nor that an enterprize can be executed in the field, as it is deuised in the chamber: and farther I verily beleeeue, that who so enableth himselfe by his owne wit and capacitie to giue order in so weighty a matter, misbehaueth himselfe towards God. Notwithstanding euery man ought to doe his endeouour therein, acknowledging the wars to be one of the accomplishments of Gods iudgments, which oftentimes he beginneth vpon small occasions, to the end that by giuing victory now to one, and now to another, some great realmes and seniories may fall to ruine and desolation, and other some increase and flourish with large empire and dominion, for farther prooffe whereof marke this that followeth. The Earle of Charolois marched without any breathing giuen to his shot and footmen vpon the way. The Kings men of armes passed through the hedge aboue mentioned

9 Contay vsed another reason to perswade the Earle to assaile his enemies here not expressed, to wit, to preuent the Parisians, who if they issued forth should inclose him between them and the King, *Annal. Burgund.*

10 This Lallain seemeth to bee the father of him that was slaine.

11 Between Longjumeau where the Earles battell lay, & Montlhery where his vaward lodged are fower English miles.

at two severall places, and when they approched so neere their enemies, that they began to charge their staues, the Burgundian men of armes brake their owne shot, and passed through it, not giuing them leaue to let one arrow flie, notwithstanding that the shot were the principall force and onely hope of their armie, for of the men of armes (being to the number of twelue hundred) I think hardly fiftie knew how to charge a launce, there were not foure hundred of them armed with quiracies, and of their retinue not one armed, all the which inconueniences grew partly because they had rested so long in peace, & partly because this house of Burgundie for ease of their subiects, entertained no souldiers in ordinary. But since that day, these Seniories of Burgundie haue continued in troubles, which euen at this present rather increase than diminish. Thus the Burgundian men of armes (as you haue heard) brake themselues the chiefe force and onely hope of their armie, yet notwithstanding, so it pleased God to dispose of this matter, that on the right side of the castle, where the Earle himselfe stood no resistance was found. All this day my selfe neuer departed from the Earle, being lesse afraid then in any other battle that euer I was at since, for I was yoong and knew not what perill ment, but wondred how any man durst resist the Prince I serued, supposing none to be comparable to him. Such are the cogitations of men lacking experience, which causeth them oftentimes to maintaine fond arguments, grounded vpon small reason. Wherefore it is good to follow his aduise that saith, A man seldome repenteth him of too little speech, but often of too much. On the left hand stood the Lord of Rauastin, and master *James* of S. Paul, with diuers others, who well perceiued their force too weake to encounter with the enemy that came to charge them, but they were now so neere ioined together, that it was too late to deuise any new order. To bee short, these were vtterly ouerthrowne, and pursued euen hard to our carriage, where certaine of the footmen relied themselues, but the greatest part tooke the Forrest, being but halfe a league thence. The principall that followed the chase were the gentlemen of Daulphine and Sauoy, with certaine companies of men of armes, who supposed the victorie had been theirs, and not without cause, for sure the Burgundians flight was great on that side, yea and of great personages. The most part fled toward Pont S. Maxence,¹² supposing it had held yet for the Earle. In the Forrest also a great number staid, among whom was the Earle of S. Paul well accompanied, for he stood neere to the Forrest side, and declared afterward that he held not the battell as lost.

¹² Pont S. Clou, and Pont S. Maxence were yeelded by the Burgundians, because the rumor was that the Earle of Charolois was slaine in the battell. Meyer.

Chap. 4. Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in, and how he was rescued.



He Earle of Charolois pursued his enemies on that side himselfe stood, halfe a league beyond Montlhery, and found no resistance, notwithstanding that he were but slenderly accompanied and met with maine enemies, wherefore he held the victorie for his: but suddenly an old gentleman of Luxembourg called *Anthony le Breton*, came to him and aduertised him that the French were relied vpon the field, so that if he followed the chase any further, he should cast away himselfe. But the Earle regarded not his speech, notwithstanding that he repeated it twise or thrise. But euen in that instant arriued Monsieur de Contay, who told him the selfesame tale the olde gentleman of Luxembourg had done, and that in so stout and bold termes, that hee gaue credit to his words and experience, and presently retyred.

And

And I thinke verily if he had passed but two bow shot farther, he had been taken as diuers were that followed the chase before him. As he returned, hard by the village he met with a band of footemen flying, whom he pursued being accompanied hardly with an hundred horse: none of these footemen made resistance but one, who gaue the Earle such a blow on the brest with a iauelin, that the marke thereof appeared at night: the greatest part of the rest escaped through the gardens, but he that strake the Earle was slaine. And as we passed hard by the castell, we found the archers of the Kings garde before the gate, who neuer abandoned their place for our comming: whereat the Earle much maruelled, for he thought the battell had been at an end, but he found it otherwise: for as he turned about to enter into the fiede (part of his companie being scattered from him) suddenly 15. or 16. men of armes gaue a charge vpon him, and at the very first slue his caruer named *Philip D'orgues* bearing a guydon of his arme. The Earle was there in great danger and receiued many hurts, especially one in the throte with a sword (the marke whereof sticke by him as long as he liued) by reason that his beauer being euill fastened in the morning was fallen away, and my selfe saw when it fell. The enemies laid hands vpon him, saying, My Lord yeeld, we know you well ynough, be not wilfully slaine: but he manfully defended himselfe, And at that instant a Phisitions sonne of Paris that serued the Earle, named *Iohn Cadet* being a great lubberly fellow, mounted vpon a strong iade like himselfe, ran through the enemies, and brake them¹, wherewith they retired to the ditch side, (the place they had taken in the morning) the rather for that they discouered one of our ensignes marching in the midst of the field, and approaching neere to vs, being the bastard of Burgundies ensigne, all to totterd and torne, to the which the Earle all embrewed in his owne blood retired, leauing at his archers ensigne not aboue fortie men, with whom we being hardlie thirtie, ioined in great feare. The Earle incontinent changed his horse, hauing a fresh horse brought him by *Simon* of Quingy then his page, and since a man well knowne: and rode about the field to relie his men, leauing vs that taried behind him in such feare, that by the space of an houre we were all fully resolu'd to flee, if but a hundred enemies had marched against vs: notwithstanding our men came to vs by ten and twenty in a troupe, as well horsemen as footemen, but of the footemen many were hurt, and all very wearie, partly because of the battell, and partly because of their vnreasonable iourney in the morning. Soone after returned the Earle himselfe, hardly accompanied with an hundred men, but by little and little our number increased. The corne which but halfe an houre before had been so high, was now troden flat downe, by meanes whereof, arose a terrible dust, all the fields lay strawed with dead bodies of men and horses, but because of the dust none could be knowne.

¹De la Marche calleth him that deliuered the Earle, Robert Couterel, or Coutereau a horseman of Bruxels, his Phisitions sonne, whom for that fact immediately hee made knight and feudarie of Brabant. *Gaugin* writeth that the Earle was twice in danger, once in the hands of *Geffery De S. Belin*, and againe in the hands of *Gilbert Grassay*.

Immediately after this, we discouered the Earle of S. Paule issuing out of the forrest accompanied with fortie men of armes, and his guydon marched straigh towards vs, and continually increased in number, but because he was far from vs, we sent twise or thrise to him desiring him to make hast, which notwithstanding he did not, neither altred his pace, but caused his men to take vp the launces that lay vpon the ground, & came in very good order, which sight much comforted vs. With him a great number relied themselues & in the end came & ioined with vs, so that we were then to the number of eight hundred men of armes, but footmen few or none, which was the only let the Earle obtained not perfect victorie, for there was a great ditch and a thicke hedge between his battell and the Kings.

Of the Kings part fled the Earle of Maine with diuers others, to the number

of eight hundred men of armes. Some haue held opinion that the said Earle of Maine had intelligence with the Burgundians, but for mine owne part I beleue it not. Neuer was in any battell so great flight on both sides, but the two Princes kept the field: of the Kings part there was a man of honor that fled as far as Luzignan without staie, and of the Earles part a noble personage to *Que snoy le Comte*, these two had no great desire to bite one another ².

² For the two places here named be aboue three hundred English miles a sunder.

While the two armies stood thus in order of battell, the one in face of the other, the artillerie shot terribly, which slue men on both sides, but neither partie desired a new field. Notwithstanding our band was greater then the Kings, but his presence and the curteous language he vsed to his soldiers, was a great stay to his people, so far forth, that I am throughly perswaded both by mine owne knowledge and that I haue since heard, that had it not been for him alone they had all fled. Some of our company desired a new battell, especially the Lord of Haultbourdin, alleading that he discovered a troupe of enemies flying, and vndoubtedly if we could haue recouered but a hundred archers to haue shot through the hedge aboue mentioned, all had been ours.

While this matter was in communication, and both the armies standing thus in order of battell without fight, the night approched, and the King retired to Corbeil, but we thought he had encamped in the field, because fire falling by chaunce into a barrell of powder, and certaine carts laden with munition in the place where the King had stoode, tooke in the end the great hedge aboue mentioned, which we supposed to haue been the Frenchmens fiers there encamped, whereupon the Earle of S. Paul and the Lord of Haultbourdin, who seemed to be the men of greatest experience in our army, commanded our cariage to bee brought to the place where we were, and our campe to bee inclosed therewith, and so it was. And as we stood there relied together in order of battell, diuers Frenchmen returning from the chase, and supposing the victorie to be theirs, and our campe the Kings, passed through the midst of vs, some of them escaped, but the most were slaine. The men of name that died on the Kings part were these, master *Geffery* of S. Belin, the high Seneschall of Normandy, and captaine *Floquet*, and of the Burgundians, master *Philip* of Lalaine: of footemen and common soldiers we lost more than the King, but of horsemen the King more than we: of prisoners the French tooke the best of those that fled. There were slaine of both sides two thousand at the least ³. The battaile was well fought, and there were of both parties that did their endeour, some in fighting, and some in flying, but sure in mine opinion it was a worthy feate of armes to relie themselues together vpon the field, and to stand three or foure howres in order of battell, the one in face of the other, and vndoubtedly both the Princes had good cause to make account of their subiects that stood so well by them at their need. But they did herein like men not like angels, for some lost their offices for flying, which were bestowed vpon others that fled ten leagues beyond them: one of our part lost his credit, and was commanded out of his masters presence, but within one month he was in greater fauor than before.

³ There were slaine at the battell of Mondheri, 2000. *Annal. Burgund. Meyer* saith 3000. *Gaguin* 3600.

When we were inclosed with our cariage, euery man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could, a great number of vs were hurt, and the whole armie almost discouraged, fearing that the Parisians with two hundred men of armes that were within the citie, and the Marshall *Ioachim* the Kings lieutenant there, would issue forth and assaile vs on the other side. After it was darke night fiftie launces were commanded to goe forth to vnderstand where the King lodged, but hardly twenty of them went, notwithstanding that our campe were
not

not about three bowe shot from the place where we supposed the King had encamped. In the meane time the Earle of Charolois ate and dranke a little, as did all the rest of the company, each man in his owne lodging, and the wound in his necke was dressed: but we were forced to remooue out of the place where he refreshed himselfe, three or fower dead bodies to make him roome, and to bring two bottles of straw, vpon the which he sat downe. And as they remooued these dead bodies, one of the poore naked soules began to call for drinke, into whose mouth was powred a little of the tyfan the Earle had drunke of, wherewith his spirits reuiued, and then he was knowne to be one *Sauarie* an archier of the Earles gard a valiant fellow, who was dressed and healed.

The Earle debated with his Councell what was to be done, the first that spake was the Earle of Saint Paule, who said we were in great danger, and gaue aduise by breake of day to retire homeward, to burne part of our cariage, to saue onely the artillery, and to giue order that none should lead backe any cariage, but such as had about ten launces vnder their charge, adding that it was impossible to lie there without victuals betweene Paris and the King. After him spake Monsieur de Haultbourdin almost to the same effect, saue that he aduised vs to stay till we vnderstoode what newes our scouters that were abroad would bring vs, to the which purpose spake also three or foure others. But the last that spake was Monsieur de Contay, who said that so soone as the army should vnderstand of this resolution they would all flie, and by that meanes be taken and spoyled before they had gone twenty leagues: which his opinion he confirmed by diuers very good reasons. Wherefore he gaue aduise that euery man should lodge himselfe as commodiously as he could that night, and the next morning by breake of day begin a new field with determination either to liue or die vpon the place, which hee said to bee a safer course than to flie. The Earle of Charolois followed the said *Contayes* aduise, and gaue euery man commandement to take his rest for two howers, and at the sound of the trumpet to be in a readines: farther hee willed diuers by name to send to comfort his soldiers.

About midnight our scouters that were abroad returned, and it well appeared they had not beene far: for they brought word that the King lodged at the fires about mentioned. Incontinent others were sent forth, and within an houre after euery man put himselfe in a readines to fight, but the most part had rather haue fled. About breake of day our scouters last sent forth met one of our Carters whom the enemies had taken prisoner that morning as he brought a pot of wine from Montlhery. This Carter told them that the French were all fled, whereof they sent word incontinent to the campe, and went themselues to the place, and found the Carters report true, whereupon they returned with this newes to the great comfort of the whole armie, and then a number cryed to pursue them, that made but small hast after them, not an hower before. My selfe had an old horse halfe tired, who by chaunce thrust his head into a paille of wine and drunke it off, which made him lustier and fresher that day than euer before.

When it was broad day euery man mounted on horsebacke, and the squadrons made a goodly shew in the field, notwithstanding all our companies were not yet come together, but a number returned at that present which had lien hidden in the woods all night. The Earle of Charolois suborned a Frier Franciscan, who brought worde to the campe that he came from the Britaines, who would bee there the selfesame day, which newes comforted not a little the whole armie, but all men beleueed it not.

Immediately after, to wit, about ten of the clocke in the morning, arriued the

the Vicechauncellor of Britaine, called *Rouuille*, and *Maderey* aboue mentioned with him, accompanied with two archers of the D. of Britaines garde in their liuerie coates, which comforted maruellously the whole armie, and the said Vicechauncellor was asked where he had beene, and was commended for his departure (considering the great murmuring that was risen against him) but much more for his returne, & every man welcommed them & made them good cheere.

All this day the Earle of Charolois kept still the field, reioycing greatly, and wholly attributing the honor of the victorie to himselfe alone, which glory cost him deere, for after this he neuer followed any mans aduice but his owne, and whereas before he had hated the wars, and loued nothing that appertained thereunto: his thoughts were after this so cleane altered that he continued in the wars till his death, in them ended his life, and by them desolated his house, at the least brought it maruellously vnderfoote, though not altogether destroyed it. Three noble and wise Princes his predecessors had so highly aduanced it, that few Kings except the K. of Fraunce were mightier then he, and in rich and strong townes none passed him: but no man, especially no Prince ought to attribute too much to himselfe, but to acknowledge all prosperitie and good successe to proceede from God. Sure these two things I dare boldly say in his commendation, first that I thinke neuer man endured more trauell than he in all points of bodily labour and exercise, and secondarily that in mine opinion, I neuer knew hardier gentleman: for I neuer heard him complaine of wearinesse, I neuer saw him shew any countenance of feare, yet was I with him seuen yeeres together in the wars: euerie sommer without faile, and sometime both winter and sommer his attempts and enterprises were so high and difficult, that onely God by his absolute power could haue atchiued them, for they passed far mans reach.

Chap. 5 *How the Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine ioyned with the Earle of Charolois against the King.*



He next day being the third after the battell, weremooued our campe and lodged at Montlhery, out of the which the people fled, part into the Church steeple, and part into the Castell, but the Earle caused them to returne to their houses, neither lost they the value of one pennie, for every man paid his shot as truly as if he had been in Flaunders. The castell held for the King, and was not assaulted by vs. The third day being passed, the Earle of Charolois by the Lord of Contais aduise departed to Estampes (a good and commodious lodging, and in a fruitfull soile) meaning to preuent the Britaines, who came that way, and before their arriual to lodge his men that were sicke and hurt in the towne, and the rest abroad in the fields. This good lodging and the Earles long abode there saued many a mans life. At the said towne of Estampes arriued the Lord *Charles* of Fraunce then Duke of Berry, and the Kings only brother, accompanied with the Duke of Britaine, the Earle of Dunois, the Lord of Dampmartin, the Lord of Loheac, the Lord of Bueil, the Lord of Chaumont, and master *Charles* of Amboise his sonne (who since hath carried great credite in this Realme) all the which the King at his first comming to the crowne had displaced and put out of office, notwithstanding the great seruices they had done the King his father and the realme, both in the conquest of Normandy and in diuers other wars. The Earle of Charolois & all the noble men that were

were with him went forth to receiue them, and lodged their persons in the towne, where their lodgings were already made, but their forces lay abroad in the fields. They had with them eight hundred men of armes very well appointed, a great number of which were Britons, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and these made a gallant shew in their campe: of archers and other soldiers armed with good Brigandines they had great force, so that I suppose they were six thousand men on horsebacke, all in very good order, and sure this armie shewed the Duke of Britaine to bee a great Prince, for they were all paid out of his coffers.

The King being retired to Corbeil (as you haue heard) was not idle, neither forgat what he had to do, but went straight into Normandy partly to leuy men, & partlie because he feared rebellion in the Countrey, but a great part of his forces hee left about Paris in those places that had most need of defence.

The first euening that all these Princes met at Estampes, they told newes each to other, the Britons had taken prisoners certaine of the Kings part that fled, and if they had been but a little neerer the place of the battell, they had either taken or discomfited the third part of his army. They had first giuen order to send forth certaine bands before them, to vnderstand how neere the Kings armie and the Earles were together, but they altered their mindes. Notwithstanding Master Charles of Amboise and certaine with him scoured the countrey before their armie, to see if they could meete any of their enemies, and certaine prisoners as you haue heard they tooke, and part also of the Kings artillery. These prisoners reported vnto them, that vndoubtedly the King was slaine (for so they supposed because they fled at the very beginning of the battell, (which newes the abouenamed master Charles of Amboise and they that were with him brought to the Britaines campe, who reioyced maruellously thereat, supposing it had been true, and hoping for great rewards if the Lord Charles were King. Further they debated in councell (as a man of credite there present, afterward aduertised me) how they might rid the countrey of the Burgundians, and send them home in the diuels name, and were in maner all agreed to cut their throtes if they could, but this their ioy soone ended, whereby you may perceiue what sodaine alterations are in a realme in such troubles.

But to returne to the campe lying at Estampes, when euery man had supped and a great number being walking in the streetes: The Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Earle of Charolois withdrew themselues to a window, where they entred into very earnest communication. Now you shall vnderstand that there was among the Britaines one that tooke great pleasure in throwing squibs into the aire, which when they fall to the ground runne flaming among men, his name was Master John Boutefeu, or Master John de Serpens, I wot not well whether. This merry companion being secretly hidden in a house, threw two or three squibs into the aire from a high place where he stode, one of the which by chance strake against the barre of the window where these two Princes communed together, wherewithall both of them started sodainely vp, being astonished at this accident, and each beholding other, suspecting this to be purposely done to hurt them: then came the Lord of Contay to his master the Earle of Charolois, and after he had told him a word or two in his eare, went downe, and caused all the men of armes of the Earles house, and all the archers of his garde, and a number of other to arme themselues. Incontinent also the Earle of Chorolois mooued the Duke of Berry to command the archers of his garde to doe the like, wherupon immediately two or three hundred men of armes, stood on foote in harneis be-

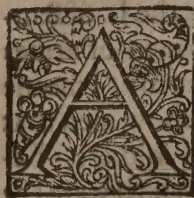
^aThe Brittaines armie was of 10600. men *Annal.* *Aqui.* and the archers here mentioned were all mounted on horsebacke, otherwise the men of armes could not arise to fixe thousand.

fore the gate, with a great number of archers, the which sought round about from whence this fire might come: in the end the poore fellow that had done the deede fell downe vpon his knees before them confessing the fact; and threw three or fower other squibs into the aire, whereby he put diuers out of suspicion each of other, thus the matter turned to a iest, and euery man vnarmed himselfe and went to bed. The next day in the morning they sat in counsell to debate what was to be done, all the Princes with their principall seruants being there present, and as they were of diuers parts and not obedient to one head: so were they also of diuers opinions as in such assemblies it cannot bee otherwise chosen. But among the rest of their talke, certaine words that passed the Duke of Berry (who was yoong and vnacquainted with such exploits) were especially marked: for he seemed already to be weary of this enterprise, alleading the great number of the Earle of Charolois men that he had seene in the towne hurt and maimed, of whom to shew that he had pitie and compassion hee brake foorth into this speech and said, that he had rather the matter had neuer been begun, than that so much mischief should arise by his occasion and for his cause, which wordes displeased grealy the Earle of Charolois and his men as hereafter you shall heare: Notwithstanding they concluded in this assembly to go before Paris, to prooue whether the towne would enter into league with them for the benefit of the common wealth (which they all pretended to be the onely cause of their assembly) being fully perswaded that all the townes in the realme would follow the example thereof. The words aboue mentioned vttered by the D. of Berry in this assembly, put the Earle of Charolois and his men into such a dump, that they said thus one to another, heard you this man speake: he is discouraged for seuen or eight hundred hurt persons that he seeth in the towne, who are none of his but meere strangers to him, he would be otherwise troubled than if the matter should touch himselfe in any point, and easily be won to agree with his brother and leaue vs in the mire, and because of the long wars that haue beene in times past between King *Charles* his father and the D. of Burgundie my father, both the parties would soon consent and turne their forces against vs, wherefore it is good to provide vs offriends in time. And vpon this suspicion only, *William* of Cluny Prenotarie, who died Bishop of Poictiers was sent into England to King *Edward* the 4. then raigning, to whom the Earle of Charolois had euer before been mortall enemie, supporting the house of Lancaster against him, of the which he was issued by his mother ². And the said *Clunies* instructions were to treat with King *Edward* of a marriage between the Kings sister called *Margaret*, & the Earle of Charolois, not to conclude the matter, but only to put the King in hope thereof: for the Earle knowing how greatly the King desired this marriage, supposed by this meanes to win him to take his part if he needed his helpe, at the least to staie him from attempting ought against him. And notwithstanding that he ment nothing lesse then the accomplishment thereof, because as feruently as he loued the house of Lancaster, as extreamly hated hee the house of Yorke: yet was the matter so labored, that certaine yeeres after, the mariage was accomplished ³, and the Earle receiued also the order of the Garter, and ware it till his dying day. Many a such deed is often done vpon suspicion onley, especially among great Princes, who are much more suspicious than other men, because of the doubts and reports that are daily brought vnto them oftentimes by flatterers vpon no occasion.

² Charles D. of Burgundie was of the house of Lancaster after this sort. *John* of Gaunt D. of Lancaster had issue by *Blanche* his first wife, daughter and heire to *Henry* D. of Darby & Lancaster, *Philippe* which married with *John* King of Portugall bastard of *Ferrande*, by whom she had issue *Isabel* married to *Philip* D. of Burgundie, by whom she had issue this *D. Charles*.
³ *Margaret* King *Edward*s sister, arrived in the Lowe countries. 25. Iunij Ann. 1468. *Meyer*.

How

Chap. 6. *How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates with their whole army, passed the riuer of Seine vpon a bridge made of boates; How Iohn D. of Calabria ioined with them: and how they all encamped before Paris.*



Al these Princes according to their determination departed from Estampes, hauing sojourned there certaine daies, and marched to S. Maturin of Larchant, and Moret in Castinois, in the which two little townes the Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Britaines lodged, but the Earle of Charolois encamped in a great medow vpon the riuer of Seine, and made proclamation that euery man should bring a hooke with him to fasten his horse therewith, he caried also with him seauen or eight small boates in cartes, and great store of pipeboorde, meaning therewith to make a bridge ouer the riuer of Seine, because these Princes had no passage there. The Earle of Dunois accompanied him riding in a litter, for because of the goute he could not sit on horsebacke, notwithstanding his ensigne was borne with him. When they came to the riuer they launched forth the boates they brought with them, and tooke an lland in the midst of the streame, where certaine of our archers landed and skirmished with a company of horsemen that defended the passage on the other side vnder the leading of the Marshall *Ioachim* and *Sallezard*. The place was much to the disaduantage of the French, because it was high and in a goodly vine country, besides that the Burgundians had great store of artillerie vnder the charge of a notable gunner named Master *Girald*, whom they tooke prisoner at the battell of Montlhery, being then in the Kings seruice. To bee short, the aboue mentioned horsemen were forced to abandon the passage and retire to Paris. The selfe same night the bridge was made from that side of the riuer where we lay to the lland, where incontinent the Earle of Charolois caused his pauillion to be pitched, and lodged there all night with fifty men of armes of his house: by day breake a great number of Coopers were set on worke to make calque of the pipe boord we brought with vs, who so bestirred themselues, that before noone the bridge was made from the lland to the other side of the riuer. Incontinent passed the Earle of Charolois, and caused his tents whereof he was well furnished, to be pitched: ouer the same bridge passed also his whole army and artillerie, and lodged vpon the side of a hill hanging towards the riuer, by meanes whereof his campe made a goodly shew to those that came after.

It was that whole daies worke to conuey ouer the Earles owne forces, but the next morning by day breake passed also the D. of Berre and Britaine with their whole army, commending this bridge to be very commodiously and speedily made, they marched when they were passed, a litle beyond the Earle, and encamped also vpon the hill. When it was darke night we discovered a great number of fires as far from vs as we could well discern, which diuers supposed to be the Kings forces, but before midnight we were aduertised that it was *Iohn D. of Calabria*

that should be left to the Kings disposing. For these causes the D. of Britaine ioined with the Princes: The D. of Calabria had cause of offence, because being entred into Italy to recover the Realme of Naples, and the King hauing promised him aide: after the said D. of Calabria was overthrowne at Troia in Apulia: the King refused to send him the aide promised, so that hee was forced utterly to abandon his enterprise. The D. of Bourbon had married the Kings sister, and could not get her marriage money: The Duke of Nemours, Earles of Dunois, Dalebret, and the rest of the noble men and gentlemen were against the King, some because they were put out of pension and office, many because the King sought to depriue them of the royalties they had in their seniores touching Hunting and Hawking, and sought to draw all to himselfe, but all in generall were offended because hee contemned his nobilitie, and entertained none but men of base estate about him. Thus much I haue set downe because it might otherwise seeme strange, that all these Princes should thus conspire against the King for zeale of the common wealth, if other particular griefes had not more moued them than the misgouernment of the estate.

It is requisite that I should here set downe the particular quarrell that euery one of these Princes had to the King, some are mentioned by our author, and others in other authors. The D. of Berre quarrell was for a larger partage. The Earle of Charbloys demanded restitution of the territories vpon the riuer of Somme. The D. of Britaine had cause to be offended and afearde, because the King had picked a quarrell to him by demanding of him three things, neuer before demanded of any D. of Britaine: The first, that he should no more write in his stile *Dei gratia Britannie Dux*: The second, that he should pay to the King a yerely tribute: The third, that all the spirituall liuings in Britaine

2 To the end
the Reader
finde it not
strange that
Rene is here
called King
of Sicily, with
the house of
Arragon pos-
sessed the said
Realme at that
time: it is to
be vnderstood
that the race
of the Nor-
mans (who
about the
yeere 1060.
subdued Sici-
ly, Calabria
and Apulia:
and about the
yeere 1102,
tooke vpon
them the title
of Kings of
Sicily,) being
extinct in *Roger*
the last
King of Sicily
of that race
about the
1195. the said
Realme fell to
the issue of
the Emperor
*Fridericus Bar-
barossa* by the
marriage of
Constantia
daughter to
Roger the first
King of Sicill,
and aunt to

onely sonne to King *Rene* of Sicilie² with nine hundred men of armes of the Duchie and Countie of Burgundie. The said Duke had with him few footmen, but was well accompanied with horsemen, and those in so good order, that for their number I neuer saw a goodlier company nor a more warlike: for he had with him sixscore men of armes barded, all Italians or trained vp in the Italian wars, among whom were *James Galior*, the Earle of Campobache, the L. of Baudricourt now gouernor of Burgundie, and diuers others: his men of armes were very expert soldiers, and to say the truth, the flower of our army, I meane number for number. With him were also fower hundred crossebow men that the Palsgraue had lent him, all very well mounted and very good soldiers. Besides whom he had also in pay five hundred Switzers footmen which were the first that euer came into this realme and these so valiantly behaued themselves in all places where they came, that they purchased great renowme to their whole nation, which their countrymen that haue serued here since, haue well maintained. This company the next morning approched neere to vs, and passed that day ouer our bridge, which a man may boldly say conuained ouer all the power of Fraunce saue onely the Kings armie. And I assure you the force was so great of valiant men well appointed, and in very good order, that I wish all the friends and welwillers of the realme had seene it, and likewise the enemies: for by that meanes the former would haue esteemed of the realme as it deserued, and the latter euer after the more haue feared it. The Burgundians that accompanied the D. of Calabria were led by the L. of Neuf-chastell Marshall of Burgundie, who had with him his brother the L. of Montague, the Marqueffe of Rotelin, and a great number of knights and esquires: some of the which had been in Bourbonnois, as I haue made mention in the beginning of this historie³, but they all ioyned for their more safetie with the Duke of Calabria, who shewed himselfe to be as noble a Prince, and as good a souldier as any in the company, whereupon great loue and amitie grew between him and the Earle of Charolois.

After this whole force (being as I suppose to the number of an hundred thousand horse good and bad) was passed the riuer, the Princes determined to shew themselves before Paris, wherfore they put all their vawards together. The Burgundians vaward was led by the Earle of S. Paule, and the vaward of the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, by *Oudet* of Rie⁴ afterward Earle of Comminges, and the

Roger the last King of Sicill of this race, with *Henry* the said *Barbarossa* sonne, in which race it continued, till *Manfridus* bastard sonne to *Fridericus* the Emperor, sonne to the aboue named *Henry* obtained the crowne of Sicill and Naples by dispossessing *Conradinus* his nephew the true heire thereof. Against this *Manfridus* Pope *Vrbannus* the fourth, called into Italie *Charles* of Aniou brother to S. Lewis King of Fraunce who slew *Manfridus* in battell, and afterward executed also *Conradinus* the true heire of the Crowne, being taken in battell, comming with an army to conquer the said Realmes of Naples and Sicill as his true inheritance: and thus obtained this *Charles* of Aniou the Crowne both of Naples and Sicilie, till not long after by the comming of *Peter* King of Arragon, who had married *Constantia* daughter and heire to *Manfridus*: The Sicilians arose suddenly against the French, slew them all in one euening, and yeelded the Realme of Sicilie to the said *Peter*, whose posteritie euer sithens euen till this day haue continued in possession thereof. Notwithstanding the posteritie of *Charles* of Aniou held still the Realme of Naples with the title of the Realme of Sicily, till the time that the later *Iane* Queene of Naples, to fortifie her selfe against Pope *Vrbannus* Sextus adopted *Alfonse* of Arragon, sonne to *Ferrande* King of Arragon, which *Ferrandes* mother named *Elenor* was daughter to King *Peter*: but after the said *Iane* for displeasure conceiued against the said *Alfonse* adopted secondarily *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, brother to *Charles* the fift King of Fraunce, descended of the race of the first *Charles* King of Sicill, against whom and his sonne *Lewis*, *Alfonse* long warred, and in the end after Queene *Ianes* death chased them both out of Italie, and left the Realmes of Arragon and Sicill, to *John* his brother: but the Realme of Naples to *Ferrande* his base sonne, with whom *Rene* here mentioned (brother to *Lewis* the 2. of that name Duke of Aniou and King of Sicily, and by him with *Ianes* consent adopted) long warred, but preuailed not: so that *Rene* had onely the title of Sicily and Naples by the adoption aforesaid, but no possession thereof: for Sicily the Kings of Arragon held euer since the conquest of *Peter*, and the Realme of Naples *Ferrande* the bastard held of his fathers gift, from whose posteritie how in the end after many alterations it fell to the house of Arragon that now possesseth it, shall bee set downe at large in the warres of Naples made by King *Charles* the 8. who had the house of Anious title, whereof our author treateth in the 7. and 8. booke of this historie. ³ This force led by the Marshall of Burgundie was 4000. men, *Meyer*. ⁴ This *Oudet* is hee that acquainted the Duke of Berry with this confederacie, and conueighed him into Britaine, *Meyer*. La Marche.

Marshall *Lobeac* as I remember, and in this order marched they, but all the Princes remained in the battell. The Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria were very diligent in commanding and giuing good order in the army, and rode very well armed, and shewed that they ment to do their dutie, but the Dukes of Berry and Britaine were mounted vpon small ambling nags, and armed with sleight brigandines, light and thin, yea and some said they were not plated, but studded onely with a few gilt nailes vpon the sattin for the lesse waight, but I will not affirme it for a truth. Thus marched this army to Pont de Charenton two little leagues from Paris, which was taken incontinent, notwithstanding the resistance of certaine franke archers that were within it: ouer the said bridge of Charenton passed the whole force. The Earle of Charolois lodged in his owne house called Conflans situate vpon the riuer not far from thence, and inclosed a great peece of ground with his cariage and artillerie, and lodged his campe within it, and with him lay the Duke of Calabria: but the Dukes of Berry and Britain, with part of their forces lodged at S. Mor-des-fosses, and the rest they sent to S. Denis being also two leagues from Paris, in the which places this whole company lay eleuen weekes, during the which space these things hapned that now I will rehearse.

Frank archers were these: King Charles the 7. in the yeere 1449. being destitute of footmen, appointed that euery three score houses in his realme should arme a man, who in time of warre receiued pay of the King, and were exempt from all subsidies and payments, for the which cause they were all called francke, that is free, but King Lewis the 11. anno 1480. called these francke archers and waged Switzers in their place.

The next day in the morning began the skirmishes hard at Paris gates; within the towne was the Lord of Nantoillet, L. great Master of Fraunce (who did the King good seruice there as before I haue said) and the Marshall *Ioachim*. The poore people of the towne were in great feare, but of the better sort some wished the Burgundians and the other Princes within the towne, because this enterprife seemed vnto them good & profitable for the realme: others there were borne in the said Princes dominions, wherefore they furthered their affaires, hoping by their meanes to obtaine some good offices in the towne, which are more hunted after there than in any other place, and no maruell: for those that are in office make of their offices what they can, not what they ought, which is the cause that some offices in the towne of no fee at all are sold for eight hundred crownes, and other some of very small fee, for more than the fee will amount to in fifteene yeeres. Seldome is any man put out of office: for the Court of Parliament alloweth these sales of offices as lawfull, the reason whereof is because it is a generall case. Among the Councillors are alwaies a number both of vertuous and woorthy personages, and also of lewd and euill conditioned persons, as are in all other estates.

Chap. 7. *A discourse of ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the English men.*



Speake of these offices and estates, because in changes they are so greedily desired, and are also cause thereof, as appeareth by that which hath happened not only in this our age, but also in the time of King *Charles* the sixt, vnder whom the wars began that endured till the treatie of Arras, during the which wars the English men entred into the realme, and conquered so far that at the time of the said treatie (which continued the space of two moneths) the Duke of Bedford brother to *Henry* the fift King of England, being married to Duke *Philip* of Burgundies sister, was regent in France for the English men, whose monethly entertainment in that office amounted

The last of July arrived the French K. Embassadors at the treaty of Arras. *Annal. Burg.* so that the treaty began in the beginning of August, and the English men departed discontented

the 6. of September, *Annal. Burgund.* and the treatie ended the 21. of September, but *De la Marche* saith the 10. of December. *Meyer 11. Calen. Octob.* which agreeth with *Annal. Burgund.*

2 At the treaty was present Philip D. of Burgundie himselfe. La Marche Meyer. 3. Our Chronicles report that the Duke of Yorke with diuers others slaine in the battell, and the Earle of Salisbury father to the Earle of Warwick who was taken prisoner in the battell were beheaded, and their heads sent to Yorke in derision: but I remember not that the Earle of Warwicke was beheaded after he was slaine, and I am out of doubt that the vnskillful corrector hath here omitted a word or two, and that we must read in place of *Luy & le Comte de Warwic. Luy & le pere du Comte de Warwic.* Wherefore I haue beene bolde to amend the place according to the truth of the historie, lest the Author should be charged with writing an vntruth, farther it appeareth by our authors own discourse of King Edwards life lib. 6. ca. 13. that this place is to be read as I haue amended it. 4 The Earles of Marche and Warwick went to Calice before the Duke of Yorke was slaine, or ouerthrowen in battell: for they fled from Ludlow lying in campe there against the Kings force, because they found themselves too weake, and their counsells betrayed by Andrew Trowlop who fled from them to the King.

to 20000. crownes at the least. At the said treatie were present for the King of Fraunce, foure or fise Dukes or Earles, fise or six Prelates, and ten or twelue Councillors of the Parliament. For Duke *Philip* likewise diuers noble men² in much great number: for the Pope two Cardinals as mediators, and for the English men diuers noble personages. Duke *Philip* greatly desired to acquite himselfe honorably towards the English men before he would abandon them, because of the ancient league that had been between them: wherefore the Duchies of Normandie and Guienne were offered to the King of England, with condition that he should doe homage for them to the crowne of Fraunce, as his predecessors had done, and restore all the places he held in the Realme out of the said Duchies: which condition the English men because of the homage, refused, but to their great losse, for being abandoned of this house of Burgundie, their good successe altered, and all their intelligences within the Realme failed, whereby their power daily so diminished, that in short space they lost Paris, and by little and little all that they held in this Realme. After their returne into England, none of them would diminish his estate, but the offices within the Realme sufficed not for maintenance of them all, whereupon long ciuill wars arose among them, in the which King *Henry* the sixt, who had been crowned King of England and Fraunce at Paris, was proclaimed traitor, and imprisoned in the tower of London, where he remained the greatest part of his life, and in the end was there murdered. The Duke of Yorke father to King *Edward* that last died, intituled himselfe right heire to the crowne, and soone after was slaine in battell, and had his head smitten off, as had also the father of the Earle of Warwicke³ that last died, whose credit was so great in England, and all the rest that were slaine in those wars. The said Earle of Warwicke led the Earle of Marche afterward named *Edward* the fourth, by sea to Calis with a small companie escaped out of battell⁴, for the Earle of Warwicke tooke part with the house of Yorke, as the Duke of Sommerfet did with the house of Lancaster. To be short, these wars endured so long, that all they of the houses of Warwicke and Sommerfet were either slaine or beheaded in them. King *Edward* caused afterward his own brother the Duke of Clarence to be drowned in a Butt of malmesey, charging him that he meant to make himselfe King: but after King *Edwards* death, his other brother the Duke of Glocester murdered the said Kings two sonnes, proclaimed his daughters bastards, and vsurped the crowne. Immediately after the which cruell deed, the Earle of Richmond now King (who had been prisoner many yeeres in Britaine) passed into England, and discomfited and slew in battell this bloody King *Richard*, late murderer of his two nephewes. Thus haue there died in England in these ciuill wars since my remembrance, aboue fowrescore persons of the blood Royall, part of the which my selfe knew, and part vnderstood of by the Englishmen resident with the Duke of Burgundie at the same time that I serued him. Wherefore you see it is not at Paris only, nor in France alone that men fall at variance for worldly goods and honors. But sure all Kings and great Princes ought to take heed that they suffer not factions to arise in their Courts, for thereof kindleth the fire that consumeth their whole countrey in the end. Notwithstanding such alterations happen not in mine opinion, but by Gods disposition, for when Princes and Realmes haue long flourished in great wealth and prosperitie, and forget from whence all these benefits proceed: God raiseth vp an enemye against them, whom they neuer feared nor stood in doubt of as appea-

reth by the Kings mentioned in the Bible, and by that also which hath hapned and daily doth happen, not onely in England, and in these countries of Burgundie, but in diuers other places also.

Chap. 8. *How King Lewis entred into Paris, while the Princes of Fraunce practised with the Citizens.*



Haue been long in this discourse, and it now time to returne to the hiltorie. After the Princes were come before Paris, they began to practise with the citizens, promising offices and great rewards to diuers, and omitting nothing that might further their affaires. At three daies end the citizens assembled together in the towne hall, where when they had long debated these matters, and heard the Princes requests and demands made openly to them for the benefit of the whole realme (as they pretended :) they determined to send ambassadors to them to treat of peace, according to the which determination a great number of the best citizens came to Saint Mor where the Princes lay, and Master *William Chartier* then Bishop of Paris, a notable prelate, declared the citizens embassage, and for the Princes the Earle of Dunois was appointed to be mouth. The Duke of Berry the Kings brother was president of this Councell sitting in a chaire, and all the other Princes standing about him. On the one side stood the Dukes of Britaine and Calabria, and on the other the Earle of Charolois armed at all peeces saue the head peece and vantage, and wearing vpon his quirace a short cloke marvellous rich : for he came from Conflans, and Bois-de-Vincennes being well manned was held for the King : wherfore it stood him vpon to come armed and well accompanied. The Princes request was to enter into Paris to confer with the citizens about the reformation of the state, which they said was euill gouerned, charging the King with diuers disorders. The citizens gaue them very lowly and humble language, desiring respit before they could make any resolute answer : yet (notwithstanding this delay) the King was afterward discontented both with the Bishop and the rest that accompanied him. Thus returned these ambassadors into the towne, continuing still their former practise: for euery one of the Princes talked with them apart, and I am of opinion that some of them had agreed secretly to suffer the Princes in their owne persons to enter the towne, and their men also (if they so thought good) by small troupes : which practise if it had taken effect, had not onely been the winning of the town, but the atchieuing of the whole enterprise. For the citizens would easily haue been brought for diuers considerations to revolt to them, and so consequently all the other townes in the realme. But God put wise counsell into the Kings head, which also he executed accordingly, being already aduertised of all these practises.

Before the ambassadors that were returned from the Princes had made their report, the King in person entred the towne of Paris, accompanied like a Prince that commeth to relieue his people : for he brought with him into the towne two thousand men of armes, all the Nobles of Normandie, a great number of franke archers, and all his owne seruants, pensioners and others that vse to accompany the King in such affaires. Thus this practise was broken off, and all the people altered their mindes, neither durst any of them that had been with vs make farther mention of the Princes demands. Some of them also sped but euill for that they had already done, notwithstanding the King vsed no extremities towards them¹, but some lost their offices, and others were sent to dwell in

¹ Yet Meyer writeth that the King afterward poisoned the Bishop, but Meyer's words are no Gospell.

other

other places : for the which easie reuenge the King vndoubtedly deserued great commendation, considering that if this practise begun had taken effect, the best that could haue hapned to him had been to forsake his realme, which also was his resolution. For as himselfe hath often told me, if he could not haue entred into Paris, but had found the towne reuolted, he would haue retired to the Switzers, or to *Francis* Duke of Milan, whom he accounted his especiall friend, and so also the Duke shewed himselfe, as well by the aide he sent him being fise hundred men of armes and threethousand footmen vnder the leading of his eldest sonne *Galeas* afterward Duke of Milan (who came as far as the countrey of Forreftz in Auuergne, where he made war vpon the Duke of Bourbon, and afterward returned home because of his fathers death :) as also by the counsell he gaue him at the treatie of peace held at Conflans, where he sent him word to refuse no condition of peace, but to seuer his companie, and retaine his own forces still about him.

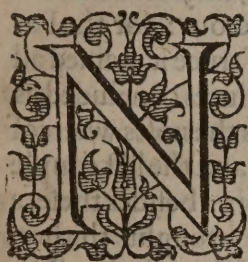
2 A Denier is
the twelfth
part of three-
halfe pence
starling.

We had hardly been three daies before Paris when the King entred the town, immediately after whose arriual sharpe war was made vpon vs, especially vpon our forragers, whom we were constrained to garde with great forces, because they went far from our camp. Now to speake somewhat of the town of Paris, we must needs confesse that it is maruellously well seated in the Ile of Fraunce, seeing the countrey about it was able to victuall two such huge armies : for as touching vs we neuer lacked, and they within the towne found nothing enhaunced, saue onely a denier ² vpon euery loafe of bread, the reason whereof was, because we held not the riuers about the towne, being these three, Marne, Yonne, and Seine, besides diuers small streames that run into them. Wherefore all things considered this towne is situate in the best and fruitfulest soile that euer I saw, yea it is almost incredible how great the prouision is that commeth thither, my selfe was resident there since the time I now write of, halfe a yeere together with *K. Lewis* being lodged at the Tournelles, and ordinary eating and lodging in the Court. Since his death also by the space of twenty moneths, full sore against my will I was held prisoner in his pallace, where I saw daily out of my window the prouision that came vp the streame out of Normandie, and likewise down the streame, which was so great that I would neuer haue beleueed it, had I not seene it.

Diuers bands as you haue heard issued daily out of Paris, and the skirmishes were great, our watch being of fiftie launces, stood neere to la Grange aux Merciers, but our scouts rode as neere Paris as was possible, the which were often beaten backe to our watch, and eftsoones (the enemy on their backe) as far as our cariage, retiring sometime a soft pace, and sometime a fast trot. Then vsed we to re-enforce them with new supplies, which beat backe the enemies hard to the towne gates, and this was daily and howerly done: for within the towne were about 2500. men of armes in very good order, and a great number of gentlemen of Normandy, and franke archers, besides that they saw daily their Ladies which encouraged them to put forth themselves. Our force was also very great, but in horsemen we were not so strong as they, for we had with vs onely the Burgundians being about two thousand launces good and bad, nothing so well armed as they within Paris, because of the long peace wherein they had liued as before is mentioned, of the which number also two hundred men of armes were at Laigny with the Duke of Calabria, but of footmen we had great force, and those very good. The Brittaines army lay at S. Denys, making war on that side the towne of Paris all the waies they could, and the other noblemen were disparkled some heere somethere, to make prouision of victuals. In the end the Duke

Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the L. of Albert came to vs, but their forces lodged a good way from our campe because they had no pay, and should haue famished our armie if they had taken ought without money. This I am sure of, that the Earle of Charolois gaue them five or six thousand franckes, and tooke order that they should come no neerer vs. They were at the least five or six thousand horse that did maruellous much harme in the countrey.

Chap. 9. How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neere to Charenton, and how the Earle of Charolois caused another bridge to be built vpon boates ouer the riuer of Seine.



OW to returne to the campe before Paris, you may bee sure that no day passed without losse on both sides, but no great exploit was done, for the King would suffer no great force to issue out of the towne, neither ment to hazard the battell, but desired peace, and wisely to dispartle this assembly. Notwithstanding, one morning very early 4000. archers came and encamped along by the riuer side vpon the very banke, directly ouer against Conflans. The gentlemen of Normandie and certaine of the Kings ordinarie men of armes lay in a village but a quarter of a league from them, and between them and their footmen was onely a faire plaine. The riuer of Seine ran between them and vs, and they began to dig a trench ouer against Charenton, which reached in length as far as Conflans, to wit, to the very end of our camp, directly ouer against the which, (the riuer being between vs and them, as you haue heard) they built a bulwarke of wood & earth, and thereon mounted great store of artillerie, which at the very first shot chased the Duke of Calabrias men out of the village of Charenton, and forced them in great haste to come and lodge with vs with losse both of men and horses. But the Duke of Calabria himselfe lay in a little house between the riuer and the Earle of Charolois lodging, directly ouer against the enemies.

This artillerie shot also into our camp, and put the whole army in great feare, for the very first shot slew certaine of our men, and twise it strake through the Earle of Charolois chamber as he sate at dinner, and slew a trumpetter vpon the staires, bearing vp a dish of meat. Wherefore after dinner the Earle remooued into a low parlor resolving not to depart thence. The next morning the Princes met at his lodging to consult what was to be done: for they euer sate in counsell there, and at their rising dined also there together. The Dukes of Berry and Britaine sate next to the wall vpon the bench, and the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria ouer against them. The said Earle placed euery one of them about himselfe, as reason was he should some of them, yea all of them seeing they were in his lodging. There they deuised to countermount all the artillerie in their armie against the Kings, whereof the Earle of Charolois had great store, as had also the Dukes of Calabria and Britaine: for accomplishment of which their purpose, they pearced the walles along the riuer side behind Conflans, and there mounted all the best peeces of their artillerie, saue the Bombards and the other great peeces which shot not: the rest also they planted in other places where they might do best seruice, and by this meanes the Princes had much more artillerie on their side than the King on his.

The trench that the French had made was of great length, and they wrought continually

1 *Couperoit* in the French is vndoubtedly to be read *Coupleroit* as I haue here translated it, for to read it *Couperoit* is senselesse, for the better vnderstanding of this place peruse *Valuerius de re militari* lib. 11. pag. 313. where you shall see the right description of this bridge.

2 This *Chastel Guyon* *Chastel au Guyon*, and *Chastel au Guyon* as our author also afterward nameth him was the Prince of Oranges sonne, *la Marche*.

3 The olde copie saith he was slaine at Morat, but *De la Marche*, who was at the battell, saith at Gran-son: but here is to be noted that the *Chastel au Guyon* mentioned by our author, lib. 5. cap. 2. and by *Annal. Burgund.* that went into Piemont after the battle of Gran-son was not this, but sonne or brother to this which is prooued by *Commynes* owne words, for in that place he calleth him Monsieur De *Chastel au Guyon* *qui est de present*, and

whether this *Chastel au Guyon* were slaine at Gran-son or Morat, he could not be aliue in *Charles* the 8. time, when our author writ. Thus much I haue said lest *Commynes* should seeme to vary from *La Marche* or rather from himselfe.

continually vpon it, aduancing it towards Paris, and casting the earth towards vs, thereby to saue themselves from our shot: for they lay all in their trench, neither durst one of them peepe out, because the medow where they lodged was as plaine as a mans hand. To conclude I neuer heard in so short space such a number of Canon shot, for we on our side ment to remooue them thence by force of artillerie, but vnto them ordinance came daily from Paris, and they plied the matter diligently and spared no powder. A great number in our army digged pits in the ground before their lodging, many also were made to their hands, for it was a place where men had wrought for stone. Thus euery man shifted for himselfe the best he could, and three or fower daies we passed in this estate, but the feare was greater on both sides than the losse, for not one man of name was slaine.

But when the Princes saw that their enemies dislodged not, they accounted it a thing tending greatly to their dishonor, and also very dangerous: for the Parisians were thereby so greatly encouraged, that one day of truce it seemed all the towne was come forth to the trenches. Wherefore the Princes concluded as they sate in councell, to make a large bridge of great botes the noses whereof were coupled together, and the rest couered with plancks, and the last couple nearest to the shore fastened to the ground with great anchors: besides these, a number of other great botes vpon the riuer of Seine were brought thither, wherein they meant to passe ouer certaine bands to assaile the Kings forces. The charge of this worke was committed to Master *Giralde* the Master gunner who said, that our bands that passed the riuer should haue great aduantage ouer their enemies, because their trenches would be far vnderneath vs, considering that they had throwen the earth on the side toward vs, alleaging farther that they durst not issue forth of their trenches, for feare of our shot, which reasons much encouraged our men, and made them the willinger to passe ouer. Thus the bridge being finished all saue the last couple of botes, which also were vpon the point to be fastened to the rest, and all the other botes appointed for conueiance ouer of our men being likewise in a readinesse: suddenly one of the Kings heralds arrived there, who said to Monsieur de Bonillet and others there present, that we had broken the truce. For because that day and the day before were daies of truce, euery man that listened came to see what we did, but that night the truce ended, our bridge was so large that three men of armes with their staues ready to charge, might haue passed ouer it vpon a front. Farther there were five or six great boates, euery one of the which would haue conueied ouer a thousand men at a time, besides a number of lesse botes to passe ouer the artillerie that should serue in this enterprise. The bands were also named, and their names enroled that should goe, and the Earle of S. Paul, and the Lord of Haulbourdin ordained to lead them. After midnight they that were appointed to this enterprise began to arme themselves, and before day were all in a readinesse. Some also went and heard masse, and did as good Christians ought to do in such a case. The same night I was my selfe in a great tent in the midst of the armie where the watch stood, being also one of the watch: for no man was excused. The captain of the watch was Monsieur de *Chastel Guyon*², slaine afterward at the battell of Gran-son³. And as we stood there waiting when this pastime should begin, suddenly we heard the French as they lodged in their trenches cry aloud: Farewell neighbours, farewell, immediately whereupon they set fire on their lodgings and retired their artillerie. The day began to breake, and they that

were

were appointed to this enterprife were already vpon the riuer, at the least part of them when they saw the enemies a far off retiring to Paris, whereupon they returned all, and vnarmed themselues, reioycing much because of their departure. But you shall vnderstand that the King sent them thither onely to beate our campe with artillerie, not to fight: for he would put nothing in aduenture, as before I haue said, notwithstanding that his force were sufficient to haue encountered with all these Princes ioyned together, but his onely desire was, as he well declared, to treat of peace, and to seuer this company without hazarding his estate and the state of this large and noble realme of Fraunce in battell, than the which nothing can be more vncertain or dangerous.

Euery day they practised on both sides to withdraw men ech from other, and diuers daies of truce were made, during the which, Commissioners sate on both sides to treat of peace at *La Grange aux Merciers* hard by our campe. For the King, the Earle of Maine with diuers others came thither, and for the Princes, the Earle of S. Paul, accompanied with diuers others in like manner. These Commissioners met often, but no good was done: notwithstanding all that time the truce endured, and a number of both the armies met and communed together at a great ditch in the midway: the one, on the one side: and the others, on the other: for neither party might passe the ditch, notwithstanding the truce. No day escaped by reason of this meeting and communication, but that ten or twelue, and sometime more, came and yeelded to the Princes, and another day as many went from vs to the King: wherefore this place was after ward called the market place, because such marchandise was bought and sold there. Now to shew you mine opinion in this case, me thinketh that such meeting and communing together at such times, and in such sort is very dangerous, especially for him that is likest to take the foile: for naturally most men desire to aduance themselues, at the least to saue themselues: wherefore they will easily be wonne to turne to the strongest. Some there are I confesse so faithfull and constant, that none of these respects can alter them, but few such are to be found. Farther this danger is then specially to be feared, when we haue to doe with a Prince that will endeavour himsele to win men: which sure is a great grace of God in any Prince that can frame himsele thereunto, for it is a token that he is not infected with the foule vice and sinne of pride, which all men detest and abhor. But to conclude this discourse, when a Prince mindeth to treat of peace, he ought to employ therein the faithfulest and trustiest seruants he hath, being men of ripe yeeres, lest their lacke of experience cause them either to conclude some dishonorable treaty, or put their master in greater feare at their returne then there is cause why. Farther, a Prince ought to commit such affaires rather to those that haue receiued benefit at his hands than to such as were neuer benefited by him, but especially to wise men, for he shall neuer make profit by employing a foole. Besides this, such treaties ought to be held rather far from his campe than neere vnto it, and when the Commissioners returne, the Prince must giue them audience, himsele alone, or in the presence of very few, to the end that if their newes be discomfortable, they may be instructed how to answer those that will be inquisitiue, for all men will desire to vnderstand newes of them, yea and some of their familiars will thinke that they will hide nothing from them, notwithstanding if they be such men as I haue heere described, and know their master to be wise, they will reueale nothing to any man whatsoeuer.

Chap. 10. A discourse vpon certaine vices and vertues
of King Lewis the XI.

Am entred into this discourse because I haue scene much treacherie in the world, and many seruants deceiue their masters, oftentimes through their masters owne fault: for this I dare boldly auow, that proud and disdainfull Princes, and such as will giue audience but to few, are oftner abused than those that are curteous, and ready to giue eare to euery man: wherein sure King *Lewis* our master surmounted far all the Princes of his time, for he was the wisest Prince in winding himselfe out of trouble and aduersitie, the humblest in words, the plainest in apparell, and the greatest traveller to win a man that might doe him seruice or harme that euer I knew. Neither vsed he to relinquish his sute for the first refusall, but laboured the party continually by large promises and liberall gifts, as well of great summes of money, as also of such estates and offices as he knew would content him. And as touching those whom he had banished and withdrawne his fauour from, in peace and prosperitie: hee bought them deerely againe when he needed them, and employed them in his seruice, cleane forgetting all offences passed. He loued naturally men of meane estate, and was enemy to all such as needed not to depend vpon him: neuer Prince gaue audience to so many men: neuer Prince was inquisitiue of so many matters, nor desirous to be acquainted with so many strangers as he, whereby he knew aswell all that were in authoritie and estimation in England, Spaine, Portugale, Italie, and the Seniories of Burgundie and Britaine, as his owne subiects. And by these vertues preserued he his estate, which stood in great danger at his first comming to the crowne, because of the enemies himselfe had procured to himselfe. But his great liberalitie especially serued him to good purpose, for as in aduersitie he wisely behaued himselfe, so contrariwise in time of peace or truce, he lightly fell out with his seruants, by picking trifling quarels to them, and such was his disposition, that he could hardly away with peace or quietnes. In his talke he spared no man, neither absent nor present, saue such as he feared, which were many, for naturally he was very fearefull. Farther, when his talke had either turned him to displeasure, or was like so to do, he would endeouour himselfe to amend the matter, by vsing these or such like words to the partie offended: I know well that my tongue hath wrought me much displeasure, but it hath also oftentimes stood me in great stead, notwithstanding reason it is that I should reparaire the iniurie done, and when he vsed this familiar speech, he euer gaue withall some great present to the partie greeued. Sure the knowledge of good and euill is a great gift of God to a Prince, I meane when the good surmounteth the euill, as it did in the King our Master, who in mine opinion was much bettered by the trouble hee sustained in his youth, when he fled from his father and sojourned with Duke *Philip* of Burgundie the space of six yeeres: for hee was constrained there to frame himselfe to the humor of those of whom he stood need of, which singular vertue aduersitie had taught him. But after his fathers death, when hee came first to the state he thought onely vpon reuenge, but soone felt the smart thereof, and therefore forthwith altered his minde, acknowledged his error, repaired the harmes done, and sought to recouer by large benefits those whom he had offended, as heereafter you shall perceiue. And I thinke verily he should neuer haue wound himselfe out of those troubles had not his education been better than noble mens commonly

King *Lewis* departed from his father into Dauphine anno 1447. & there remained till the yeere 1456. at the which time because of the force his father sent thither against him, he was constrained to fle to the Duke of Burgundie where he remained till the yeere of his coronation, which was in the yeere 1461. *Annal. Burgund. De la Marche. Meyer.*

commonly in this Realme, who are brought vp altogether in wantonnesse, and dissolutenes, as well in their apparrell, as in their talke, they are vtterly vnlearned, there is not one wise man about them: they haue gouernors that dispose of all their affaires, but themselues doe nothing: yea some noble men there are hardly offower nobles rent that glory in saying, Speake to my seruants, thinking thereby to imitate great Princes. But I haue often seene their seruants so make their profite of them, that their folly hath thereby appeared to the whole world. And if any of them happen at the length to looke about him, and to attend to his own businesse, it is so late that it serueth almost to no purpose: for all those that haue been great or done great things, began in their tender age, which vertue proceedeth eyther of their bringing vp, or of the grace of God.

Chap. II. How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to haue been launces held vpright.



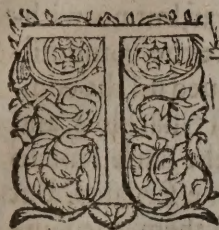
Haue been long in this discourse, but it seemeth to so good purpose that sooner I could not end it. Now to returne to the wars, you haue heard how these archers that lay in the trench along vpon the riuer of Seine, dislodged at the very instant, that we should haue assailed them. The truce neuer endured past a day or two, and when it ended sharpe warre began againe, and the skirmishes continued from morning till night, but no great force issued forth of the towne, notwithstanding they beat backe our scoutes oftentimes whom wee euer releued with new supplies. There passed no day without some skirmish great or small, I thinke the King would haue had them greater, had it not beene, because he was ielous of diuers, though needlesly. I haue heard him say that one night he found the posterne of Saint Anthonies bastile towards the fields, wide open, which put him in suspicion of Master Charles of Melun, whose father kepte the place, yet sure a faithfuller seruant than the said Charles, that yeere the King had none.

One day they within Paris determined to issue forth to fight with vs, of the which enterprise I suppose the King vnderstood nothing, but it was onely his captaines resolution, they meant to assaile vs three seuerall waies, their greatest band should haue come from Paris, another from Pont de Charenton, which two could not greatly haue endammaged vs, and the third appointed to be two hundred men of Armes from Bois-de Vincennes. Of this resolution wee were aduertised about midnight by a Page that told vs this newes as lowd as he could cry from the other side of the riuer, by commandement of the Princes friendes within the towne, some of the which also he named and so departed. By breake of day issued forth Master Poncet of Riuiere before Pont de Charenton, and the Lord of Lauon the other side from Bois-de-Vincennes euen hard to our artillerie, where they slew one of our gunners. The alarme was great in our Campe: for we supposed this to be the enterprise, whereof the Page aduertised vs ouer night. The Earle of Charolois was soone armed, yet not so soone as John Duke of Calabria, for at all alarmes he was the first man armed; and that at all pointes, and his horse euer barded. Moreouer he ware such a garment as the famous men of war vse in Italy, and shewed himselfe both a noble Prince, and a worthy Captaine: he rode straight to the barriers of our campe to stay our men from

issuing forth, where he was as well obeyed as the Earle of Charolois him selfe yea the whole armie obeyed him more willingly than any man in the company of the which honour vndoubtedly he was worthy. Incontinent our whole force was in arms, and stood in order of battell within our cariage, all saue two hundred horse that kept our watch abroad. To be short, this day wee looked assuredly for the battell, but neuer before nor after. Soone after the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria, arriued the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, whome I neuer saw armed but this day onely. The Duke of Berry was armed at all points: notwithstanding they were but weakely accompanied, in the which estate they passed through the Campe, and rode forth to the Lords of Charolois and Calabria where they communed together. Our scouters being reenforced, rode as neer Paris as they could, & discovered a great number of our enemies scouters, comming to learn what noise this was in our armie. Our artillery shot terribly when Monsieur *De Lau* approached so neere vs: the King also had good peeces vpon Paris wals, that shot into our campe which was strange, for we lay two leagues from the towne, but I thinke the peeces were mounted to the most aduantage. This thundering of the artillery, caused both the parties to thinke some great enterprise to be towards: The day was very darke and cloudy, and our scouts approaching neere to Paris, discovered many enemies abroad in the field, and a good way beyond them, a number of lances held vpright (as they supposed) which they iudged to be the Kings whole force, and all the people of *Paris* issued forth of the town in order of battell: which imagination the darkenes of the heauens put into their head. They returned forthwith to the Princes, being yet without our campe, and aduertised them of this newes, assuring them of the battell. The scouts that were issued forth of Paris approached still neerer and neerer to our campe, because they saw ours retire: which thing so much the more encreased in our scouts their former imagination. Then came the Duke of Calabria to the place where a great number of the Earle of Charolois household seruants stood to accompany his standard & his banner ready to be displayed, and the guidon of his armes according to the custome of the house of Burgundie, and there the said Duke of Calabria spake thus to vs all; We haue now our desire, for the King is issued forth with his whole force, and marcheth forward as our Scouts tel vs. Wherefore let vs determine to play the men. So soone as they be out of the town We will enter, and measure with the long ell,¹ and with such like words rode he about encouraging the company. Our scouters at the length perceiuing the enemies to be but weake, recovered their spirits, and rode againe towards Paris, where they discovered these battels in the selfe same place they left them: whereupon they entred into a new cogitation what they might be, but when they approached neere to them (the day being broken vp and cleer) they perceiued them to be high thistles, whereupon they rode hard to the town gates, and found not a man abroad, whereof incontinent they aduertised the Princes. who vpon this newes went to masse, and after ward to dinner; but our scouters were ashamed of their first aduertisement, notwithstanding the darkenes of the day, together with the message of the Page brought vnto vs ouer night, somewhat excused them.

¹ By the long ell he meaneth the pike, wherewith Souldiers at the sacke of a towne vse to measure veluets, silkes, and cloathes

Chap. 12. How the King and the Earle of Charolois met together to treat of peace.



He treaty of peace continued still betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois especially, because the principall force of both the armies was theirs. The princes demands were great: namely, the Duke of Berries who required all Normaudy for his partage, which the King would by no meanes condescend vnto. The Earle of Charolois demanded the townes situate vpon the riuier of Summe: namely, Abbeuille, Amiens, Saint Quintin, Peronne, and the rest that King *Charles* the 7. had engaged by the treatie of *Arras* to D. *Philip* of Burgundy, of whom King *Lewis* had redeemed them for the summe of foure hundred thousand crownes, not past three moneths before: but the Earle of Charolois alledged that during his life, the King could not redeeme them,¹ putting him alwaies in remembrance how much he was beholding to the house of Burgundie, who receiued him when hee fled from King *Charles* his father, furnished him of money to maintaine his estate the space of fixe yeeres², and accompanied him at his coronation to Reimes and Paris³, wherefore the Earle of Charolois tooke the redeeming of these townes in very euill part. This treaty of peace was so followed, that one morning the King came by water directly ouer against our campe, leauing his horsemen that accompanied him vpon the riuier side, and hauing in the barge with him besides the watermen that rowed, onely foure or fise persons, namely, Monsieur *De Lou*, Monsieur *De Montauban* then Admirall of France, and Monsieur *De Nanouillet*, with one or two more. The Earle of Charolois and Saint Paul stood on the other side of the riuier to receiue the King, who said thus to the Earle of Charolois, brother doe you assure me in the word, of a Prince, (for the Earles first wife was the Kings sister⁴;) whereunto the Earle answered, yea sir as one brother should assure an other. Then the King and his company landed, the two Earles receiuing him honourably according to his estate, and he hauing words at will began thus and said: Brother, I know you to be a gentleman and of the house of France: why sir, quoth the Earle? because said the K. when I sent of late mine Ambassadors to mine vncler your father, & you to Lisle, where my foolish chancellor *Moruillier* so much misbehaued himselfe toward you: you sent me word by the Archbishop of Narbonne (who is a Gentleman as his behauour there well declared,) that before a yeare expired I should repent me of the proud language the said *Moruillier* there vsed. You haue kept promise indeed, & that long before your day: which words the King spake with a meery cheerefull countenance knowing his nature with whom he talked to be such, that they would please him well, as vndoubtedly they did. Then the King proceeded farther saying, I loue to deale with men that keepe promise. Afterward he disauowed *Moruilliers* words saying that he had spoken beyond his commission. To be short, the King walked a long time between these two Earles: a great number of the Earle of Charolois souldiers in armes standing by, and marking diligently their behauour. At this meeting the Earles required the Duchy of Normandy, and the townes situate vpon the riuier of Somme, with diuers other particular demands for themselves, and certain ouertures lately treated of for the common wealth of the realme, but vpon those they stood left, for the weale publike was now turned into the wealth priuate. As touching Normandy, the King would hardly heare thereof, but hee granted the Earle of Charolois demaunds, and for his sake offered the Earle of

¹ The Earles meaning was, that the King could not redeeme them during the said Earles life, because they were engaged to D. *Philip* and his heires males.

² The Duke of Burgundy allowed the Dolphin being in his countiees monethly 3000. florens for his entertainment.

³ King *Lewis* was crowned anno 1461. Aug. 14.

⁴ The Kings sister that married the Earle was named *Catherine*, but he had no issue by her. *Annal. Burgund. Meyer* His second wife was *Isabel* daughter to *Charles* D. of *Bourbon*, by whom hee had issue a daughter named *Marie* which also was his heire. His third wife was *Margaret*, sister to *Edward* the 4. King of England, by whom also he had no issue.

Saint

Saint Paule the office of Constable: which communication ended, the King tooke to barge and returned to Paris, and the Earles to Conflans, departing each from other in very courteous and louing manner.

He meaneth
the taking of
Roan men-
tioned in the
next chapter

Thus passed we the time, sometime in peace and sometime in war, but notwithstanding that the treaty of peace at la Grange aux Merciers where the commissioners vsed to sit, were clean broken off on both sides: yet continued stil the communication aboue mentioned between the King and the Earle of Charolois, and messengers went between them notwithstanding the war: for the Earle sent to the King *William* of Bische and *Gnillot Diusse*, being both his owne seruants, But yet beholding to the King: for when Duke *Philip* had banished them, the King at the Earle of Charoloies request entertained them. Many misliked these sendings to and fro, so farr forth that the Princes began now to mistrust and abandon each other, in such sort that had not one thing happened soone after, they had all departed with great dishonor. Twise I saw them hold three seuerall assemblies in one chamber where they were together, wherewith the Earle of Charolois was maruellously offended: for he thought, seeing the greatest force of this armie was his, that they did him wrong to sit in counsel in his chamber, he being present, without calling him vnto it: wherefore he debated this matter with the Lord of Contay a very wise gentleman, who aduised him to take it patiently, because if he should alienate their mindes from him they could better make their peace then hee, adding that as he was the strongest, so ought he to be the wisest, and farther counselling him to doe his endeauor by all meanes possible for their continuance together in friendship, and in no wise to fall at variance with them, but to digest & wincke at all these disorders. Lastly, he told him that al men wondered, yea his owne seruants that so meane personages as the two aboue named, were employed in so weighty affaires: alleaging great danger to be therein, considering how liberall a Prince he was with whom he had to deale. True it is that this *Contay* hated *William* of Bische, notwithstanding herein he spake but as others did, & I think verily not vpon malice but as the case required. The Earle of Charolois followed his aduise, and began to sport & pastime with the Princes otherwise then he had been accustomed, to shew them a cheerfull countenance, and to commune oftener both with them and their seruants, and sure so was it requisite for they stood euen vpon the point to seuer themselves. A wise man doth good seruice in such a company, if he may be credited, neither can he bee valurd too deere, but I neuer knew Prince in my life that could find the difference between man & man til he stood in need of men: & if any happily do, yet make they no account of a wise man, but place in authority about them those whom they fauour better, either because they are of equall yeares with them, or seeke in all things to feed their humors, wherein they are often nuzled by the furtherers of their wanton pleasures. But wise Princes will soone reforme themselves when need requirith, such as were the K. our master, the Earle of Charolois at that time, K. *Edw.* of England, & diuers others: but these three especially I haue seene at so low an ebbe, that they haue stood in great neede of those whom before they despised. Notwithstanding as touching the Earle of Carolois, after he was D. of Burgundie, and higher aduanced by fortunes fauour then euer was any of his predecessors and growne so great that hee feared no Prince of his estate, God overthrew him in all his glory: and so bereaued him of his wits, that he contemned all mens counsell but his owne, whereby he miserably ended his life, with a great number of his seruants and subiects, leauing his house desolate as you see.

Chap. 13. *How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Bourbons hands, for the D. of Berry, and how the treatie of Conflans was fully concluded.*



You shall now vnderstand what mooued mee to discourse so long of the dangers depending vpon these treaties, and why I aduised Princes to be wise and circumspect whom they imploy in them, especially him that hath the worse end of the staffe. For while the commissioners sat to treat of peace, by meanes whereof men met and communed together : in steede of treating of peace some practised to yeeld the Duchie of Normandie to the Kings only brother the Duke of Berry, to the end he might there take his partage, and restore Berry to the King, which enterprise was also executed accordingly, for the Lady of Brezey, the late Seneschall of Normandies widow, and certaine of her kinsfolkes and seruants by her perswasion, receiued *John* Duke of Bourbon into the castell of Roan, and finally into the towne, the which willingly consented to this mutation, as did also all the other townes and places in the countrey, a few excepted. For the Normans haue euer beene and yet are of opinion, that it is requisite for them (their countrey being so large) to haue their Prince resident among them, neither desire they any thing more: and sure it is a goodly thing and a rich: for my selfe haue knowne the reuenues thereof nine hundred and fiftie thousand franks, ¹ and some say they are greater.

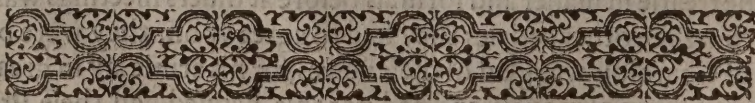
After the towne was reuolted, all the inhabitants gaue their oath to the D. of Bourbon as the Duke of Berries lieutenant, saue the bailiffe of the towne named *Onaste* (who had been a groome of the Kings chamber in Flaunders and neere about him) and another called *William Piquart*, afterward generall of Normandie, and the high Seneschall of Normandie that now is, who also departed to the King against his mothers will, who (as you haue heard) was the chiefe author of the citizens reuolt. When the King heard this newes he resolved to make peace, seeing he could not vndoe that was already done, Wherefore incontinent he sent word to the Earle of Charolois being in his campe, that hee would gladly speake with him, and appointed the hower when he would meete him in the fields by Conflans, neere to the said campe, at which hower he came, accompanied with an hundred horse, all in manner Scottish men of his garde. The Earle of Charolois met him with a small traine without any ceremonie, notwithstanding many of his seruants went after him, so that in the end his companie was greater than the Kings, but he caused them to stay a prettie way off, and when the King and he had walked together a while, the King told him that the peace was already made, and aduertised him of all that was hapned at Roan, (whereof the Earle as yet vnderstood nothing) adding that notwithstanding he would neuer willingly haue granted his brother so large a partage: yet now seeing the Normans themselues had made this mutation, he would agree thereunto, and passe the treatie in maner and form, as before at diuers meetings was deuised, for as touching the other articles they had to agree vpon, they were but trifles. The Earle of Charolois was glad of these newes, for his armie lay in great distresse of vittailles, but more of money, and had not this hapned, all these Princes had been forced to depart with great dishonor. Notwithstanding to the Earle of Charolois the same day, or within two or three daies after came a new releefe

¹ That is
118750.
pounds
sterling.

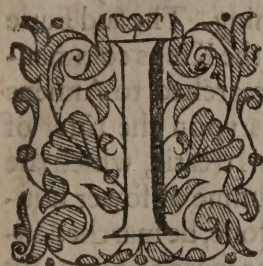
both

both of men and money, sent him by Duke *Philip* his father out of Burgundie, vnder the leading of the Lord of Saueuses, being sixe score men of armes, and fiftene hundred archers, and six score thousand crownes vpon ten sumpter horses, with great store of bowes and arrowes, which furnished reasonably well the Burgundians armie, who stood in great doubt that the other princes would make peace without them.

This communication of peace pleased so well both the King and the Earle of Charolois, and so desirous they were (as I haue heard the Earle himselfe say,) to conclude the treatie, that they marked not which way they walked, but rode straight toward Paris, so far forth, that they entred into a great bulwarke of wood and earth, that the King had caused to be made a good way without the towne, at the end of a trench, by the which lay a way into the towne. The Earle was accompanied only with fower or fve persons, who were much abashed when they saw themselves within the bulwarck: notwithstanding, himselfe set a good face on the matter. But when this newes came to the campe the whole armie began to mutter, and the Earle of S. Paule, the marshall of Burgundie, the Lord of Contay, the Lord of Hault-bourdin, and diuers others assembled together, blaming greatly both the Earle, and those that accompanied him of this folly, & alleadging the inconuenience that hapned to his grandfather at Montreau-faut-Yonne in the presence of King *Charles* the seuenth. Wherefore incontinent they commanded all the soldiers that were walking abroad in the fields to retire into their campe. And the marshall of Burgundie surnamed Neuf-chastel said thus: though this foolish harebrained yoong Prince be gone to cast away himselfe: yet let vs prouide that his house, his fathers estate, and we our selues fall not into danger: wherefore mine aduise is that euery man repaire to his lodging, and be in a readines, banishing all feare whatsoever happen. For wee are strong inough if we seuer not, to retire to the marches of Henault, or Picardie, or into Burgundie. When he had thus said, he and the Earle of Saint Paul mounted on horsebacke, and walked out of the campe to see if they could descrie any body comming from Paris: where after they had stood a while, they discovered fortie or fiftie horses being certaine of the Kings seruants, as well archers as others that waited backe vpon the Earle of Charolois: who so soone as he perceiued these to approach, caused the French to returne: he stood in awe of the marshall, because he vsed to giue him very sharpe language, neither feared sometimes to tell him that he was but lent him during his fathers life. Wherefore minding now to preuent him, he said thus, Chide me not, I acknowledge my great follie, but I was hard by the bulwarke before I wist. But this notwithstanding the marshall said more to his face, then he had spoken behind his backe, and sure he was a faithfull and a trustie knight. The Earle answered nothing but helde downe his head, and entred into his campe where they were all glad of his returne, and commended the Kings faith: and sure it is to be thought that both the King and the Earle had great regard of their honor, considering that each of them putting himselfe into others hands: Yet neither of them receiued harme, notwithstanding the Earle neuer after returned vnder the Kings power.



Chap. 14. How the treatie of peace was concluded betweene the King, and the Earle of Charolois and his confederates.



In the end all matters were fully concluded, and the next day as the Earle of Charolois was making his musters to know what number he had lost: suddenly the King accompanied with thirtie or forty horse, came thither without warning giuen, and rid about to view all the bands one after another, saue the Marshals of Burgundie who loued him not: because not long before the King hauing once giuen him Penal in Lorain, tooke it afterward a-

gaine from him to bestow vpon *John* Duke of Calabria greatly to the said Marshals damage. The King (acknowledging his error) by little and little reconciled himselfe to the wise and valiant knights that had serued the King his father, and whom he at his first comming to the crowne had displaced, wherefore they were with the Princes in armes against him. Farther it was agreed that the next day the King should come to the Castell of Vincennes, and likewise all the Princes that were to do him homage: for whose safetie the said Castell should be put into the Earle of Charolois hands, according to which agreement the next morning thither came the King, and likewise all the Princes none being absent, the porch and gate being manned with Burgundians well armed: there the treatie of peace was concluded. The Lord *Charles* did the King homage for the Duchie of Normandie, and the Earle of Charolois for the townes in Picardie aboue mentioned, as did also all the rest that had homage to doe, and the Earle of S. Paul tooke his oth for the office of Constable: but according to the common prouebe, neuer was so plentifull a marriage feast, but some departed vndined, for heere some had what them lusted, and others nothing. The King receiued into his seruice certaine gentlemen that serued his brother, and also certaine meane persons, but the greatest part remained still with his said brother the new Duke of Normandie and the Duke of Britaine, who went to Roan to take possession. At their departure from the Castell of Vincennes they tooke their leaue each of other, and returned to their lodgings: farther, all letters, pardons, and other writings seruing for the confirmation of the peace were made. On one day departed all these three Princes, the Duke of Normandie and Britaine first into Normandie, and the Duke of Britaine from thence into his owne countrie, and the Earle of Charolois into Flaunders. But when the Earle was ready to take horse, the King meaning effectually to shew how greatly he desired his friendship came to him and accompanied him to Villiers-le-bell, a village fower leagues from Paris, where both these Princes lodged that night. The Kings traine was very small, but he commanded two hundred men of armes to follow him to conuey him backe: whereof the Earle of Charolois being aduertised as he went to bed, fell into great suspicion thereof, and commanded a great number of his seruants to be in armes. Thus you see how vnpossible it is for two great Princes to agree, because of the suspicious tales and reports that are daily and howrely beaten into their heads. Wherefore two Princes that desire to continue in friendship ought neuer to come together, but to imploy vertuous and wise men betweene

The treatie was sworn the first of October, the conditions whereof reade in Meyer fol. 337. where he saith, that by this treatie Flaunders was exempt fro the Kings soueraigntie, which saith *Degrassalins* cap. 1. pag. 6. the King could not grant, *Quia ultimus refertur alienari aut remitti non potest*: which also may wel appeare to be law, because were eade lib. 5. cap. 17. of our author, that notwithstanding this treatie, the Chauncellor of Burgundie and Humbercourt being imprisoned and condemned by the cittizens of Gaunt, appealed to the Parliament of Paris, which appeale notwithstanding whether it were lawfull or vnlawfull, or whether they appealed to delay the time for safety of their liues, hoping their friends would deliuer them, or the King

happily, thereby to recouer his former soueraigntie: I leaue heere to discusse. Notwithstanding if any such condition were in the treatie of Conflans, as *Meyer* reporteth, in my simple iudgement these two wise men would not haue appealed contrary to it, and thereby haue made the cause of their death iust though before vniust, by violating this priuilege, and so infringing the liberties of the state of Flaunders obtained by this treatie of the King.

them,

them, who will encrease their amitie, & repaire all such breaches as shall happen.

The next morning the two Princes tooke their leaue each of other with much courteous and wise talke, and the King returned to Paris accompanied with the men of armes aboue mentioned, called thither for that purpose, whereby he remooued all suspicion the Earle had conceived of their comming. The said Earle rode towards Compiengne and Noyon, being receiued by the Kings commandement into all the townes he passed by. From thence hee marched to Amiens where they did him homage, as did also all the other townes vpon the riuer of Somme, and the territories in Picardy restored to him by this treatie, which the King not past nine moneths before had redeemed for the summe of fower hundred thousand crownes, as before you haue heard. This done, he marched incontinent into the countrie of Liege, because they had by the space of fise or six moneths made war vpon his father in his absense, in the countries of Namur and Brabant, where also they had slaine certaine of his subiects²: but because the winter approached he could do no great exploit, notwithstanding a number of villages were burnt, and diuers small ouerthrowes giuen to the said Liegeois, whereupon they made a treatie with the Duke of Burgundie, and for performance thereof stood bound to him in a great summe of money. This done, the Earle of Charolois returned into Brabant.

* The King perswaded the Liegeois to rebell in Iune 1465. which was the same summer the Earle of Charolois was in France thereby to withdraw the Earle of Charolois out of France home, whereupon the Liegeois about mid August desired the Duke of Burgundie, & hung his sons

image on a gibbet with vile reprochfull words. Reade *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 900. and *Meyer* fol. 337. pag. 2. but soone after, namely 19. Octob. the same yeere the D. of Burgundie by the conduct of the Earle of Nassau the Seneschal of Hainault, the Lords of Gruuse, Gafebecque, and Rubemprague them an ouerthrow at Montenac where they lost 2200. men: wherefore seeing their forces broken, and the Earle of Charolois returned home, they desired peace which they obtained 22. Januarij anno 1466. as our author in this chapter maketh mention, and likewise *Meyer* fol. 338. and *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 909. where also reade the conditions of the peace, but this peace the same yeere about Iune they brake againe, by aiding them of Dinand, as in the second booke our author setteth forth at large.

Chap. 15. How by the diuision that hapned betweene the Dukes of Britaine and Normandie, the King recovered the said Duchie which he had giuen his brother.



He meaneth by the booty, the offices in Normandie.

Ow to returne to the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, who after their departure from Bois-de-Vincennes, went together as you haue heard to take possession of Normandie. You shall vnderstand that immediately after their entrie into Roan, they fell at variance about partition of the bootie¹; for the knights aboue mentioned were yet with them, who being accustomed vnder King *Charles* the seuenth, to liue in great authoritie, and enioy goodly offices: thought now, seeing this enterprife at an end, and themselues vnrestored to the Kings fauor, to be aduanced by the new Duke of Normandie, wherefore they gaped for the best offices in the countrie as due to them. On the other side the Duke of Britaine thought it reason that part of them should be at his disposition, because the greatest burden of these wars had lien vpon his shoulders. To be short, the fire so kindled betweene them, that the Duke of Britaine for safetie of his person was forced to retire to mont Saint Katherine neere to Roan, where also the Duke of Normandies men with the citizens of Roan were about to besiege him, so that in the end he was forced to retire the high way to Britaine. Of this diuision the King being aduertised, furthered it I warrant you to the vttermost of his power (for he was master in this Arte) and in the meane time approached with his armie neere to the countrie, wherupon

whereupon those that held the strong places began to yeeld them to him, thereby to recouer his fauour. I speake of these matters vpon the Kings owne report, for my selfe was not present at them. But to proceede, the King practised with the D. of Britaine (who held certaine of the strong places in base Normandie ²) vtterly to abandon his brother, for conclusion whereof they were together a certaine space at Caen, where they made a treatie, by the which, the said towne of Caen and diuers other places remained in the L. of Lescuts hands, with a certaine number of soldiers in pay, but this treatie was so confused, that I thinke neither partie vnderstood it throughly well. Thus returned the Duke of Britaine into his owne countrey, and the King bent his whole force against his brother the Duke of Normandy, who seeing himselfe vnable to withstand him, and that the King had already taken Pont del' Arche and diuers other places in the countrie, determined to flie into Flaunders. The Earle of Charolois was yet at Sainctron ³, a little towne in the countrie of Liege, where he was maruellously busied, for his armie was all broken and out of order, and part thereof, notwithstanding the winter, in warre against the Liegeois. This variance betweene the two Dukes aboue mentioned much troubled him, for he desired nothing more then to see a Duke of Normandie, because thereby the King should lose the third foote of his realme? wherefore hee leuiued men in Picardie to put into Dieppe, but before they were readie, he that held the towne yeelded it by composition to the King, who by this meanes recovered all the Duchie of Normandie saue those places that the Lord of Lescut held by the treatie of Caen.

² The places the Duke of Britaine held, were Caen, Auaranches, Licieux, &c.
³ Some copies haue Saint Oen, but the old copie and de la Marche Sainctron, some call it Centron, and Saint Truden as saith Guici Hubertus nameth it in Latine Centrones, Berlandus, fanum Trudonis, but corruptly saith Hubertus: the ancient name in deede is Centrones, wherefore it is to be read Centron or Sainctron, but not Saint Oen.

Chap. 16. How the new Duke of Normandie returned into Britaine in very poore estate, and vterly discouraged, because he had failed of his enterprise.



He Duke of Normandie was once determined (as you haue heard) to flie into Flaunders, but at that very instant the D. of Britaine and he reconciled themselves, acknowledging both of them their errors, and well perceiuing all good things by diuision to perish and come to naught. And sure in mine opinion it is almost impossible, that many Princes of equall estate being together should long continue in friendship and amitie, vnlesse they haue superior ouer them, who also must bee wise and well esteemed, to the end he may hold them in due obedience. I haue my selfe seene many examples heereof, and therefore speake not vpon hearefay. Besides that, common experience proueth that we are all naturally enclined to fall at variance to our owne harme, not regarding the inconueniences that ensue thereof, which is a generall fault through the whole world. Wherefore in mine opinion a wise Prince hauing ten thousand men at his commandement, and knowing how to gouerne them, is more to be feared and esteemed than six Princes confederate together, with each of them ten thousand, because so many matters fall in question betweene them, that all good occasions are lost, before they can resolute vpon any thing.

Thus returned the Duke of Normandie into Britaine in very poore estate, and vterly abandoned of all the Knights aboue mentioned that had serued the King his father. For they made their peace with the King, and were better entertained by him than euer they had beene in his fathers time. These two Dukes were wise after the hurt receiued (as the common prouerbe saith of the Britons)

and liued together in Britaine, being gouerned by the Lord of Lescut their principall seruant. And diuers ambassadors ran betweene the King and them, and between them and the Earle of Charolois, and likewise between the King and the Duke of Burgundie, some to learne newes, some to corrupt one anothers seruants and subiects, and some for diuers other euill purposes, and all vnder colour of good faith. Some also went with good intent trusting to pacifie these troubles, which sure was great simplicitie in them to thinke themselues wise and sufficient ynough by their presence to appease Princes so great, so subtile, and so well acquainted with all sorts of fine practises as these were, especially neither partie inclining to reason. But some there are so blinded with vaine glory, that they thinke themselues able to deale in matters that oftentimes they vnderstand not: for their Masters do not alwaies discouer to them the bottome of their thoughts. To such it often happeneth that they go but to furnish the feast, yea many times to their owne cost: for euer one by-fellow or other accompanieth them, that hath some secret practise apart, at the least thus haue I seene the matter ordered at all times and in all places where I haue been. Wherefore as I said before, that Princes ought to be circumspect whom they imploy in their affaires: so say I now, that those that are imployed ought to take heede how they negotiate in Princes busineses. And who so can shift off the charge, vnlesse he vnderstand it thoroughly well, and perceiue his Master to be well affected thereunto, is to be accounted wise: for I haue knowne many a good man in a pecke of troubles with such affaires. Princes also I haue seene of two contrarie dispositions, the one so subtile and suspicious, that a man can neuer be acquainted with their humor, for they thinke all the world bent to deceiue them: the other trust their seruants well ynough, but themselues are so grosse and vnderstand so little of their owne affaires, that they know not who doth them good seruice or bad, whereby they alter their mindes in a moment from loue to hatred, and from hatred to loue. And notwithstanding that of either sort few are good & constant: yet I for my part had rather liue vnder the wise than the foolish: because there are more waies to auoide their displeasure, and recouer their fauour lost: but with the ignorant a man can deuise no shift, for no man dealeth with themselues in any matter, but altogether with their seruants, whom also they change as oft as the winde.

Norwithstanding in those countries where such Princes raigne, all men are of dutie bound to serue and obey them. Wherefore all things considered,

our only hope ought to be in God: for he alone is constant,

he only is good: but this lesson we learne too late: yea

neuer before we neede his helpe, notwithstanding it is beteer late

than neuer.



THE SECOND BOOKE

39

Chap. 1. Of the wars betweene the Burgundians and Liegeois, and how the towne of Dinand was taken, sacked, and rased.



Immediately after these troubles aboue mentioned, ended in Fraunce, the Duke of Burgundie yeere by yeere had warre with the Liegeois, against whom when the King saw him busied: he vsually attempted some enterprise against the Britons, sending also some small aide to the said Liegeois: wherupon the Duke foorthwith either turned his force against the King to succour his confederates, or they concluded some treatie or truce. Now you shall vnderstand that in the yeere 1466. Dinand was taken by the Duke of Burgundie, ¹ being a towne in the country of Liege strong and rich for the bignesse

thereof, by reason of their great trade of copper workes, commonly called Dinandrie, being pots, pans, and such like implements. *Philip* Duke of Burgundie (who died in the moneth of Iune the yeere 1467) in his extreame age was borne thither in a litter, so much hated he the said towne, because of their great cruelty vsed against his subiects in the county of Namur, especially against a little towne called Bouuines, situate within a quarter of a league of Dinand, and seuered on lie with the riuer of Maze. For not long before the time I now write of, they of Dinand besieged the said towne of Bouuines (the riuer running betweene ²) the space of eight months, committed many cruell murthers in the countrie thereabout, and shot all that space continually with two Bombards, and other great peeces of artillerie into the towne: so that the poore people were constrained to saue themselves in their sellers, and there to abide. It is almost incredible how great hatred was between these two townes, notwithstanding that their children vsually married together, because there was no other good towne neere them.

The yeere before the destruction of Dinand being the same sommer, the Earle of Charolois came before Paris with the Princes of Fraunce as before you haue heard: they made a treatie with the Duke of Burgundie, whereby they agreed to giue him a certaine summe of money to abandon their league with the citie of Liege, and to gouerne their estate apart, a manifest token of imminent destruction, when they that ought to continue together in amitie, seuer themselves and forsake each other, which I speake as well to great Princes in league together as to townes and commonalties. But because I suppose euery man to haue seene and read a number of examples to this purpose, I will lightly passe ouer this discourse, onely noting by the way that King *Lewis* our Master was the finest and cunningest Prince in dissoluing friendship between men that euer I knew, for he spared neither money, goods, nor trauell, but labored as well the seruants as the masters. Now to returne to the historie, they of Dinand soone repented them of the treaty aboue mentioned, for they cruelly put to death fower of their best citizens that had been the chiefe perswaders of them thereunto, and began war a new in the county of Namur: wherefore partly for these considerations, and partly because of the earnest sollicitation of the citizens of Bouuines, *D. Philip* laid the siege before the towne, but the charge of the whole armie was committed

1466.

The peace made the 22. of Ianuarie, ann. 1466.

wherof mention is made in the 14. Chap. of the last booke,

about Iune the same year, the Liegeois brake as heere is rehearsed,

and againe they hung vp the image of the Duke and his son, with the most barbarous insolencie that euer was heard of.

Read *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 911. and 912.

& *Meyer* pag. 338. where also their intolerable cruelty is described.

² The Dinandois durst not passe the riuer into the Dukes dominions, wherefore they planted their artillerie on their owne side of the riuer, meaning onely to beat the towne, not to make any breach.

ted to his sonne. Thither came also from his owne house the Earle of S. Paul Constable of Fraunce to aide the Duke, not by the Kings commandement, nor with the men of armes that were vnder his charge, but with such force only as he had leuiued in the marches of Picardie. Oncethey of Dinand made a proud sallie, and were repulst to their great losse: and the eight day after the towne being maruellously beaten with the canon was taken by assault, ³ so that their friends had not leisure to bethinke them whether they should aide them or not. The towne was burnt and rased, and the prisoners being to the number of eight hundred, drowned before Bouuines. ⁴ Sure the reuenge was cruell vpon them, but I thinke God had so ordeined it because of their great wickednes.

³ Dinand was taken in August. *Annal. Burgund.* the 25. of August saith Meyer, & the Dukes armie before the towne was thirty thousand men.

⁴ the eight hundred drowned before Bouuines, were those that hanged vpon the image of the Duke and his sonne with such reproches. *Annal. Burgund.*

⁵ The Liegeois army was of forty thousand men. *Annal. Burg.* but Meyer saith but fixe and thirty thousand.

⁶ Others say but fiftie hostages.

The next day after the towne was taken, the Liegeois came thither with great force ⁵ to succour it, contrarie to their promise: for by the treatie aboue mentioned, they and the towne of Dinand had abandoned each other. Duke Philip because of his old age returned home, but his sonne with the whole armie marched against the Liegeois whom wee met sooner than wee looked for. For by chaunce our vaward missed the way for lacke of guides, by meanes whereof our battell met first with them, wherein were the principall leaders of our armie. It was almost night when we arriued at the place where they lodged: yet notwithstanding we marched against them, but euen at that very instant they sent ambassadors to the Earle of Charolois, desiring him for the honour of the virgine Marie, whose euen that was, to haue compassion vpon this poore people, excusing their fault the best they could. Yet this notwithstanding their armie made shew as though they desired the battell, and their behauior seemed cleane contrarie to their ambassadors request. But after the said ambassadors had passed twise or thrise betweene them and vs, they concluded to obserue the treatie made the yeere before, and to giue the Duke a certaine summe of money, for performance of the which conditions, better than the former, they promised to deliuer to the Earle by eight of the clocke the next morning three hundred hostages, ⁶ named in a role by their Bishop and certaine of his seruants being in our campe. This night our armie was in great trouble and feare, for our campe was neither fortified nor inclosed, besides that, we lay scattered here and there, and in a place much for the Liegeois aduantage, who were all footemen, and knew the countrey better than we. Some of them desired to assault vs, and in mine opinion if they had so done, they mought easily haue defeated vs, but their ambassadors that intreated for peace brake off that enterprife.

By breake of day our armie was come together, and our battailes stood in very good order. Our force was great, for we were three thousand men of armes good and bad, and twelue or thirteene thousand archers, besides great force of footemen, of the countries thereabout. We marched straight vpon our enemies with intent either to receiue the hostages, or giue them battell if they refused to deliuer them. Wee found them seuered into small bands, and in great disorder, as a people obedient to no mans commandement. Noone drew neere, the hostages being yet vndeliuered. Wherefore the Earle of Charolois asked the Marshall of Burgundie there present, whether he should assault them: who answered yea, alledging that they mought now be discomfited without danger, & that no conscience was to be made in the matter, seeing the fault was theirs. The like aduise gaue also the Lord of Contay, adding that he should neuer haue them at such aduantage, and shewing him how they went scattered heere and there in small bands, wherefore he counselled him without farther delay to inuade them. But the Earle of S. Paul Constable in Fraunce, being asked his aduise, was of the

contrary

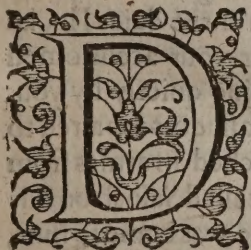
contrary opinion, saying, that if he assailed them, he should do against his honor and promise, because such a number of people could not so soone agree vpon the deliuerie of so many hostages. Wherefore he held it best to send againe to them to know what they would do. The Earle of Charolois debated this matter long with himselfe. On the one side he saw his ancient and mortall enemies defeated without all danger, but on the other side, he feared the staining of his honor if he should inuade them. In the end he sent a trumpeter to them, who met with the hostages vpon the way, whereupon the wars ended, and euery man returned home, but the soldiers were much offended with the Constables aduise, for they saw a goodly bootie before them. Incontinent, ambassadors were sent to Liege to confirme the peace: but the people being inconstant and wauering, vaunted that the Earle durst not fight with them, and discharged harquebuses vpon his ambassadors, and entreated them very ill. But the Earle returned into Flaunders; and this sommer died his father⁸, for whom he made a great and solemne funeral at Bruges, and aduertised the King of his death.

⁷ This peace was concluded the 1. of September an. 1466. the conditions read in Meyer fol. 339 pag. 2. & *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 915. Farther about the middle of September the next yeere being 1467. they brake this peace againe.

^{1467.}
⁸ Duke Philip died the 15.

of June 1467. *Annal. Burgund. Berlandus. De la Marche.* Meyer saith the 16. of July, *Gaguin* in one place saith June, and in another the 14. of July, he gouerned 48. yeeres, lined 71. Meyer. Farther here is to be noted that in this place, our author beginneth the yeere 1467. for that yeere died the Duke as he saith before in this chapter, and these wordes, where he saith, And this sommer died his father, haue not relation to the same sommer Dinand was taken, and the peace made with the Liegeois. for if the Duke had died that Sommer, he could not haue beene at the taking of Dinand, for Dinand was taken in August, and then the Duke dying in June, must haue been dead before, if he had died that sommer: but these wordes haue relation to the Earle of Charolois returne into Flaunders which was in the beginning of the Sommer anno. 1467. for the peace was made 1. September 1466. and all that winter (to the end he might make all sure at Liege:) he remained in those countries, and in the beginning of the next sommer, anno 1467. returned into Flaunders, and in June after died his father. Thus much I haue been forced to say, least our author by slipping ouer that winter because nothing was done in it, should seeme to write contrarieties.

Chap. 2. How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie then Earle of Charolois, and how he discomfited them in battell.



Vring these wars and euer after, many secret and new practises were entertained betweene these Princes. The King was maruellously offended with the Dukes of Britaine and Burgundie, by meanes whereof they could hardly heare one from another: for oftentimes their messengers were staied, and in time of war forced to go by sea out of Britaine into Flaunders, or at least to passe out of Britaine into England, and so to trauell by land to Douer, and there to crosse ouer to Calice: for they could not passe the next way through Fraunce without great danger. But during all the space of twenty yeeres or more, that these Princes were at variance, sometime in open war, and sometime in a dissembled truce, wherein each partie comprehended their confederates: God shewed so great fauor to the realme of Fraunce, that the ciuill wars in England were not yet fully ended, notwithstanding that they began fiftene yeeres before, and had continued with cruell and bloodie battels, wherein many a good man lost his life. For you shall vnderstand, that there were in England two houses that claimed the crowne, to wit, Lancaster and Yorke: for the which cause both the parties proclaimed their enemies traitors, and the diuision of these two houses was the preseruacion of the estate of Fraunce: for doubt you not but that this realme had sustained great troubles if the English men had beene in such estate then as in times past. But to returne againe to our matter, the Kings chiefe desire was to conquere Britaine, both because it seemed easier to be subdued, and of lesse defence than this house of Burgundie, and also because

the Britons receiued all his euill willers, namely his brother, and other his enemies that had intelligence in his realme. Wherefore he practised continually with the Duke of Burgundie, making him diuers offers if he would forsake the Britons, and namely that he would in like maner abandon the Liegeois, and all other the Dukes enemies. Whereunto the Duke of Burgundie would not agree, but made a new voiage against the Liegeois, because they had againe broken the peace, and taken and spoiled a towne called Huy, and chased his men out of it, notwithstanding the hostages deliuered the yee before vnder paine of death, and the great summe of money they had bound themselues to forfeite, if they brake the said treatie. The Duke leuied his armie about Louvain in Brabant, and vpon the marches of Liege, whither came to him from the King the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce (now become wholly French, and residing altogether with the King) accompanied with Cardinall *Balue* and other, who aduertised him that the Liegeois were the Kings confederates, and comprehended in the truce: wherefore the King would succour them if he inuaded them. Notwithstanding they offered if he would abandon the Dukes of Berrie and Britaine to the King, that the King would then abandon the Liegeois to him. Their audience was short and in open court, neither staid they aboue one day. The Duke excused himselfe, and accused the Liegeois with breach of the peace, alledging that they had inuaded his dominions, wherefore he saw no reason why he should not be reuenged on them without forsaking his confederates, and this was his answer for that time. Againe the next day after their arriual, the Duke being ready to take horse, told them that he humbly besought the King to attempt nothing against the Duke of Britaine, whereunto the Constable replied and said, sir you choose not but take all, for you will make war at your pleasure vpon our friends, and constraîne vs to lie still and not inuade our enemies as you do yours, it may not be so, neither will the King endure it. Then the Duke taking his leaue said thus againe, the Liegeois are assembled together, and within three daies I looke for the battell, if I be ouerthrowne, I am sure you will do after your accustomed maner: but if the victory fall on my side, the Britaines shall liue quietly by you. Which talke ended; he mounted on horsebacke, and the ambassadors repaired to their lodgings, to make them ready to depart. The Duke marched in armes from Louuaine with great force, and laid his siege before a towne called Sainctron, his power was marvellous great, for all the strength of Burgundie was come to him, so that this armie was far greater than any other that I had seene with him before.

A little before his departure, he debated with his counsell, whether he should put the Liegeois hostages to death, or what he should do with them. Some gaue aduise to kill them all, especially the Lord of Contay so often aboue mentioned, whom I neuer heard speake so cruelly as at that present. Wherefore it is necessary for a Prince to haue more than one of his counsell, for the wisest erre, yea, and that often. Otherwhiles because they are partiall to the matters debated through hatred or loue, sometime because they seeke to contrary some one that hath spoken before them, possible also their bodies may be euill disposed, for it is not to bee held for counsell that is giuen after dinner. But you will say, that men subiect to such imperfections are vnfit to be of a Princes counsell, whereunto I answer, that we are all men, and that who so will haue no counsellors but such as neuer faile to speake wisely, nor are more distempered at one time then another, must seeke them in heauen, for he shall not finde them on earth. But for redresse of this inconuenience, sometime one of the counsell will speake very well and wisely, that vseth not often so to do, and thus one supplieth an others defects. Now to
returne

The new
copie hath
Liny, but the
old and La
Marche name
it Huy, Glaci.
Hoey, Hubertus
Huyum, Meyer
Hoyum, and al
most all other
good authors.

returne to the matter debated in this assembly, two or three were of the said Containes opinion, mooued therunto by his great authoritie and wisdome: for in such assemblies a great number giue their opinion but as they haue heard some other speake before them, not vnderstanding the matters debated, but seeking only to flatter some one being of credit and authoritie that hath already spoken.

After these the Lord of Himbercourt, a gentleman borne neere to Amiens, and one of the wisest knights that euer I knew, being asked his aduise said, that to the end the Duke might haue God on his side, and discharge himselfe of crueltie and desire of reuenge before the world: he thought it best to pardon all these hostages, considering they came thither with a good intent, supposing the treaty should haue been obserued. Notwithstanding he aduised the Duke at their departure to giue them to vnderstand, how great grace and fauour he shewed them, and to desire them to doe their endeuour in perswading their citizens to peace, which if they could not obtaine, yet at the least themselves acknowledging his goodnesse towards them, should neuer after beare armes neither against him, nor their bishop there present with him. This opinion tooke place, and the hostages when they were deliuered promised to doe as the Duke required. Farther this was told them at their departure, that if any of them were hereafter taken in armes against the Duke, he should die, and thus they were dismissed.

It is not amisse to rehearse heere how after Monsieur de Containes cruell sentence pronounced against the hostages: (part of the which were come thither with a good meaning, and vpon very simplicirie,) one of the Counsell said thus to me in mine eare: Marke well this man, his body is healthfull ynough, though he be old: yet dare I lay a good wager he shall not liue a yeere to an end, because of this cruell sentence he hath giuen, and sure so it fell out, for he liued not long after. Notwithstanding before his death he did his Master good seruice in the battell against the Liegeois, whereof you shall now heare.

I haue made mention before how the Duke departing from Louuaine, laid his siege before Sainctron, and bent his artillerie against it. Within the towne were three thousand Liegeois vnder the charge of a valiant knight, the selfe same that was their chiefe commissioner for peace when we met them in order of battell the yeere before. But the third day after the Dukes arriual before the town, the Liegeois with great force came to leuie his siege about ten of the clocke in the morning, they were thirty thousand men² and better good and bad, all footmen saue five hundred. They were well furnished of artillerie, and encamped within halfe a league of vs in a strong village called Breton, part whereof was enuironed with a marish. Farther *Francis Roiet*, Bailif of Lions, and the Kings ambassador at that time to the said Liegeois, was with them in their armie³. Our fourragers were the first that aduertised vs of their arriual, for we had no scouts abroad, which was a foule ouersight: I neuer was in place with the Duke of Burgundie where I saw him giue good order of himselfe but this day onely. Incontinent he raunged all his battels in the field, saue certeine bands appointed to lie still at the siege, among the which were five or six hundred English men. Farther he beset both the sides of the village with twelue hundred men of armes, and placed himselfe with 800. men of armes directly ouer against the village, somewhat farther off than the rest: he caused also a great companie of gentlemen and men of armes to light on foot with the archers, and then the Lord of Rauaistain with the vaward (being all on foot, as well men of armes, as archers) marched forward with certeine peeces of artillerie euen hard to the Liegeois trenches which were broad, deepe, and full of water: yet notwithstanding with force of arrowes and canon

² The Liegeois armie that came to succour Sainctron was of 20000. men, (but vnderstand besides the Kings forces) lead by Messir Bare or Barado as Meyer termeth him who was slaine in the battell. Meyer.
³ The King sent to aide the Liegeois 400. men of armes and 6000. archers, Meyer.

shot, the enimies were repulſed, and their trenches wonne, and their artillerie alſo: but when our ſhot failed vs, the Liegeois recovered their ſpirits and with their long pikes gaue a charge vpon our archers and their Captaines, of whom they ſlew in a moment foure or ſiue hundred, in ſuch fort that all our enſignes began to wauer as men halfe diſcomfited. At which inſtant the Duke commanded the archers of his battell to march, being led by *Philip* of Creuecœur, Lord of Cordes (a wiſe gentleman) and diuers other valiant men, who ſo couragiously aſſailed the enimies, that with the turning of a hand they were put to flight. But neither the horſemen aboue mentioned that ſtood on both ſides of the village, neither the Duke himſelfe could follow the chaſe becauſe of the mariſh: for they were placed there onely to this end, that if the Liegeois had broken the Dukes vaward, and iſſued forth of their trenches into the plaine, they might then haue giuen a charge vpon them. The Liegeois fled along through the mariſh, being purſued only by our footmen, notwithstanding the Duke ſent part of the horſemen that accompanied himſelfe to follow the chaſe, but they were forced to ride two leagues about before they could finde any paſſage, by meanes whereof they were benighted, which ſaued many a Liegeois life. The reſt of his horſemen the Duke ſent to his campe, becauſe they heard a great noiſe there, and doubted the enimies ſally, and indeed they had iſſued forth thruſe, but were alwaies repulſed, eſpecially through the valiantneſſe of the Engliſh men that the Duke left there behind him. A few of the Liegeois after they were put to flight relied themſelues together at their cariage, but ſtaied not long there. In this battell were ſlaine nine thouſand men, ⁴ which number I am ſure ſhall ſeem great to all that loue truth, but I haue been in my time in many battels, where for one that was ſlaine men made report of a hundred, thinking thereby to pleaſe their Maſters whom often they abuſe with ſuch vntruthes. Sure had we not been benighted, there had been ſlaine aboue fifteen thouſand. The battell being ended, ⁵ the Duke when it was darke night returned with the whole army into his camp, ſaue a thouſand or twelue hundred horſe that were gone two leagues about to follow the chaſe, for otherwiſe they could not come neere their enimies becauſe of a little riuer that was to paſſe. They did no great exploit becauſe of the night: notwithstanding ſome of their enimies they ſlew, and ſome they tooke, but the greateſt part eſcaped into the citie. The Lord of Contay did good ſeruice this day in giuing order in the battell, and died ſhortly after in the towne of Huz, and made a good end: He was a wiſe and a valiant knight, but liued not long after his cruell ſentence pronounced againſt the hoſtages aboue mentioned. The Duke immediatly after he was vnarmed, called one of his ſecretaries, and wrote a letter to the Conſtable and the other ambaffadors departed from him at Louuaine not aboue foure daies before, wherein he aduertified them of his victorie and deſired them to attempt nothing againſt the Britons.

Within two daies after the battell, the pride of this fooliſh people was cleane abated, though their loſſe were not great: whereby appeareth how dangerous a thing it is for any Prince to hazard his eſtate in battell, if he may by any other means make a good end, for a ſmall loſſe in a battell changeth and altereth the mindes of his ſubiects that receiueth the ouerthrow, more than any man would thinke, cauſing them not only to ſtand in great feare of their enimies, but alſo to deſpiſe and contemne their Prince and thoſe that are in authoritie about him, yea to murmur and praetiſe againſt him. They demand boldlier than they were accuſtomed, and ſtorme if ought be denied them, ſo that the Prince might haue done more with one crown before the battell, than with three after it. Wherefore

⁴ There were ſlaine at this battell 6000. ſaith the old copie, 3000. *Meyer*, grounding himſelfe vpon certaine obſcure Antiquariſts, one of Flaunders, the other of Brabant, of purpoſe to contrary our author as in *Commines* life is ſhewed more at large. ⁵ This battell was fought vpon Alhalow Euen, *De la Marche*. but *Meyer* ſaith the 27. of October.

fore if he that hath receiued the ouerthrow be wise, he wil not aduenture a second battell in this estate with those that haue fled, but only defend his own, and seeke some small enterprise easie to be atchieued, to the end therby his subiects may recouer their former courage, and remooue from them all feare. To conclude, the losse of a battell traineth with it a number of inconueniences to him that is vanquished. Notwithstanding great conquerors haue iust cause to desire the battel to abridge their labors, as haue also the English and Switzers, both because they are better footmen than their neighbors, as appeareth by the great victories they haue obtained, (which notwithstanding I write not to the dispraise of other nations) and also because their men cannot keep the fields long without doing some exploit, as Frenchmen and Italians can, who also are more full of practise and easier to be gouerned than they. Now on the other side, he that obtaineth the victorie, increaseth his honor and estimation, his subiects are the more obedient, they deny him nothing that he demandeth, his souldiers also waxe thereby the hardier, and the more couragious. Notwithstanding oftentimes the Princes themselves after a victory obtained, are so puffed vp with pride and vaine glory, that commonly their good successe turneth to their harme, all the which happeneth by Gods disposition, who sendeth alterations according to mens deserts.

When they within Sainctron saw the battell lost, and themselves inclosed on all sides, supposing also the discomfiture to be much greater than indeed it was: they laid down their armor, yeelded the towne, and deliuered such men to the Dukes mercy as he demanded, whom he incontinent caused to be beheaded, six of them being of the hostages that he had dismissed a few daies before, vnder such conditions as you haue heard. From thence he dislodged and marched to Tongres, which abode the siege: but bicause the town was nothing strong, they yeelded before the batterie vnder the same conditions that their neighbors of Sainctron had accepted, and deliuered also ten men to the D. who were put to death as the former, siue or six of them being likewise of the hostages aboue mentioned.

Chap. 3. How some of the citizens of Liege agreeing to yeeld their towne, and others refusing so to do, the Lord of Hymbercourt found meynes to enter into it for the Duke of Burgundie.

From Tongres the Duke marched to the citie of Liege, where the people were in great diuision, for part of them gaue aduise to defend the town: saying that they had force sufficient within it so to do, the chiefe of the which faction was a knight called Master Raz of Luitre, but others seeing all the countrey about burned and destroied, would in any wise haue peace, were the conditions neuer so vnreasonable: wherefore when the Duke approched neere to the citie, diuers ouertures of peace were made by certaine meane persons, as prisoners and such like. But the principall dealers therein were certain of our hostages, who doing clean contrary to the others aboue mentioned, and acknowledging the great fauour the Duke had shewed them, brought to his camp with them three hundred of the best citizens in their shirts, bare headed, and bare legged, who presented the keies of the citie to him, and yeelded themselves to his mercy, humbly beseeching him only to giue them his word, that the town should neither be fired nor sacked. And at the selfe same time that they came in this estate to the Duke, the Kings ambassadors being Monsieur de Mouy, and a secretarie called *Iohn Preuois* were there present, who

were come to the Duke with the same demands that the Constable had made a few daies before. Farther the very day of the composition, the Duke supposing to enter the citie, sent the Lord of Hymbercourt thither before him, because he was well acquainted in the towne, and had been gouernor thereof vnder Duke *Philip* during the yeeres they liued in peace: notwithstanding entry was denied him for that day, whereupon he retired and lodged in an abbey without one of the towne gates, being accompanied with fiftie men of armes, the whole number amounting to two hundred soldiers, and my selfe being one of them. The Duke of Burgundie sent him word if the place where he lay were strong not to dislodge, otherwise to retire backe to him, for he could hardly haue succoured him because all that countrey is rocke and stone. The said Hymbercourt resolved not to mooue (for the place was very strong,) but retained with him fise or six of the citizens that brought the keies to the Duke, minding to vse their helpe to good purpose, as hereafter you shall perceiue. At nine of the clocke at night we heard a bell ring, at the sound whereof the citizens vse to assemble, whereupon the said Hymbercourt, doubted that this bell called companie together to issue forth to assaile vs, (for he was aduertised that Master *Raz* of Luitre and other of the citizens would not agree to peace) and indeed his surmise was true, for that was their determination, and they were euen vpon the point to sally. Then said the Lord of Hymbercourt to vs, if we can dally with them but till midnight, we are safe, for they will waxe weary and desirous of sleep, and then those that are our enemies in the towne will flie when they shall see their enterprife frustrate: wherefore to bring his purpose to passe, he dispatched two of the citizens that he had staied with him, and deliuered them certaine friendly articles in writing, meaning only to busie the citizens with farther talke to win time: for their manner was and yet is to assemble together at the Bishops pallace to debate of their affaires, when the Bell aboue mentioned is rung. These two Burgeses which had been of our hostages, when they came to the gate being hardly two bow shot from the abbey where we lodged: found a great number of the citizens there in armes, some of the which would needs issue forth to assaile vs, and some not. Then our two Burgeses told the Maior of the citie aloud, that they brought certaine friendly articles in writing from the Lord of Hymbercourt the Duke of Burgundies lieutenant in those countries, willing him to returne to the pallace to read them, whereunto he agreed, and incontinent we heard the bell ring againe, whereby we vnderstood that they were busied about our articles. Our two Burgeses returned not, but about an hower after we heard a greater noise at the gate than before, and a much greater number came thither in armes, crying and railing vpon vs from the walles, whereby the Lord of Hymbercourt perceiued our danger to be now rather increased than diminished: wherefore he dispatched the other fower hostages that were yet with him, by whom he wrote a letter, the contents whereof were that during the time he was gouernor of the citie, for the Duke of Burgundie, he had vsed them gently and louingly, neither would for any thing consent to their destruction, especially seeing not long before he had been a commoner of one of their companies in the towne, namely the Goldsmiths companie: ¹ wherefore they ought so much the rather to credit his words. To be short he said if they would obtaine peace, and saue their countrey, they must first receiue the Duke into the towne according to their promise, and then subscribe to certaine articles written in the scedule he there sent them. After he had well instructed these fower hostages, they went to the gate as did the former, which they found wide open. Some of the citizens welcommed them with

¹ There were in this citie 32. companies, without whom nothing was concluded: the principall was the Goldsmithes companie, but the most ancient the Blacksmithes. *Gutici.*

sharpe words, but others were content to heare their message. To be short, in the end they returned againe to the pallace, immediatly whereupon we heard the bell ring, which much comforted vs, and by litle and litle, the noise that was at the gate ceased. They were together in the pallace till two of the clocke after midnight, and in the end concluded to obserue the composition they had made, and the next morning to deliuer one of the towne gates to the Lord of Hymbercourt : whereupon incontinent Master *Raz* of Luitre and his whole faction fled out of the towne.

I would not haue stood so long vpon this point being of so small importance, had it not been to declare that by such fine deuises proceeding of deep wisdom, great perils, dangers, and losses are often eschewed. The next morning by day breake, a number of the hostages came to the Lord of Hymbercourt, desiring him to come to the pallace where all the people were assembled, there to assure them by his oath of the two points they doubted of: to wit the firing and sacking of the towne, which being done, they promised to put one of the gates into his hands : whereof he sent word to the Duke, and then accompanied them to the pallace, where after he had sworne as they demanded, he returned to the gate. And the citizens commanded the soldiers that were vpon it to come downe, and he putt into it twelue men of armes, and certaine archers, and reared vp the Duke of Burgundies ensigne. From thence he went to another walled gate, into the which he put the bastard of Burgundie, who lay neere at hand. Into the third he put the Marshall of Burgundie, and into the fourth certaine gentlemen that were with himsele, and thus were fower gates well manned with Burgundians, and the Dukes ensignes vpon them.

Now you shall vnderstand, that at that time the citie of Liege was one of the mightiest and most populous townes in those quarters, except fower or fise, besides that, a great multitude of the countrey people round about, was retired thither, so that their losse in the battell was no whit perceiued. Farther they were well furnished of all things, and it was the deep of winter when we came before the towne, the weather was maruellous foule, and the ground wonderfull soft and mirie. We on the other side were in great distresse both of vitales and money, and our armie in a manner broken. Wherefore the Duke had no purpose to besiege the citie, neither could he though he would, and if they had staid the composition but two daies longer, he was fully resolved to returne home. Wherefore I may wel conclude, that the great honor he obtained in this voiage proceeded of the meere grace of God, contrary to mans expectation : for he durst hardly haue craued at Gods hands the good successe he gaue him, which great honor and goodly victorie in the iudgment of all vertuous and wise men hapned to him, for the fauour and mercy shewed to the hostages aboue mentioned. This I write because both Princes and others oftentimes finde fault as it were with themselves, when they haue a pleasure or good turne to a man, saying, that they were accursed when they did it, and will beware hereafter how they pardon so lightly, how they bestow any such benefit, or shew any such fauour to any man, all the which notwithstanding, are things appertaining to their dutie and office. Wherefore in mine opinion this is euill spoken, and proceedeth of a base and abiect minde: for a Prince or any other man that neuer was deceiued, can be but a beast, because he vnderstandeth not the difference between good and euill. Besides that, all men are not of one disposition, and it is no reason for the naughtiness of one or two to cease from doing good to a great number, when time and occasion serueth. Notwithstanding I wish Princes to make good choise of those
they

they benefit, for all men deserue not alike. But me thinke it almost impossible for a wise man to be vnthankfull, or vnmindfull of a good turne, and if Princes bestow vpon fooles, they are woorse than mad, for they shall perceiue in the end that a fooles acquaintance can stand them in no stead. Farther in mine opinion, this is the greatest point of wisdom in a Prince to haue neere about him wise and vertuous men: for himselfe shall be iudged to be of the nature and disposition of those that are most familiar with him. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinke we ought neuer to be weary of well doing: for one man alone, yea the meanest of those we haue pleased, may happily so requite our friendship, that he shall recompence the ingratitude of a multitude, as appeared by these hostages, the gratest part wherof, were ingrate and vnthankfull, but some of them acknowledged and requited the benefit receiued: for by the only meanes of five or six of them, this enterprise was atchieued, which turned so greatly to the D. of Burgundies honour and profit.

Chap. 4. How the Duke of Burgundie made his entry into the citie of Liege, and how the citizens of Gaunt where he had been euill intreated before, humbled themselues vnto him.

1 The Duke
entred into
Liege the 11.
of Nouember
1467. Meyer.



He next day after the gates were yeilded, the Duke entred the towne in great triumph¹, for a breach was made in the wall for his entry twenty fathoms long, and the towne ditch all the length of the breach filled vp euen with the ground: with him entred on foot two thousand men of armes armed at all peeces, and two thousand archers, yet notwithstanding the force in his campe was maruellous great. The Duke himselfe entred on horsebacke, accompanied with all his houlhold seruants, and the noblest men in his armie, clad and apparelled the most sumptuously that might be: and in this estate rode hee through the town, and lighted at the great Church. To be short, he abode there certain daies, and put to death five or six more of his hostages that had broken promise, and with them the towne messenger whom he hated extremely: he established certaine new lawes and customes, and commanded a great summe of mony to be leuiued in the citie, which he said was forfeited to him for the treaties and compositions broken the yeeres before. Farther, he caried away all their artillerie and armour, and rased all their gates and wals.

This done he returned into his owne country where he was honorably and dutifully receiued, especially of the citizens of Gaunt, who before his voyage to Liege had after a sort rebelled against him with certain other townes, but now they receiued him as a conqueror, with so great lowlinesse and humilitie, that certaine of the best citizens came on foot to him as far as Bruxels, bringing with them all the banners of the towne, which they did for this cause: Immediately after his fathers death, he chose the citie of Gaunt for the first towne he would make his entry into: for supposing that to be the towne where he was best beloved, and therefore looking for all dutie and obedience at their hands: he hoped also by that meanes to finde the like in all other townes of his dominions, assuring himselfe that they would all follow the example of this, which his opinion proued true as touching this latter point. But you shall vnderstand that the next day after his entry, they came in armes vpon the market place, bringing with them a Saint called Saint Lieuin, with whose shrine they beat down a little house called La Cueillette: where a custome of corne was receiued for payment of certaine debts the towne ought to D. Philip by the treaty of peace called the treaty of

of Gaures², for two yeeres they had been in wars with him. To be short, they said this Saint would passe through this house without stouping, and in a moment beat downe this house, which disorder the Duke seeing, went himselfe to the market place: a great number of noblemen in armes offering to wait vpon him as he passed through the streets, which he refused, commanding them to stay before the towne-house, and attend him there. Notwithstanding by little and little the throng of people forced them at length into the market place also, whether when the Duke came, he went vp into a house to speake to these rebels, commanding them to take vp the shrine and beare it into the church, which some obediently did, but others caused it to be laid downe againe. Then they presented supplications to him against certaine of the towne, touching payments of money, wherein he promised to doe iustice. But when he saw they would not depart, he returned to his lodging, and they abode in armes vpon the market place the space of eight daies. The next morning they brought articles to him, demanding the restitution of all their priuiledges that Duke *Philip* had taken from them by the treatie of Gaures, of this one especially, that euery company in the towne (being threescore and twelue in all) might haue a banner according to their ancient custome. The Duke seeing the danger he stood in, granted them all their demands, and all such priuiledges as they required, which word was no sooner passed him, but they reared vp all their banners vpon the market place, being all ready made, whereby appeared that they would haue had them perforce, if he had not granted them. His opinion at his first entry into Gaunt prooued true, that all the other townes would follow their example: for indeed diuers rebelled as the towne of Gaunt did, slew his officers, and committed diuers other disorders. But if he had beleued his fathers prouerbe, that the citizens of Gaunt loue their Princes sonne well, but their Prince neuer, he had not been deceived: and to say the truth, next to the citizens of Liege these of Gaunt are the most inconstant in the world. Notwithstanding, one good propertie they haue among so many bad, that they neuer lay hands vpon their Princes person³, besides that, the best Burgeses of the towne are very honest men, and much offended with the peoples insolencie.

The Duke was forced to digest and winke at all these rebellions, fearing to enter into a double war at one time with his owne subiects and the Liegeois. Notwithstanding his meaning was if he sped well in his voyage to Liege, to teach them their duty at his returne, as also it hapned, for as I haue already made mention, they brought to him on foot to Bruxels, all their banners, priuiledges, and writings, as well those they made him graunt at his departure from Gaunt, as others, all the which in a great assembly held in the hall of Bruxels, in the presence of diuers ambassadors they presented to him, to doe with them at his pleasure. Then the Heralts of armes by his commandement, tooke the said banners from the staues whereto they were fastned, and carried them to Bolleyn, a haven towne eight leagues from Calis, where the other banners yet remained that Duke *Philip* his father tooke from them, when the wars ended, wherein he vanquished and subdued them. Farther the Dukes Chancellor tooke all their priuiledges, and rent one of them concerning the election of their Senate: for in all the other townes of Flaunders, the Prince euery yeere chooseth the Senate, and receiueth their accounts, but by this priuiledge he might choose but foure in Gaunt, and the rest being two and twenty, themselues choose: when the Senators of the townes are friends and faithfull subiects to their Prince, he liueth that yeere in peace, and they willingly grant him all his demands: but if they be otherwise,

² The French corrector through vn-skilfulnes had corrupted this place, and sometime calleth it *La paixe de Grand*, and sometime nothing, but I haue heere restored it out of *Meyer* and *Annal*.

Burgund. This peace was concluded 3. Calend. Augusti 1453. whereof read *Annal*.

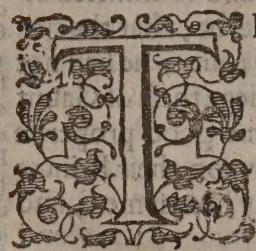
Burgund. lib. 3. pa. 829. *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 314. and others.

³ Yet the citizens of Gaunt anno 1338. constrained *Lodouicus Nijuenensis* Earle of Flaunders to flie for the safetie of his life into a castle in Gaunt called *Petra Comiris*, where they also besieged him. Againe anno 1346. they constrained *Lodouicus Malcanus* perforce to goe with them to Bergen, and against his will to giue his faith to *Isabell* daughter to King *Edward* the third: they set a garde also about his person, but he escaped into Fraunce. *Meyer*.

commonly some rebellion hapneth. Lastly, the citizens of Gaunt paid the Duke thirty thousand gildons and six thousand to his principall seruants, and banished certaine out of their towne, but all their other priuiledges were restored them, the rest of the townes bought also their peace with money, for they had attempted no great matter against the Duke.

By this example a man may perceiue how great good ensueth victorie in a battell, and how many inconueniences the ouerthrow. Wherefore a Prince ought to beware how he hazard his estate vpon a day vnlesse necessitie force him thereunto: and if that happen, then must he bethinke himselfe before the hower of all doubts and dangers that may be imagined. For those that feare a matter commonly provide well for it, and haue oftner good successe than they that proceed with a carelesse contempt: vnlesse God be fully resolved to strike the stroke, against whom mans wisdom cannot preuaile. Which point is sufficiently prooued by the example of these Liegeois aboue mentioned, who had been excommunicated the space of five yeeres for their variance with their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account, but continued still in their folly and naughtinesse, mooued thereunto onely through wealth and pride. Wherefore King *Lewis* was wont to say, that when pride rideth before, shame and damage follow after, (a very wise saying in mine opinion) and sure for his part he was free from that vice.

Chap. 5. How the King seeing what had happened the Liegeois, made war in Britaine vpon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne.



Hese troubles being thus ended, the Duke went to Gaunt where he was receiued with great pomp and triumph, for he entred in armes, and the citizens made a posterne into the fields, by the which he put men in and out at his pleasure: many messengers ran between him and the King, and likewise between the D. of Britaine and him, and thus passed this winter. The King travelled continually with the Duke of Burgundie to suffer him to inuade Britaine at his pleasure, making him diuers offers in consideration thereof: whereunto the D. would not condescend, for the which cause partly, and partly for the ouerthrow giuen to the Liegeois his confederates, the Kings displeasure was so kindled that longer he could not forbear, but in the very beginning of sommer entred into Britaine, at the least his forces for him, and tooke two small castels, the one called Chantosse, the other Anseny, whereof the D. of Burgundie was incontinent aduertised, and earnestly pressed by the Dukes of Normandie & Britaine with all speed to leuie his armie for their aide, whereupon he wrote to the King, humbly beseeching him to relinquish his enterprise, seeing these two Dukes were comprehended in the truce as his confederates, but receiuing such answer as liked him not, he encamped with great force neere to Peronne. The Kings armie was still in Britaine, but the Court lay at Compiene, from whence the King sent Cardinall *Balue* to the D. within three daies after his arriual at Peronne, who staid not long with him, but made certaine ouertures of peace, aduertising him also that they in Britaine could make their composition well enough without him, for the Kings drift was to seuer them. The Cardinall was honorably receiued, well feasted, and soon dispatched, and returned with this answer, that the Duke was not come forth into the field to offend the King in any respect, but onely to succour his confederates: so the messages

messages that passed between them were very courteous on both sides.

Immediately after the Cardinals departure, a heralt called *Bretaigne* arrived at the Duke of Burgundies campe with letters from the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, wherein they aduertised him that they had made peace with the King, and renounced all leagues and confederacies, and namely their league with him, and farther that the Duke of Normandie had surrendred Normandie (lately giuen him for his partage) to the King, and should receiue in recompence thereof, and of all other partages the yeerely reuenues of three score thousand franks, which conditions (though neuer so vnreasonable) necessitie forced the Lord *Charles* of Fraunce to accept. The Duke of Burgundie was wonderfully abashed at these newes: for he had put himselfe into the field onely to aide the said Dukes. And sure the heralt was in great danger, for because hee passed by the Court, the Duke suspected that the King had forged these letters, notwithstanding he receiued immediately after, the like aduertisement from other places. The King thought now his enterprise halfe archieued, and that hee should easily perswade the Duke of Burgundie to forsake these two Dukes, as they had him: whereupon secret messengers ran between them, and the King gaue the Duke six score thousand crownes, whereof he paid the one halfe presently the better to content the said Duke, who had consumed great summes in leuying this armie. Farther, the Duke sent to the King a grooms of his chamber very neere about him, named *Iohn Vobrisset*, whereupon the King conceiued great hope of his enterprise, and seemed desirous to commune with the Duke in person, trusting to obtaine of him all that he required, both because of the two foresaid Dukes ingratitude towards him, and also because of the great summe of money he had giuen him. Wherefore he aduertised the Duke of certain matters by the said *Vobrisset*, and sent backe with him Cardinall *Balue* and Master *Tanneguy du Chastell* gouernor of Roussillon, who gaue the Duke to vnderstand by their words, that the King desired greatly that they two might commune together in person.

They found the Duke at Peronne who seemed to haue no great deuotion to this meeting, because the Liegeois made shew as though they would rebell anew, being sollicitated thereunto by two ambassadors sent thither by the King for that purpose, before the truce was made which he and the Duke concluded, for certaine daies between them and their confederates. But Cardinall *Balue* and the other ambassadors put this doubt out of his head, alleaging that the Liegeois durst attempt no such thing, considering he had vanquished them, and rased their walles but the yeere before: and farther, if they had any such desire, yet when they should see this amitie betweene him and the King, they would soone alter their mindes. Thus in the end it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne seeing it pleased him so to doe, and the Duke sent him a letter written with his owne hand, containing sufficient suretie to come and go at his pleasure. And thus departed the ambassadors, and returned to the King being then at Noyon. But the Duke minding to make all sure in the country of Liege, sent thither their Bishop for whose quarrell all the wars aboue mentioned first began, and in his company the Lord of Hymbercourt (the Dukes lieutenant in those parts) with certaine bands of men.

You haue heard how it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne, according to which determination thither he came without his garde, for his pleasure was wholly to put himselfe vnder the garde and suretie of the Duke, and that Monsieur de Cordes (who then serued the Duke) should conuay him thither with the said Dukes archers which was done accordingly. The Kings traine

was very small, notwithstanding he came accompanied with diuers noble perfonages, namely, the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, who had not busied himselfe about this meeting but much misliked it. For he was now growne proud and high minded, and behaued not himselfe to the Duke of Burgundie with such lowlinesse and humilitie as he was accustomed: wherefore there was no good will between them twaine. Thither came also Cardinall *Balue*, the gouernor of Roussillon, and diuers others. And when the King drew neere to Peronne, the Duke with a goodly traine issued forth to receiue him, and brought him into the towne, and lodged him in a goodly house neere to the castell being the Receiuers, for the castle was a little old thing naught worth.

War between two great Princes is easily begun but hardly ended, because of a number of accidents depending thereupon: for each partie dispatcheth messengers to and fro to hurt his enimie, which suddenly cannot be countermanded nor reuoked, as appeared by these two Princes, who concluded this meeting vpon a sudden, not aduertising their seruants thereof, who were far from them executing the charge their Masters had giuen them. For you shall vnderstand that the Duke had sent for his armie into Burgundie, being replenished at that time with a number of noblemen, among the which were the Lord of Bresse, and his two brethren the Bishop of Geneua, and the Earle of Romont, all three sonnes to the Duke of Sauoy: for the Sauoyans and Burgundians haue euer borne great affection each to other. In this armie were also certaine Almaines borderers vpon Sauoy and the county of Burgundie. Now you shall vnderstand that the King in times past had held the Lord of Bresse in prison, because of two Knights he commanded to be slaine in Sauoy, wherefore there was no good will between them two. In this armie were also the Lord of Vrsé, Master of the horse afterward to King *Charles*, Master *Poncet* of Riuiere, and the Lord of Lau, whom the King after speciall good liking of him had also held long in prison, but he escaped and fled into Burgundie. All this companie aboue mentioned arriued neere to Peronne, euen at the very instant that the King came thither, and the Lord of Bresse with the three aboue mentioned, every one of them wearing the Saint *Andrewes* crosse entred the towne, supposing they had come time enough to accompanie the Duke when he should goe to receiue the King, but because they came too late they went straight to the Dukes chamber to do their dutie to him, where the Lord of Bresse humbly besought him that the three aboue named, notwithstanding the Kings comming, might be there vnder his safegard and protection, as he promised them in Burgundie at their first arriual into his dominions, adding that they were ready to serue him against all men none excepted: which request the Duke granted with his owne mouth; and for their good will thanked them. The rest of this armie (led by the Marshall of Burgundie) lodged without the towne as they were appointed. The said Marshall hated the King no lesse than the others aboue named, because of Pinall a towne in Lorraine which the King had once giuen him, and afterward taken from him to bestow vpon *Iohn* Duke of Calabria so often mentioned in this historie. The King being forthwith aduertised of these noble mens arriual, and the apparell they ware¹ fell suddenly into great feare, and sent to the Duke desiring him that he might lodge in the castell, because all these aboue named were his enimies. The Duke reioyced to see him in such feare, and caused his lodging to be made there, willing him to be of good cheere and doubt nothing.

¹ He meaneth
by apparell
the Saint An-
drewes crosse.

Chap. 6. A discourse wherein is declared how greatly learning especially in histories profiteth Princes and noble men.



It is great folly for one Prince to put himselfe vnder the power of another, especially when they are in war together, as those Princes well know that haue studied histories in their youth, wherein they find diuers examples of great falshood and treason vsed in times past at such enteruiwes, and of diuers that haue staied as prisoners, and slaine those that haue come to them vnder their suretie ¹. I say not that all haue vsed so to do,

but the example of one is sufficient to instruct a number, how to looke to themselves. My selfe for my part haue seen some experience in the world, hauing been by the space of eighteen yeeres and better, employed continually in Princes seruices, and priuy all that while to the waightiest and secretest affaires that haue passed in this realme, or the countries bordering vpon it, and sure in mine opinion the best way to learne wildome is to read ancient histories, which will teach vs by example of our auncestors, wisely to behaue our selues, safely to defend our selues, and aduisedly to attempt any enterprife. For our life is so short that experience cannot sufficiently instruct vs, considering withall that our yeeres are abridged, and neither our liues so long, nor our bodies so strong, as were our auncestors in ages past: which way as we are weakened, so is our faith also each to other much diminished ², in such sort, that I know not how one may assure himselfe of another, especially great Princes, who are commonly inclined to all wilfulness, without any regard of reason, and (which is worst of all) haue for the most part such men about them, as studie onely to flatter them, and sooth them in all their doings be they good or bad, and if some one endeouour himselfe to redresse this inconuenience, all the rest will straight be vpon his top.

Farther I must needs blame ignorant and vnlearned Princes in this respect also, they haue all commonly about them great clearks and lawyers, as it is requisite they should if they be good, but if they be otherwise, they are the dangerourest people in the world to be about a Prince, for they haue euer a law or an historie at their fingers ends, which be it neuer so good they writhe and wrest in such sort, that they will make blacke white, and white blacke. But those Princes that bee wise and haue read as well as they, will not suffer themselves to bee abused by them, neither dare they be so hardy as to report vntruthes to such Princes. Farther thinke you that God hath established the office of a King or Prince, to be executed by such beasts as glory in saying: I am no scholer, I trust my Councell well enough, and refer all matters to them, and so without farther answer depart to

seuenth. William Duke of Normandie by Arnulph Earle of Flaunders. Lewis King of Fraunce taken prisoner by the Normans and Danes at Roan. John Duke of Britaine taken at a banquet and imprisoned by Margaret Countesse of Pontibera. Guido Earle of Flaunders twice taken prisoner vnder safe conduct by Philip le bel King of Fraunce. Charles the simple slaine by the Earle of Vermandoys. What should I speake of the treasons of Ferrand and Alonse King of Naples, or of Christiern King of Denmarke, with numbers of others recorded in histories as our author heere very truly reporteth. ² Others be of a contrarie opinion, that our life is as long as in Davids time appeereth by the 90. Psalme, where he sheweth the vsuall age of man in his time to haue been seuentie and sometime eightie yeeres which men reach to at this day also, and if mans life bee as long now as then, it is a good consequent that his body is as strong, as is to be prooued by many reasons too long to rehearse. Now that our faith is as good as theirs was in ages past, appeereth also by the ancient histories, for it this be a true saying; *Regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis*. And the Princes in times past were so euill as none could bee worse, (as who so list to read without partialtie shall be forced to confesse.) I see no reason that the world should bee worse now than in times past, although it seeme so to many, because wee see the worst of our owne age, yea and feele too many times, but commonly the histories deliuer to vs but the best of times past, and burie the worst, and though they did, yet the euill scene with our eye is more liuely imprinted in our minde, than the euill we conceiue by our eare, which is the cause men euer thinke better of the times past, than the present estate.

¹ Of treason in treatie we haue numbers of examples. First of Ingurtha taken by his father in law Becca, and deliuered to the Romans. Seruitorius slaine at a banquet by Pepennus. In Eng'land we haue the treason of Hengist to Vortiger. In Scotland we read of William Earle of Douglass slaine by James King of Scots in treatie. In Germanie Albert Earle of Franconia betraied in treatie by Otto the Bishop of Mentz. John of Angier, slaine by Albertus Buarus Earle of Henault & Flaunders, notwithstanding his safe conduct. In Fraunce John Duke of Burgundie slaine by Charles the

3 I maraell if
King Lewis
were learned
hee would
haue his
sonne to
learne onely
this lesson,
*Qui nescit dissi-
mulare, nescit
regnare.*

their sports and pastimes? No, no, if they had been well trained vp in their youth, they would vse other language, and seeke to be esteemed for their owne vertues and worthinesse. I say not that all Princes are serued by euill conditioned persons, but sure the most part of those that I haue seen haue not alwaies had their courts free from such, although some Princes I confesse I haue knowne that in time of necessitie could make choise of their men, and vse the seruice of the best and wisest. Wherin sure the King our Master far passed all the Princes of his time, for neuer Prince aduanced so highly, nor made so great account of wise and worthy men as he did. He was himselfe reasonably well learned, he was very inquisitiue and desirous to vnderstand of all matters, and had an excellent wit, which passeth all learning obtained by studie: for as reading profiteth two manner of waies, the one by acquainting vs with ages past: and the other by teaching vs more in a booke in three monthes, than twenty men liuing successiuelly can learne by experience: so if a man lacke wit to put that which he readeth in practise, his reading serueth to no purpose. Wherefore to end this discourse, methinke the greatest plague that God can lay vpon a realme, is to giue them an vnwise Prince, the root and fountaine of all mischief: for first diuision and ciuill wars arise thereof among his subiects, because he giueth his authoritie to others, which especially about all things he ought to reserue to himselfe. After diuision ensueth famine and mortalitie, and all other euils that accompanie the wars, wherefore hereby wee may consider how much a Princes subiects ought to lament, when they see his children wantonly brought vp, and gouerned by euill conditioned persons.

Chap. 7. *How and for what cause the King was staied and held prisoner
in the castell of Peronne by the Duke of Burgundies
commandement.*



You haue heard how the King and this armie of Burgundie arriued at Peronne both in one instant, for the Duke could not countermand them in time, because they were well forward vpon the way when the Kings comming was first communed of. Their arriuall troubled the feast, because of diuers ielousies that sprang thereof. Notwithstanding these two Princes appointed certaine of their seruants to negotiate together about their affaires, in most louing and friendly sort. But after three or foure daies conference, these strange newes came from Liege which I will now rehearse. The King comming to Peronne had cleane forgotten his two ambassadors sent to Liege to sollicite them to rebell against the Duke, who so diligently executed their charge, that before the Kings arriuall at Peronne, the Liegeois had leuied great force and were gone to surprise the towne of Tongres, where the Bishop of Liege and the Lord of Hymbercourt lodged, accompanied with two thousand men and better: and the said Bishop and Hymbercourt they tooke with certaine other of the Bishops familiar friends, but few they slew, neither was the number of prisoners great: the rest fled as men discomfited, leauing bag and baggage behind them. This done the Liegeois returned towards their citie not far distant from Tongres: and vpon the way thitherward the Lord of Hymbercourt compounded for his ranome with a knight called Master *William de Ville*, named by the French *Le Sauvage*, who fearing least this furious people should kill him, suffered him to depart vpon his word: which notwithstanding

standing he neuer challenged, for soone after himselfe was slaine. The people reioiced much for the taking of their Bishop. Farther you shall vnderstand that they hated extreamely certaine chanons of the Church taken prisoners that day: of whom for the first repast they slew fise or sixe, one of the which was named Master Robert the Bishops speciall friend, whom my selfe haue often seene armed at all peeces waiting vpon his Master, for such is the manner of the Alemaigne Prelates. ¹ The said Master Robert they slew in the Bishops presence, and hewed him into a number of small gobbets which they threw one at another in derision. To be short, before their returne to Liege which was but eight leagues from Tongres, they slew sixteene chanons and others all in manner the Bishops seruants. This done, they receiued aduertisement that the treatie betweene the King and the Duke was alreadie begun, wherefore they dismissed certaine Burgundians, supposing to excuse their fault, by seeming to haue attempted nothing against the Duke, but only against their Bishop, whom they led prisoner into the citie. Those that escaped put all the countrie in an vpror as they went, by meanes whereof this newes came soone to the Duke: some said all were slaine, others the contrary, for such aduertisements are neuer reported after one sort. At the length certaine arriued that saw these chanons slaine, who supposing the Bishop and Hymbecourt to be of the number, auowed constantly that all were murdered, and farther, that they saw the Kings ambassadors in the companie, whom also they named. All this was told the Duke, who forthwith beleued it, and fell into an extreame fury² saying that the King was come thither to abuse him, and gaue commandement to shut the gates of the castell and the towne, spreading a fond rumor that he did it, because of a budget with iewels and mony that was lost. The King seeing himselfe shut into this little castell, and a number of archers before the gate: stood in a great doubt of his person, the rather because he lodged hard by a great tower, in the which an Earle of Vernandois had in times past caused a King of France one of his predecessors to be slaine³. I was yet in seruice with the Duke, and one of his priue chamber, into the which I entred at my pleasure, according to the vse of this house of Burgundie. The Duke when the towne gates were shut, commanded all men to voide his chamber, and said to two or three of vs that taried with him, that notwithstanding he for his part had neuer any tast in this meeting, but agreed to it onely to content the King: yet the King on the contrarie side was come thither purposely to abuse him. Then rehearsed he all these newes of Liege, how the King had ordered the matter by his ambassadors and caused all his men to be slaine: and such a rage he was in against the King, and so threatned him, that I thinke verily if those to whom he spake had pressed forward the matter, and counselled him to worke the King some mischief, he would haue done it, at the least haue imprisoned him in the great tower aboue mentioned. None were present when these words passed the Duke, but my selfe and two groomes of his chamber, one of the which was named Charles of Visin borne at Dyion, an honest gentleman and in good credite with his Master. We exasperated not the matter but sought to appease the Duke as much as in vs lay, notwithstanding soone after he vsed the like speech to others, by meanes whereof it was blowen all ouer the towne, and came at length into the Kings chamber, who was in maruellous feare, as vniuersally all men were, because of the great euils they saw, like to ensue a quarrell begun betweene two so great Princes, who sure were both blame woorthie, for that they aduertised not their seruants of this meeting, who were far from them executing their commandements, whereby some great inconuenience was sure to ensue.

¹ These were chanons of S. Lambert in Liege, the which were not forced to be priests, but might come forth and marie if they had not sung masse. *Guicci.*
² This Earle of Vermandois was named Hebart or Herbart, &c the King of France Charles le Simple, who this Hebart slew in the tower here mentioned anno 926. or after *Annal. Burgund.* 921. because the King had slain in battell Robert Duke of Aquitaine, or after some of Aniou, who had married this Hebart's sister. But note here *panam. talionis* vpon the King, for as he was staid here notwithstanding the Dukes safe conduct: so had he himselfe taken & imprisoned by the space of two yeres Philip Lord of Bresse, hauing called him to him vnder his safe conduct. *Meyer.* of the Lord of Bresse imprisonment
our author maketh mention in the fifth chapter of this booke,

Chap. 8. *A discourse wherein is shewed, that an enteruiew betweene two great Princes for treatie of their affaires hurteth more than profiteth.*



It is great folly for two Princes being in manner of equall force and estate to meete together, vnlesse it be in their youth when their mindes are wholly set vpon pleasures and pastimes, but after they are come to mans estate, and growne desirous to encroch each vpon other, such enteruiewes do but increase their hatred and euill will, though happily their persons might be there in safetie, which notwithstanding I hold almost a thing impossible. Wherefore it is better to pacifie all controuerfies by wise and discrete men, as before I haue said: for prooffe whereof I will rehearse certaine examples that haue happened in my time, some of the which my selfe haue seene, and of the rest haue bene credibly enformed.

* The meeting of the King and the King of Castile was anno 1463.

A few yeeres after King *Lewis* his coronation before the warre called the *VVEALE PVBLIKE* began, a sollemne meeting was appointed betweene him and the King of Castile, ¹ who are the two neereft confederated Princes in Christendome, for their league is betweene King and King, Realme and Realme, and man and man of their subiects, which also they are both bound vnder great curses to keepe and obserue inuiolable. To this meeting came *Henry* King of Castile with a goodly traine to Fontarabia, and the King our Master to Saint Iohn de Luz fower leagues distant, both of them being vpon the frontires of their dominions. I was not present my selfe at this meeting, but I haue heard both the King and the Lord of Lau make report thereof, and haue bene enformed of it also by certaine Lords of Castile there present with the King their Master, who came to this enteruiew accompanied with the Lord great Master of Saint Iames, and the Archbishop of Tolledo which two bare all the sway in Castile at that time, the Earle of Lodesme the King of Castiles minion was there also in great brauerie, and all the said Kings garde, being to the number of three hundred horse, all Moores of Granado and some of them Negros. But King *Henry* himselfe was a man of so small vnderstanding, that he gaue away all his inheritance, at the least suffered euery man that would to spoile him of it: our King was also accompanied with a goodly traine, as you know his manner was, but his garde especially was braue and in very good order. To this meeting came in like manner the Queene of Arragon about a controuerfise between her and the King of Castile, for Estelle and certaine other places in Nauarre: whereof the King was made arbitrator. But now for prooffe that such enteruiewes betweene great Princes are not meete nor conuenient, you shall vnderstand that these two Kings had neuer bene at variance, there was no quarrell between them, neither saw they one another past once or twise vpon a riuer side that parteth both their realmes, ² hard by a little castell called Heurtebise, where the King of Castile passed to the hither side of the riuer. At their first meeting they had no great liking one of another, especially our King, who perceiued the King of Castile to be but a simple man doing nothing of himselfe, but wholly gouerned by the great Master of Saint Iames and the Archbishop of Tolledo aboue mentioned. Wherefore hee made no account of their Master but sought their friendship, whereupon they came to him to Saint Iohn de Luz where he entred into amitie with them, and had

* The riuer where the two Kings met was named Andaye.

had great intelligence by their meanes. The greatest part of both these Princes traines lay at Bayonne, and at the very first meeting fell together by the eares, notwithstanding their league: and no maruell. For their manners and languages differed. Afterward the Earle of Lodesme came also to visite the King, and passed the riuer in a boate, the saile whereof was cloth of gold. Farther he ware a paire of buskins embrodred thicke with stone, for he was a Prince of great wealth and reuenues in Castile, and created since Duke of Albours. In the end these two confederate nations began to scoffe and iest each at other, the King of Castile was deformed, and the French misliked his apparell, wherefore they derided him. Our King ware his apparell very short, and maruellous vncomely, and was clad sometime in very course cloth, besides that, he ware an old hat, differing from all the rest of his companie, and an image of lead vpon it, whereat the Castilians iested, saying that this proceeded of miserie. Thus ended this enteruiew with such scoffes and taunts, that afterward these two Princes neuer loued together. Farther great dissention arose among the King of Castiles seruants, which continued till his death and long after, in such sort that I haue seene him the poorest Prince that euer raigned, and abandoned of all his seruants and subiects. The Queene of Arragon departed also discontented, for the King pronounced sentence for the King of Castile. Wherefore both the King of Arragon her husband and she hated him euer after. And notwithstanding that they vsed his helpe a while in their necessitie against the towne of Barcelonne, yet endured not their friendship, but wars arose between them, which continued aboue sixteen yeares, and the controuersie remaineth yet vndecided. Now to proceede to other examples.

Duke *Charles* of Burgundie since the time aboue mentioned, by his owne great sute and sollicitation, met with the Emperor *Fredericke* now rainging, at Treues ³, where the Duke made great preparation to shew his pompe and magnificencie. The Emperor and he treated there of many matters, and among the rest, of their childrens mariage, which was afterward accomplished. But when they had been together a certaine space, the Emperor to the Dukes great reproch and dishonour departed without leaue taking, wherefore they neuer loued after, neither themselves nor their subiects. The Almaines disdained the Dukes pompe and loftie manner of speech, saying that it proceeded of pride, the Burgundians on the contrary side despised the Emperors small traine, and simple attire. To be short, this iar grew so great that the wars of Nuz sprang therof.

³ The meeting between the Emperor and the Duke was saith *Meyer* ann. 1469. *Berlandus* saith anno 1472. *Meyer* 1473. the 28. of September.

I was also at Saint Paul in Artois when the Duke of Burgundie and King *Edward* of England met there ⁴. The Duke had married his sister, they were companions of one order, and abode there together two daies. The Kings seruants were deuided into two factions, and both the parties complained to the Duke, who enclining more to the one than the other, encreased their hatred, and notwithstanding that, he aided the King for the recouery of his realme, (out of the which he was chased by the Earle of Warwicke) and furnished him both of men, money, and ships: yet after this meeting, they neuer loued together, neither could afford each other a good word.

⁴ What yeere the meeting of King *Edward* and the Duke was at Saint Paul appeareth afterward lib. 3. cap. 6.

I was likewise at Bruxels when the Palsegrau of the Rheine came thither to the Duke of Burgundie, where he was honorably receiued, sumptuously feasted, and lodged in a chamber richly furnished. The Dukes men reported the almaines to be flouens, and void of ciuilitie, alledging that they threw their mirie booties vpon these rich and stately beds, wherefore euer after they made lesse account of them, than before they knew them. The Almaines on the contrarie side

side like enuious persons misliked this great pompe. To conclude, after this they neuer loued together, neither sought to pleasure one another.

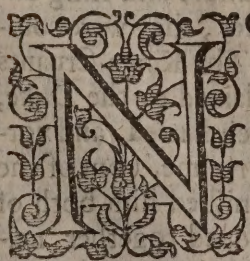
⁵ Ferette was engaged to the Duke about midsummer ann. 1469. for seuentie thousand crownes. *Annal. Burgund.* but Meyer saith anno 1467. for fiftie thousand gildons, and other say for 80. thousand gildons.

⁶ When this meeting was at Picquigny lookel. 4.

I saw also the meeting of the Duke of Burgundie, and D. *Sigismunde* of Austrich ⁵, who sold vnto the said Duke the County of Ferrette, bordering vpon the County of Burgundie for a hundred thousand gildons, not being able to defend it against the Switzers. These two Princes liked not greatly one another. Afterward also Duke *Sigismunde* made peace with the Switzers, and tooke againe the said County of Ferrette without paying backe the money, whereof ensued infinite harmes to the Duke of Burgundy. At the selfe same time also came the Earle of Warwicke to the Duke, who after their meeting were mortall enemies each to other.

I was also present at the enteruiewe between the King our master, and King *Edward* of England at Picquigny ⁶, neere to Amiens, whereof I will make mention heereafter more at large. All that they did there was but meere dissimulation, for they performed no whit of that they promised. And notwithstanding, that they were neuer after in war together) because the sea seuered them) yet perfect friendship was there none betweene them. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinke that two great Princes minding to continue in amitie, ought neuer to meete together. The occasions of troubles that arise at such assemblies are these, their seruants can not refraine from talking of matters past, and words will easily be taken in euill part. Secondarily, it is impossible but that the traine of the one should be in better order than the other, whereof scoffes arise, which they that are scoffed stomacke. Thirdly, if they be two nations, their language and apparell differ, and that that pleaseth the one displeaseth the other. Last of all, it commonly hapneth that the personage of the one Prince is comlier and better to be liked than the other. Wherefore hee is praised, and reioyceth and glorieth to heare his owne commendation, which cannot bee without the dispraise of the other. And notwithstanding that three or fower daies peradventure after the assembly ended, these matters bee communed of closely and coeuertly in mens eares: yet by vse they fall in time in open talke at dinners and suppers, and so are reported to both the parties, for few things in this world can be concealed, especially tales and reports. Thus you haue heard the reasons and examples that my selfe haue seene touching this point.

Chap. 9. How the King to deliuer himselfe out of the Castle of Peronne, renounced his league with the Liegeois.



NOW to returne after my long discourse, to the King who was staied at Peronne, as you haue heard, the gates remained shut with watch and warde before them two or three daies, all the which time the Duke saw not the King, neither entered any French man into the Castell but by the wicket, and but few after that sort, notwithstanding none of the Kings seruants were forbidden to repaire to him, but fewe or none of the Dukes went to commune with him, neither yet into his chamber, especially of those that were of any credit with the Duke. The first day all men were in great feare, and muttered vp and downe the towne: the second the Duke was somewhat pacified, and sate in counsell almost the whole day, and part also of the night. The King caused all those to be laboured that he thought could aide him in this extremitie, making them large offers and promises, and commanded also fiftene thousand crownes to be diuided

diuided among the Dukes seruants, but he to whom the charge was committed acquit himfelfe not faithfully thereof: for part of the money he retained to his owne vfe, as the King after ward vnderftood. The King feared efpecially thofe aboue named, that came with this armie of Burgundie, whom in times paft had bene his owne feruants, but were now his brother the Duke of Normandies as they faid. In this counsell aboue mentioned this matter was diuerfly debated; fome were of opinion that the fafe conduct giuen to the King fhould not be broken, feeing he offered to fweare the treaty as it was articulated in writing: others gaue counfell rudely to imprifon him without farther ceremony, and others to fend for his brother the Duke of Normandie, and to conclude a peace for the advantage of all the Princes of Fraunce. They that gaue this aduife thought of their opinion tooke place, that the King fhould be reftained of his libertie for euer, and held continually vnder garde, becaufe a great Prince being in the hands of his enemy, and vfed after fuch fort, neuer or very hardly recouered his libertie for feare of reuenge. This laft opinion failed not much to take effect: for the matter was fo farre forward that I faw a man booted, and ready to depart with a packet of letters to the Duke of Normandie being then in Britaine, and ftayed onely for the Duke of Burgundies letter, notwithstanding all this was dafhed againe. The King caufed certaine ouertures to be made, offering to leaue there in hoftage the Duke of Bourbon and the Cardinall his brother, and the Conftable, and diuers others, vnder this condition, that the peace being concluded he might depart to Compiegne, promifing incontinent either to caufe the Liegeois to repaire the harmes done, or to declare himfelfe their enemy. They whom the King named for hoftages outwardly made earneft offer of themfelues, I know not whether they ment as they faid, and I doubt me they did not: for I verily beleue if the King had left them there, they fhould neuer haue returned into Fraunce.

All this night being the third after the newes came, the Duke neuer vnclothed himfelfe, but lay downe twife or thrife vpon his bed, and then rofe and walked: for fuch was his manner when he was troubled. May that night my felfe in his chamber, and communed with him diuers times. In the morning he was farther out of patience than euer before, vſing terrible menaces, and being ready to execute fome great matter: notwithstanding in the end he was pacified, and refolved to hold himfelfe contented, if the King would fweare the treaty, and go with him to Liege to helpe reuenge the iniuries the Liegeois had done him, and the Bifhop of Liege his coſen, with the which meſſage fuddenly he departed into the Kings chamber, whereof the King had a priuy watch word by a friend¹, who aduertifed him that nothing was to be feared if he agreed to theſe two points, otherwiſe that he ſhould put himſelfe in ſo great danger, that none could be greater. When the Duke came to the Kings preſence, his voice trembled, and euen there he was like to fall into a new rage, ſo much was he troubled. His behauiour towards the King was humble and lowly, but his countenance furious, and his language ſharpe, for he asked him in few words whether he would obferue the treaty concluded, and alſo ſweare it: Whereunto the King answered that he would. For you ſhall vnderſtand that the ſaid treaty as touching the Duke of Burgundy himſelfe was altered in no point otherwiſe than it was concluded before Paris, and as touching the Duke of Normandies partage, it was much amended for the King. For it was agreed that in ſtead of Normandie he ſhould haue Champanie and Brie, and certaine other places there about, for his partage. Then the Duke asked him againe, whether he would go with him

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¹ It was Communes himſelfe that gaue the King aduife not to reſuſe to go to Liege with the Duke
Annal. Burgund.

to Liege to helpe him to reuenge the treason the Ligeois had wrought by his meanes, and by his comming thither, putting him also in minde of the neere kinred that was betweene the said King and the Bishop of Liege, being of the house of Bourbon, whereunto the King answered, that after he had sworne the treatie (which was the thing he most desired) hee would accompanie him to Liege, and lead thither with him, as small or as great force as the Duke should thinke good: at which words the Duke much reioyced, and incontinent the treatie of peace was brought, and the selfe same crosse that *Charlemaigne* vsually were called the crosse of victorie: taken out of the Kings coffers, and there the two Princes sware the treatie: ² whereupon all the bells in the towne rang for ioy, and all men were glad and reioyced. It hath pleased the King since to attribute this honor to me, that I did him great seruice in furthering this accord. The Duke sent these newes forthwith into Britaine and the treatie with all, wherein he seuered not himselfe from the said two Dukes, but named them his confederates. And sure the Lord *Charles* had now a good partage in respect of the treatie made in Britaine, whereby he should haue had but a pension only of sixtie thousand franks as before you haue heard.

* The peace of Peronne was sworne the fourteenth day of October, ann. 1468. Meyer. lib. 17. fol. 346. pag. 1. where read also the conditions of the peace.

Chap. 10. How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Ligeois, who before were his confederates.



He next day after the treatie sworne, the King and the Duke departed from Peronne, and went to Cambray, and from thence into the countrey of Liege in the very beginning of winter, and in a maruellous foule season. The King had with him few soldiers or none, others than the Scottish men of his garde, but gaue commandement that three hundred men of armes should follow after him. The Dukes armie was diuided into two bands the one led by the Marshall of Burgundie (so often already mentioned) in the which were all the Burgundians, and the noble men of Sauoye aboue named, besides great forces of the countries of Haynault, Luxemburg, Namur, and Lambourg, the other band the Duke himselfe lead, and when they drew neere the city of Liege they debated in the Dukes presence what was to be done. Some gaue aduise to dismisse part of the army, considering that the gates and wals of the citie were rased the yeere before, and the citizens in vtter despaire of succour: the King himselfe being there in person against them, and offering in maner the selfe same conditions of peace on their behalfe that were demanded. The Duke allowed not of this opinion, which was a happy turne for him, for if he had, he had marred all, but his suspicion of the King caused him to take the wisest course: and sure his Captaines opinion in thinking themselves too strong, proceeded either of great pride or of great folly. Notwithstanding I haue often heard diuers Captaines giue the like aduise, some because they thinke thereby to win an opinion of hardinesse, and some for that they vnderstand not the matters debated, but wise Princes weigh not such fond opinions. As touching this point, the King our Master had learned his lesson, for he was slow and fearefull in attempting any thing: so when he once tooke an enterprise in hand, he so thoroughly furnished himselfe of euery thing thereunto appertaining, that he could not but obtaine his purpose.

Order was then giuen that the Marshall of Burgundie with his band should goe before and lodge in the citie, and if the citizens made difficultie to receiue him,

him as it was thought they would not, because diuers of them were alreadie come to the Duke to treat of peace, that then he should attempt to enter by force. The said Marshall and his company went to Namur, and the next day departed thence, and the King and the Duke arrived there. But when the Marshall approached neare the City, this foolish people sallied forth to the Skirmish and were easily repulsed, and a great number slaine, and the rest retired into the towne, and at that very instant escaped their Bishoppe and came to vs. Within the towne was a Legate sent thither by the Pope to vnderstand of the variance betweene the Bishop and the people, and to pacifie the matter. For the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, was yet vnreuoked, because of their offences aboue rehearsed. This Legate passing the bounds of his commission, fauoured altogether the people, in hope to obtraine the Bishopricke for himselfe, and commanded them to take armes for their defence, and encouraged them to diuers other follies. Notwithstanding, now seeing the City in this danger, hee issued forth with intent to flee, but was taken, and all his traine being to the number of fife and twenty very well mounted. The Duke hearing these newes seemed notwithstanding to take no notice thereof, but sent word to those that took him, that they should leade him into some secret place, and make their profite of him as of some Merchant, and in no wise to aduertise him of this accident, alleading that if hee came openly into his campe, he could not suffer them to keepe him, but must of force deliuer him, for honor of the sea Apostolike. Notwithstanding they could not doe as they were commanded, but fell at variance for him in such sort, that openly at dinner time certaine that claimed part in the booty, came & complained to the Duke. wherefore he sent immediately & tooke him from them, & restored him all that he had lost, & entertained him very honorably.

This vaward led by the Marshall of Burgundy, and the Lord of Humbercourt marched straight to the City, supposing to enter without resistance, and through couetousnesse, (hoping to haue the spoile thereof to themselves,) refused the composition that was offered, neither thought it needfull to tarry for the King and the Duke, being seuen or eight leagues behind them, but marched with such speed, that they arrived at the towne by twilight, and entered into certaine suburbs leading straight to a gate that the Citizens had somewhat repaired. There the Liegeois and they parled together, but could not agree. In the mean time they were benighted, their lodgings were vnmade, neither was the place large enough for the seate of their Campe. beside that they were in great disorder, some walked vp and downe, some called their masters, their companions, and their captaines; which folly and disorder Master *John de Villerte*, and other captaines of the Liegeois perceiuing, tooke heart and determined to issue forth, and their misfortune, I meane the ruine of their walles, serued them to good purpose in this enterprise: for they sallied forth where liked them best by the breaches thereof, and came in order of battell to the foremost ranks of the Burgundians. Farther, among the vines and little hils they assailed the pages & stragglers, that walkd their masters horses without the suburbs by the which our men entered. A great number of good soldiers were there slaine, but a great number fled, for the night couered all shame. To be short, the Liegeois so couragiously executed their enterprise, that they slue at the least eight hundred: one hundred of them being men of armes. But the hardy and valiant soldiers of this vaward being in maner all men of arms and gentlemen of good houses joined themselues together & marched with Ensign displayed straight to the gate, fearing the citizens sally there, The wayes were maruellous deepe, because of continuall raine; in such

sort that the men of armes being all on foote stode in mire aboue the ankles. Once all the citizens thought to salie forth at the said gate with great torches & lights, but our men had mounted fowre good peeces of artillery in the very mouth thereof, the which shot twise or thrise along the high streete, and slew a great number, whereupon they all retired out of the suburbes, and shut their gates. But during this skirmish in the suburbes, the other that had salied forth to assaile the pages aboue mentioned, tooke certaine carts neare to the towne, in the which they lodged themselues very vncommodiously, and tarried without the city from two of the clocke after midnight, till sixe in the morning, but so soone as the day brake that one might descrie another, they were repulsed, and in their retraits M. *Iohn de Villette*, and one or two more of their capitaines were hurt, who died all within two dayes after.

Chap. II. How the King arrived in person with the Duke of Burgundy, before the City of Liege.



Notwithstanding that salies out of a towne be sometimes necessary, yet are they very dangerous for those that defend the place, for the losse of ten is more to them, than of an hundred to those that besiege them, first because their number is not equall, secondarily, because they cannot put men into the towne at pleasure, and lastly because happily they may loose one of their principall leaders, which mishap causeth oftentimes the losse also of the place. These discomfortable newes were forthwith brought to the Duke, lying foure or five leagues from the towne, and the first report was, that his whole vaward was discomfited, yet that notwithstanding hee and the whole army mounted on horsebacke, commanding that no word should bee made to the King of this misfortune. And when hee drew neere the city on the contrary side to that where his vaward lay, hee was aduertised that all was well, and the losse nothing so great as was thought, neither any man of name flaine but a knight of Flaunders named Monsieur de Sergine, notwithstanding they sent him word that the valiant gentlemen and souldiers of this vaward were vtterly wearied, and in great trouble and distresse, for all that night they had stood vpright in the mire by the towne gate. Farther they told him that certain of the footmen that fled were returned so discouraged, that they seemed vnfit for any great exploit. Wherefore they desired him for Gods loue to make haste, to the end the citizens might be forced to retire euery man to the defence of his owne quarter, & that it would please him to send them some vittales, for they had not one morsell of meat. The Duke forthwith commanded two or three hundred to ride thither as fast as their horses could gallop, to comfort his soldiers, & sent after them all the vittaille he could come by, and so was it high time, for by the space of two dayes almost & a night, they had neither eaten nor drunke, vnles it were some one that carried a draught of wine in a bottle. Besides that, the weather was maruellous foule, neither could they possibly enter the towne on that side they lay, vnlesse the Duke embused the enemy on the other side. A great number of them were hurt, and among the rest the Prince of Orange (whom I had forgotten to name before) who behaued himselfe that day like a courageous gentleman, for he neuer moued foot off the place hee first possessed. The Lords of Lau and Vrsé did also very valiantly, but the number of the footmen that fled the night of the skirmish was at the least ten thousand. It was almost

darke

darke night when the Duke receiued this newes, but after he had dispatched all his busines, he returned to his ensign, & reherfed the whole order of the skirmish to the King, who reioyced to heare that all was so well, for the contrary might haue turned to his preiudice. When they approched neare the town, a great number of gentlemen and men of armes lighted on foote, with the archers to take the suburbes, which were easily wonne, and there the bastard of Burgundy (who had great charge in this army vnder the Duke, the Lord of Rauastaine, the Earle of Rocoy the Constables sonne, and diuers other gentlemen lodged euen hard by the gate, which the enemies had also repaired as the former. The Duke lodged in the midst of the suburbes; but the King lay that night in a great grange, a quarter of a league from the towne, where was very good lodging, being accompanied with a great number of men, as well of his own as of ours.

This town is situate vpon mountains and vallies, and in a maruellous fruitfull soile¹, the riuer of Maze runneth through it: it is about the greatnesse of Roan, & was at that time a maruellous populous City. From the gate where we lodged to the other where our vaward lay, the way was short through the town, but without, it was the at least three leagues going, so crooked & foule are the wayes especially in winter, in the midst whereof we came thither. Their wals were all rased, so that they might fallie forth where best liked them, and their defence was onely a little rampar of earth: for the town was neuer ditched, because the foundation is hard and sharp rocke. The first night of the Dukes arriuall, our vaward was much refreshed and eased: for the force within the towne was then diuided into two parts. About midnight they gaue vs a hote alarm, wherupon the Duke issued forth with into the street, and soone after arriued also the King and the Constable with great speed, considering how farre off they lay. Some cried they sally out at such a gate, others spake diuers discomfortable words, the darke and rainy weather increased also their feare. The Duke lacked no courage, but failed somtime in good order giuing; & to say the truth, at this time he behaued not himselfe so aduisedly as many wished, because of the kings presence. Wherefore the King tooke vpon him authority to command, and said to the Constable Leade your men into such a quarter, for if they sally that is their way: and sure both his words and behauour shewed him to be a Prince of great vertue and wisdom, and well acquainted with such exploits: notwithstanding this great alarme proued nothing, whereupon the King and the Duke returned to their lodging.

¹ Of the seate of this towne, read Guicci, pag. 370.

The next morning came the King and lodged also in the suburbes in a litle house hard by the Dukes lodging, accompanied with an hundred Scottish men of his guard, and his men of armes lying in a little village hard by him, which bred great suspicion in the Duke, that he would either enter the city, or escape before it were taken², or peraduenture worke him some displeasure lying so neare him. Wherefore he put into a great grange iust between their two lodgings three hundred men of arms, being all the flower of his house, who brake down the panes of the wals to sally forth the more speedily if need so required, and these had their eyes continually vpon the kings lodging which was hard by the. The siege continued eight dayes, during which space neither the Duke nor any of the company vnarmed themselves. But the euening before the towne was taken, the Duke determined to assault it the next morning being Sondag the 30. of October, the yeare 1461. and the token giuen to our vaward was this, that when they heard one bombard, and two great serpentines, discharged one incontinent after another, without any more shot, they should then couragiously go to the assault

² Bassus writeth that the Duke for diuers considerations had rather haue lacked the Kings company, than haue had it, but that the King to blind the Duke with a pretence of good will offered himselfe to go with him, which report all the circumstances considered seemeth vtterly repugnant to truth.

and the Duke on his side would doe the like. Farther, the hower appointed for the enterprife, was eight of the clocke in the morning. The same night the assault was thus concluded, the Duke vnarmed himselfe, which since the beginning of this siege he had not done, and commanded the whole army, especially those that lodged in the grange betweene his lodging and the kings to do the like, to the end they might refresh themselves: but the selfe same night the citizens as though they had been aduertised of this determination, concluded to make a salie out of the towne on this side, as they had before on the other.

Chap. 12. How the Liegeois made a desperate sally upon the Duke of Burgundies men, where he and the King were in great danger.



Will now rehearse an example whereby you shal perceiue how easily euen a few enemies may worke a great Prince displeasure, & how much it importeth Princes thoroughly to waigh their enterprises before they attempt them. Within this City was not one man of warre but of their owne territory, they had with them neither Knight nor esquire: for those few they had were either slaine or hurt two or three dayes before in the sallie aboue mentioned.

They were vnfurnished of gates, wals, trenches and artillerie ought worth. To be short, within the towne were none but the citizens themselves, and seuen or eight hundred footmen of a little territory beyond Liege, called Franchemont: true it is that the people of those parts haue euer been accounted good soldiers. But now to the matter. These Liegeois despairing of succours, seeing the King there in person against them, concluded to make a desperate salie, and to put all things in aduenture, knowing themselves to be but lost men.

Their enterprife was this, they determined that by the breaches of their wals, hanging ouer the backside of the Dukes lodging, their best soldiers being fixe hundred men of the country of Franchemont should sallie foorth, leading with them for guides the hostes of the Kings lodging and of the Dukes. Farther there lay a priuie way through the rockes, by the which they might come vnder couert almost to the lodgings of both these Princes before they were discovered, provided that they made no noise: and as touching our scoutes that lay in their way, they made account eyther to kill them, or be at the Princes lodgings as soone as they. Thus they resolved to follow these two hostes into their houses, where the two Princes lodged, without staying by the way in any place, hoping to steale vpon them on such a sudden, that eyther they would kill them, or leade them away prisoners before their forces could come to succour them, considering withall how short their retreat was into the towne, and if the worst fell (that was to die:) they were fully resolved in the executing of such an enterprife to take their death in good part: for they saw themselves but lost men on all sides. They gaue order also that all the people of the towne with hue and crie, should issue foorth at the gate opening vpon the suburbs where we lay, trusting thereby to discomfite all our company that lodged there. Neither were they out of hope of a goodly victory, at the least, they were sure of a glorious end. This their enterprife notwithstanding it had beene desperate and dangerous, though they had beene accompanied with a thousand valiant men of armes: yet these few fayled not much to atchieue it.

For

For according to their determination these sixe hundred men of Franche-mont sallied forth by the breaches of their wals, about ten of the clocke at night, and came on a sudden vpon our scouts, & slew them, three of them being Gentlemen of the Dukes house, and if they had gone straight forth without any noise to the place appointed, vndoubtedly they had slain both these Princes in their beds: But you shall vnderstand that behind the D. of Burgundies lodging, there was a pavilion where the D. of Alençon that now is, and Monsieur *de Cran* lodged. There these Liegeois staid a while and thrust their pikes through it, & slew a serving man within it: whereupon a noyse arose in the campe, which caused some to arme themselves, at the least to arise. From this pavilion they departed towardes the two Princes lodgings, wherunto adioyned the grange aboue mentioned into the which the Duke had put three hundred men of Armes. There they stayed a while also, and thrust their pikes in at the panes of the wals, which these men of armes had broken downe to sally forth with the more speed. All the gentlemen that lay there had vnarmed themselves not past two houres before to refresh them against the assault the next morning: in the which estate these Liegeois found them. Notwithstanding a few of them hauing put on their quiracies because of the noise they heard at the Duke of Alençons pavilion, fought with their enemies at the broken panes of the wals, and at the dore, which was the onelie preferuation of these two great Princes liues: for this delay gaue a great manyleisure to arme themselves, and to come forth into the street. I lay that night in the Dukes chamber (which was very straight) with two other gentlemen of his priuy chamber, & aboue him lodged 12. archers that kept the watch & sate vp at dice, but the body of his watch stood by the towne gate farre from his lodging. To be short, the Dukes host came with a band of Liegeois, and assailed his owne house, the D. being within it, vpon such a sudden that we hardly had leisure to buckle his quirace about him, and put a sallet on his head: for immediately as we went down the stairs to issue forth into the street, we found our archers busied in defending the dore and windowes against the Liegeois, farther there was a marvellous noyse in the streets, some cried, God saue the King, others, God saue the Duke, and others, God saue the King, kill, kill, kill. It was two Pater nosters while before our archers and we could get forth of the house, we knew not in what estate the king was, nor whether he were with vs or against vs, which much troubled vs. Incontinent after we were issued forth with two or three torches, we met others in the streetes with lights also, & saw fighting & killing round about vs, but the conflict soone ended: for men came running on all sides to the D. lodging. The first man of the enemies that was slain was the Dukes host, but he died not presently, for my selfe heard him speake. To be short all the Liegeois that accompanied him, a very few excepted were also slaine. They assaulted in like manner the kings lodging, into the which his host entred & was slain by the Scottishmen of his garde, who shewed themselves tall fellows: for they neuer stirred from their Masters foote, but shot arrowes continually which hurt more Burgundians then Liegeois. The Citizens appointed to issue forth at the towne gate sallied accordingly, but our watch being assembled, repulsed them incontinent, neither shewed they themselves so desperate as these others. Immediately after these were beaten backe, the King and the Duke met, doubting because of the number they saw slaine, their owne losse to be great: notwithstanding of their men few were slain, but many hurt. Vndoubtedly if these Liegeois had not stayed at these two places aboue mentioned, especially at the grange where they found resistance, but had followed these two hosts being their guides, they had

slaine both the King and the Duke, and thereby peradventure discomfited the whole army. Both the Princes returned to their lodgings wonderfully abashed at this desperate enterprise, and forthwith sate in counsell to take aduise what should be done touching the assault the next morning. The King seemed to stand in great doubt of the matter, in respect of himselfe in very deed, for knowing how greatly the D. doubted wars with France, if hee were once out of his hands: hee fearech, if the City could not be taken by assault, that his returne into his realm should be delayed, and peradventure himselfe imprisoned for the Dukes better security. Whereby you may perceiue in how miserable estate these two Princes liued, which could by no meanes assure themselves each of other: for they had concluded and solemnely sworne a finall peace not past 15. dayes before, yet could all this put neither of them in assurance,

Chap. 13. How the City of Liege was assaulted, taken and spoiled, and the Churches also.

THe King to rid himselfe of all danger, about an howre after his returne from this sally aboue mentioned to his lodging sent for certaine of the Dukes principall seruants that had been in counsell about the assault, and enquired of them what was concluded. They tolde him that the resolution was to assault the City the next morning, according to the order first appointed. Then hee very wisely began to alleage diuers grear doubts, which pleased well the Dukes men, for they all feared the assault maruellously both because of the great number of people within the towne, and also because of the desperate sallie made not past two howres before: wherefore being desirous to stay the assault for two or three daies, and take the towne by composition, they went forthwith to the Duke to make report of the Kings allegations, my selfe being present when they came. There they rehearsed all the doubts the King alleadged, and as many as they themselves could deuise, but all they fathered vpon the King, doubting that he would not take it wel at their hands. The D. answered, that the K. alleadged these doubts only to saue the citizens, and tooke it in euill part, saying, that there could be no danger in the enterprise, considering that they within could make no counter battery, neither had any wals for their defence, adding also that the rampers they had made at the gates were already beaten down, wherefore he would vse no further delay, but go to the assault the next morning as it was concluded. Notwithstanding he would be contented that the King, if it so pleased him, should go to Namur till the taking of the town vnder this condition, not to depart thence till the issue of this enterprise were seen: which answer pleased none of them all, for euery man feared the assault because of this salie. The D. answer was reported to the K. not in so hard termes as he deliuered it, but in much milder language. The K. vnderstood the meaning of it well enough and said he would not go to Namur, but be at the assault the next day among the rest. In mine opinion if he had been so disposed he might very easily haue escaped that night, for he had with him an hundred archers of his gard, & certain gentlemen of his house, besides three hundred men of armes that lodged hard by him: but vndoubtedly where he stood vpon his honor he would not be stained with cowardise. Euery man reposed himselfe in his armor till morning, & some disposed of their consciences, because the enterprise seemed very dangerous. When it was brode day light, and that the houre appoin-

appointed drew neere, which was eight of the clocke, the Duke commanded the bombard and the two serpentines to bee discharged, thereby to aduertise our vaward of the assault, which lay on the other side far from vs, if you take the way without the towne, but not farre going through it, as before you haue heard. They hearing the shot incontinent prepared themselves to the assault. The Dukes trumpets sounded, and his ensignes were aduanced toward the walls, their bands following them. The King stood in the midst of the street well accompanied, for all his three hundred men of armes, his garde, and certaine noble men, and gentlemen of his house were with him. And when we approached so neere the walls that they and we should haue ioyned, no resistance was found, neither any man vpon the walls, saue two or three of the watch, all the rest were gone to dinner, supposing we would not giue the assault vpon the Sunday, so that we found the cloth laid in euery house at our entry. Small account is to bee made of rude people, vnlesse they be led by some captaine whom they reuerence, although sometime in their fury they bee greatly to be feared.

These Liegeois were before the assault maruellously spent and wearied, partly because of their two sallies, wherein they lost a great number of their men and all their leaders, and partly because of the great labour and trauell they had sustained the space of eight daies: for because they lay open to the enemy on all sides, they were all forced to be continuallie vpon the walls, and I suppose they thought to repose themselves this day because of the Sabaoth, but it chaunced to them contrarie to their expectation. On that side we entered was no resistance made, and lesse on the other where our vaward lay, which entered the towne before vs. Few were slaine¹, for all the people fled by the bridge ouer the riuer of Maze towards the countrey of Ardenne, and from thence to other places for their more safetie. On the side that wee entred I saw but two men and one woman slaine, neither thinke I that there died two hundred persons in all, for the rest fled or hid themselves in Churches and houses. The King seeing no resistance, and the whole armie (being as I ghesse to the number of forty thousand) throng into the towne at two breaches, marched forward at leasure, to whom the Duke being entred a good way into the city suddenly returned, and accompanied him to the palace, from whence he went to the cathedrall Church of Saint Lambert², which his men were about to breake into by force to take prisoners and spoyle that was conueighed thither. And notwithstanding that hee had appointed certaine of his house to garde the said Church: yet could they not doe it because the souldiers assaulted both the doores. Wherefore the Duke himselfe went thither, and one man I saw him kill with his owne hand³, whereupon all the companie disparkled, and the Church was vnspoyled. Notwithstanding in the end, they that were within it were taken and their goods also. The rest of the Churches (beeing so many in number, that I haue heard the Lord of Hymbercourt, who knew the towne well, report as many masses to bee sung there euery day as in Rome⁴) were in a manner all spoyled vnder a colour of taking prisoners. For mine owne part I entred into none but the Cathedrall Church, but thus I was aduertised and saw also good prooffe thereof: for the Pope many yeeres after excommunicated all those that withheld any of these Church goods, vnlesse they restored them, and the Duke appointed certaine commissioners to goe through his country, to see the Popes commandement executed. The city beeing thus taken

¹ Some write that there were slaine in one day at Liege 100000 and Murser writeth forty thousand, and 12000 women drowned in the riuer, which seemeth to disagree with Commynes, who reporteth not about 200. to haue bene slaine: notwithstanding our author must heere not be vnderstood so strictly as though there had not died about 200. in all for his meaning is onely that at the entrance into the towne, there were not slaine about 200. considering the number that were slain in Churches, houses, and flight, it cannot be but that many thousands died, neither is our authors meaning otherwise.

² Some copies haue Saint Laurence, but the olde copie Saint

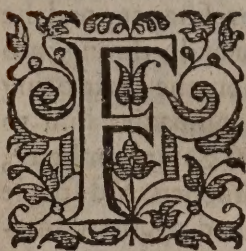
Lambert which *Annal. Burgund.* and *Guicci.* report to bee the principall Church in Liege. ³ The Duke slue before the Church of Saint Lambert two or three archers with his owne hand. *La Marche.* ⁴ There were in Liege to the number of two and thirty Churches and eight Colledges of Priests, *Meyer.* fower abbies, fower hieries, three nunneries, and without and within the towne about an hundred Churches. *Guicci. Habertus.*

and sacked, about noone, the Duke returned to the palace. The King had already dined, and seemed greatly to reioyce at the taking of the towne, and commended also much the Dukes courage and valiantnesse, knowing that report thereof should be made to him, and that these good wordes would somewhat further his returne into his realme, which was his speciall desire. After dinner the Duke and he met and communed together very pleasantly: and if the King commended his valiantnesse behind his backe, I warrant you hee dispraised it not before his face, which the Duke tooke in very good part.

I must now returne to speake somewhat of this miserable people that fled out of the citie, for prooue of a discourse I made in the beginning of this historie touching the inconueniences I haue seene ensue a battell lost by a King, a Duke, or a meaner Prince. These miserable soules fledde through the country of Ardennes with their wiues and children. But a Knight dwelling in those parts, who euer before had taken part with them, slew now a great number of them, and to recouer the conquerors fauour, sent word thereof to the Duke reporting the number of those that were slaine and taken, to bee much greater than indeed it was: Notwithstanding that it were great, whereby he made his peace with the Duke and saued himselfe. Others fled towards Meziere vpon the Maze beeing within the realme of Fraunce, but vpon the way two or three of their Captaines were taken, (one of the which was named *Madoulet*) who were led to the Duke, and by his commandement put to death. Some of these people died also of hunger, some of cold, and some for lacke of sleepe.

Chap. 14. How King Lewis returned into Fraunce with the Duke of Burgundies consent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the countries of Liege and Franchemont.

This was the treaty of Conflans, at the conclusion whereof these three heere named (as our author himselfe before rehearseth,) were the Dukes enemies & tooke part with the King: wherefore no reason it was that the Duke should seeke to haue them comprehended in the treaty as his friends, seeing at the conclusion thereof they were his enemies.



Euer or fīue daies after the taking of the towne, the King began to sollicite such of the Dukes seruants as hee held for his friends to mooue their Master for his departure, but himselfe first brake the matter to the Duke after a sage and wise sort, saying, that if he could stand him in any more steed hee should not spare him, otherwise he desired to returne to Paris to cause the treaty to be recorded in the Court of parliament: for the manner in Fraunce is, to record all treaties there, otherwise they are of no force, notwithstanding the Kings authority may doe much therein. He required also the D. that the next summer they might meet againe in Burgundy, and make merry a month together, whereunto the Duke in the end agreed, mumbling somewhat to himselfe. Farther the Duke commanded the treaty to bee reade againe before the King to know whether ought were passed in it that he misliked, putting him to his choice to allow or disallow thereof at his pleasure. Somewhat also hee excused himselfe for bringing him to this siege. Lastly hee besought him that one article might bee added to the treaty in fauour of the Lords of Lau, and Vrsé, and *Poncet* of Riuiere, to wit, that they might be restored to all their estates and offices that they enioyed before the wars began, which request misliked the King, for there was no reason why the Duke should require to haue them comprehended in the treatie, both for that they were none of his partakers in the warres aboue mentioned, and also because they serued the Lord *Charles* the Kings brother, not the Duke. Notwithstanding the King answered that hee would graunt his demaund vpon condition

condition that he would accord the like to the Lords of Neuers and Croy, whereunto the D. replied nought. This was a very wise answer of the King, for the Duke hated these Lords by him named so extreemely, and held so goodly possessions of theirs, that he would neuer haue condescended to restore them: of the other articles the King answered he would alter none, but confirmed the whole treaty as they two had sworne it at Peronne. Thus was it agreed that the King should returne home, and the Duke accompanied him but halfe a league. But at their leaue taking the King said thus vnto him, if my brother who is now in Britaine will not accept this partage that I haue giuen him for your sake, what will you that I doe. Whereunto the Duke answered suddenly without father deliberation, if he will not, I referre the order thereof to you two, of the which demand and answer sprang a great matter as hereafter you shall heare. Thus returned the King in great ioy, being safe conducted by the Lords of Cordes and Demeriez² great bailife of Haynault, to the frontiers of the Dukes dominions. The Duke abode still in the city of Liege, which was extremely handled I must need confesse, but sure they had well deserued so to be dealt with, because of the great cruelties they had continually vsed against the Dukes subiects euer since his grandfathers daies. Besides that, they neuer performed any promise, nor kept any treaty they made, and this was the fift yeare that the Duke himselfe had been there yeare by yeare in person, and concluded peace, which ordinarily the next yeare they brake. Further they had continued excommunicated of long time, for their great cruelty against their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account, neither would obey the commandements of the Church on that behalfe.

Immediately after the Kings departure, the Duke with small force determined to go into Franchemont, a countrey a little beyond Liege, lying among sharpe rockes and thicke woods. From thence came the best souldiers the Liegeois had, and of this countrey were they that made the desperate sally aboue mentioned. Before his departure a great number of poore prisoners that hid themselues in houses at the taking of the towne were drowned. Further it was concluded that this city heretofore so populous, should be burned at three seuerall times³, and three or foure thousand footmen of the countrey of Lambourg⁴, being neighbors to the Liegeois, and almost of the same manners and language, were appointed to fire it, but to saue the Churches. First, the great bridge built ouer the riuier of Maze was beaten downe, then a great number were chosen to defend the cannon houses about the Cathedral church, to the end they might haue lodging that should say diuine seruice. In like manner also diuers were appointed for defence of the other Churches. This done the Duke departed into the countrey of Franchemont, and immediately after he was out of the towne we saw a great number of houses on this side the riuier on fire: he marched forward & lodged 4. leagues off, yet hard we the noise as easily as if we had been there present: I wot not whether it were because the winde fate that way, or because we lodged vpon the riuier. The next day the Duke departed thence, and those that were left behind in the rowne continued stil the fire as they were commanded, but the churches were all saued a few excepted, and aboue three hundred houses to lodge the Church-men, which caused the rowne so soone to be replenished againe: for much people returned to dwell with these Priests.

Because of extreame frost and cold the greatest part of the Dukes army was forced to goe on foot into the country of Franchemont, which had nener a walled towne in it but all villages. The Duke lodged fife or six daies in a little valley called

¹ This Demeriez the French copie nameth des Murx, the old copy De Meriens, La Marche d'Emmeries. *Annal. Burgun. d'Aymaries.* The towns name is Aymeries in Henault, vpon the riuier of Sambre. Guicci. In the description of Henault, yet the same author in his description generall nameth the man d'Emmeriey *Ann. Bur.* in another place nameth him d'Esmeriez. *Meyer. Aymeries & Emmeriens*, so that I suppose it best to read it as I haue translated it, but that des Murx is very corrupt I am out of doubt.

² This citie was diuided into three quarters, as appeareth by Guic. description for the which cause it was fired at three seuerall times.

³ The old copie hath Lambourg as I haue translated it. the new Luxembourg, as haue also *Annal. Burg.* but not well in mine opinion. For Lambourg is hard by Liege, but Luxembourg farther off.

called Pollence, his army was diuided into two bands the sooner to destroy the country. All the houses he commanded to be burned, and all the iron mills broken, which is their onely trade of liuing. Farther our men hunted the poore people out of great woods and Forrests where they lay hidden with their goods, and many they slew and tooke prisoners, and there the soldiers got good booties. The cold was more extreame then is almost credible: for I saw a gentleman that with cold lost the vse of his foot and neuer recovered it, and a Page that had two of his fingers rotted from his hand, and in like manner a woman dead for cold and her child with her, whereof she was newly deliuered. Farther by the space of three daies all the wine that was drunke in the Dukes lodging was cut with hatchets: for it was so frozen in the vessels that hee was forced to breake them, and cut the wine being a masse of yce into small peeces, which men bare away in hats & baskets as best liked them. I could rehearse diuers other strange accidents of the cold to long to write. To conclude, at eight daies end hunger draue vs thence in haste, and the Duke departed to Namur, and so into Brabant, where he was honourably receiued.

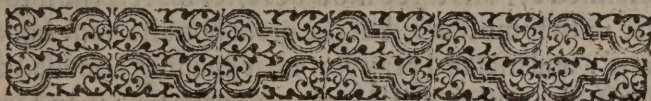
Chap. 15 How the King by subtile means perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchy of Guienne for Brie and Champagne, to the Duke of Burgundies discontentment,



He King after his departure from the Duke returned with great ioy into his realme, attempting nothing against the Duke for his euill vsage at peronne and Liege, but seeming to take all in good part. Notwithstanding sharpe warre arose after ward between them, but not soone, neither was this the chiefe cause thereof, (though happily it might in part further it:) for if this treaty had beene concluded at Paris, it had passed in effect as it did at Peronne. But the Duke by his officers aduise sought to aduance the bounds of his dominions, besides that diuers subtile practises were vsed to set these two Princes againe at variance, as you shall heare when occasion serueth. The Lord *Charles* of France the Kings onely brother and late Duke of Normandy, being aduertised of this treaty made at Peronne and the partage assigned to him thereby: sent forth with to the King desiring him to accomplish the treaty and performe his promise. The King sent in like manner to him about that matter and many messengers ran to and fro between them. The Duke of Burgundy sent also his ambassadors to the said Lord *Charles*, desiring him to accept no other partage then Champaign and Brie, which by his meanes was granted him, shewing him withall how great good will he bare him, sith notwithstanding he had abandoned him, yet would he not doe the like as the sequell well declared, but had also comprehended the Duke of Britaine in the treaty as his confederate. Further he sent him word that Champaign and Brie lay very commodiously for them both, because if the King should at any time attempt ought against him, hee might within two daies warning haue succours out of Burgundy: The two countries bordering one vpon an other. Lastly, he aduertised him that his partage was very good, and that he might leuy in his countries, aides, customes, and subsidies, neither could the King claime any thing there but homage, resort, and soueraignty. This Lord *Charles* was a man doing little or nothiug of himselfe, but wholly led and gouerned by others: notwithstanding that he were aboue
fue

five and twenty yeeres of age. Thus passed the winter which was well spent before the Kings depatture from vs. Messengers ran continually to and fro about this partage: for the King ment nothing lesse than to giue his brother that hee had promised, because hee would not haue him and the Duke of Burgundie so neare neighbours, but he treated with his brother to take Guienne (which is in manner all Aquitaine :) for Brie and Champagne. The Lord Charles feared, to displease the Duke of Burgundy, and doubted if hee yeilded to the Kings request, and he should not keepe touch with him, that then hee should loose both friend and partage, and so bee left bare boord. But the King being the subtillest Prince then liuing, and the cunningest dealer in such treaties, perceyuing that he should doe no good vnlesse he wan those that were in credit with his brother, fell in communication of this matter with Oudet of Rie, L. of Lescut, afterwards Earle of Comminges (who was borne and married in the Country of Guienne,) desiring him to perswade his Master to accept this partage being much better than that he demanded, and that they mought bee friendes, and liue together like brethren, adding also that this partage should bee much more beneficiall both for his brother and seruants (especially for the said Oudet) than the other, and farther, assuring him that without faile, he would deliuer his brother quiet possession of the said country. By this meanes was the L. Charles won to accept this partage of Guienne to the Duke of Burgundies great discontentation, and his Ambassadors there present. And the cause why Cardinall Balue Bisshoppe of Angiers¹, and the Bishop of Verdun were imprisoned, was for that the saide Cardinall writ to the Lord Charles, aduising him to accept none other partage than that the Duke of Burgundy had procured him by the treaty of Peronne, which also the King had sworne and promised (laying his hand within the said Cardinals,) to deliuer him, alleadging withall such reasons to perswade him thereunto, as he thought necessary, wherein he did cleane contrary to the Kings purpose. Thus the Lord Charles was made Duke of Guienne, the yeare 1469. and the possession of the country, together with the gouernment of Rochell deliuered him, and then the King and he saw one another, and were together a long time.

Guienne, Meyer. and for disclofing the Kings secrets by letters to the Duke of Burgundy, Gaguin. But if the D. of Guienne had bene wise, hee would of himselfe without perswasion haue refused this partage. For when a mans enemy offereth him that hath an apparence of good, let him euer refuse it: *nam latet anguis in herba*, as the sequel of this matter well declared, for the accepting of this partage, which the King alleadged, and that truly to bee better than the other the Duke demanded, cost the Duke of Guienne his life, as hereafter shall appeare.



THE

THE THIRDBOKE,

Chap. 1. *How the King tooke occasion to make war anew vpon the D. of Burgundy and how he sent a Pursuant of the Parliament to Gaunt to summon him to appeare at Paris.*

1470.



^a The Kings colour was this, he would not seeme to make war vpon the Duke, but onely to haue sent men to these townes at their request who becauf of the Dukes cruell exacti- ons had pray- ed in ayde of him as of their soue- raigne.

HE yeare 1470. the King determined to bereuenged of the Duke of Burgundy, supposing hee had now found a tiue conuenient so to doe, for he priuily solli- cited and caused others to sollicite the townes situate vpon the riuier of Somme, namely, Amiens, Saint Quintine, and Abbeuille to rebell against the Duke, and to send for succours into Fraunce, and to receiue them into their townes^a. For all great Princes (if they be wise) will seeke euer some colour for their do- ings. And to the end you may perceiue what cun- ning is vsed in Fraunce, I will shew you how this matter was managed, for the King and the Duke were both abused, whereof arose hote and sharpe warre, which endured thirteene or foureteene yeares. The King desired greatly to moue these rownes aboue named to rebellion, pretending (to the end he might haue the better means to practise with them) that the Duke aduanced his limits fur- ther then the treaty would beare, whereupon Ambassadors ran to and fro, who vnder colour of their ambassage practised continually as they passed through these townes to the end aboue mentioned. In the said townes were no garri- sons, but all was quiet both in the Realme, in Burgundy, and in Britaine. And the Duke of Guien liued to all mens indgement in great amity with the King his brother. Notwithstanding when the King first moued this warre, his meaning was not to take one or two of these townes onely, but hee sought to stirre al the D. of Burgundies subiects to rebellion. trusting to atchieue his enterprife by this meanes. Diuers to obtaine his fauour entertained these practises, and reported their intelligence to be far greater than it was: for one promised to take this towne, an other that, and yet indeed all was nothing. Wherefore notwithstan- ding, that the King had iust cause to be displeased for his euill vsage at Peronne, yet if he had thought this enterprife would haue fallen none otherwise out than it did, hee would not haue broken the treaty nor mooued: for he had made the peace to bee proclaimed at Paris three months after his returne into his Realme, and began this war with some feare, but the great hope he had conceiued therof pricked him forward: and marke I pray you what cunning hee vsed to further it. The Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, (a very wise man) and certaine of the Duke of Guyen his seruants, with diuers others desired rather warre than peace between these two great Princes, for two respects: The one, they feared least their great offices and pensions should be diminished, if peace continued. For you shall vnderstand that the Constable had vnder his charge foure hundred men of armes or launces paid by his owne hands euery muster, without controu- ler: farther besides the fee and profits of his office, he had an yeerely pension of thirty thousand frankes and better, and receiued also the reuenues of many good- ly places that he kept.

The other respect was this, they sought to perswade the King, and talked also to like purpose among themselues, that his disposition was such, that his heade could

could neuer be idle, wherefore vnlesse he were busied with great Princes abroad he would be in hand with his seruants and officers at home. For these two reasons therefore they sought to intangle him with wars : whereunto the better to perswade him, the Constable promised to take Saint Quintine at all times when him listed, because his lands lay round about it, vaunting further that he had great intelligence in Flanders and Brabant, so far forth that he would make a number of townes to reuolt from the Duke. The Duke of Guienne also being there present and all his principall seruants, offered very earnestly and promised very faithfully to serue the King in this quarrell, and to lead with them fower or fve hundred men of armes that the said Duke had in ordinarie pay : but their drift was other than the King supposed, as hereafter you shall heare. The King bicause he would seem to proceed with due aduise and deep consideration, called a Parliament of the three estates of his Realme at Tours, in the moneths of March and Aprill in the yeere 1470. which was the first and last Parliament that euer he assembled. But to this Parliament came only such as were purposely named, and such as the K. knew would not gaine say him in any point. There he caused diuers enterprises to be discouered, that the D. of Burgundy had attempted against the crowne, and made the Earle of Eu openly to complaine of him, saying, that the D. detained from him contrary to all law and equitie Saint Valery and certain other lands, that he the said Earle held of the D. as parcels of the Seignorie of Abbeuille, and the county of Ponthieu, the only cause whereof was, for that a little ship of war of Eu had taken a Flemmish hoy laden with merchandise, the losse whereof the Earle offered to repaire, further adding, that the D. would constraine him to do him homage, and giue him his faith against all men none excepted, which he would neuer do, bicause it should be preiudiciall to the K. estate. At this assembly were diuers Lawyers as well of the Parliament of Paris as other places, who concluded according to the K. pleasure, that the D. should be summoned to appeare in the Parliament at Paris. The King knew well that he would answer disdainfully, or doe somewhat preiudiciall to the authoritie of the court, whereby he should haue the iuster pretence of war against him. Thus the D. being in Gaunt was summoned as he went to masse by a pursuant of the Parliament to appeare at Paris : wherwith he was much abashed and discontented, and caused the pursuant forthwith to be apprehended and committed to warde, where he remained certain daies, but in the end was dismissed and sent home. Thus you see what preparation was made to inuade the D. of Burgundy, who being aduertised thereof, leuied a great band of men paid with home wages (as they termed them) which was a trifle they receiued to be in a readinesse in their owne houses. Notwithstanding they mustred monethly in the townes where they dwelt, and receiued their pay. But at three or fower moneths end the Duke waxed weary of the charge and dismissed these men, banishing all feare because the K. sent often to him, and so departed into Holland. He entertained no souldiers in ordinarie pay for the safetie of his country, neither held any garrisons in the frontire townes, whereof ensued great inconuenience : for there was daily practising in Amiens, Abbeuille, and Saint Quintine to yeeld them againe to the King. The Duke being in Holland was aduertised by *Iohn* late Duke of Bourbon, that shortly war should be made vpon him as well in Burgundie as in Picardie, and that the King had great intelligence not only in his dominions but also in his house : with the which message he was maruelously abashed : for he was vtterly vnfurnished of men of warre, because he had discharged the band aboue mentioned. Wherefore in great haste he passed the sea² and went into Artois,

² This sea was one of the streames of the riuier of Rhene that enuiron Holland.

and thence straight to Hedin, where he entred into ielousie both of some of his seruants, and also of those practises that were entertained in the townes aboue mentioned: but his preparation for the wars went but slowly forward. For he beleueed not all that was told him. Notwithstanding he commanded two of the chiefeft citizens of Amiens whom he suspected for these treaties to repaire vnto him, who so cunningly excused themselues, that he dismissed them without further inquirie. Immediately after, certaine of his seruants fled out of his house, namely the bastard *Baldwine* ³ and others, which caused him to feare a greater traine to be behind. Wherefore incontinent he made proclamation that all men should be in a readinesse, but because winter was begun, and he but newly returned out of Holland few stirred.

³ This *Baldwine* was the Dukes base brother: the cause of his departure was for that he had attempted with others corrupted by the King to poyson the Duke: notwithstanding afterward he recovered his fauour, and was taken prisoner at the battell of Nancy. *Meyer.*

Chap. 2. How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeelded to the King: and for what causes the Constable nourished the war between the King and the Duke of Burgundie.



Two daies after his seruants departure, which was in the moneth of December the yeere 1470. the Constable entred into Saint Quintine and sware the towne to the King. Then the Duke perceived his affaires to be in bad estate, for he had no force with him, but had sent all his seruants abroad to muster men in his dominions: Notwithstanding with those few hee could leuie being fower or fife hundred horse he went to Dourlans, minding to keep Amiens from reuolting. There he abode fife or six daies: all the which space they in Amiens continually practised. The Kings armie lying not far off, shewed it selfe before the towne and was once refused, for part of the citizens held for the Duke: wherefore the Duke sent thither to make his lodging, and if he had been so strong that he might haue aduentured to enter in person, the town had neuer been lost, but he was afraid to go thither weakely accompanied: notwithstanding that diuers of the towne required him so to do. But when they of the contrary faction saw his feare that he durst not enter the towne, they executed their enterprise, and receiued the Kings forces. They of Abbeuille thought to do the like, but the Lord of Cordes entred in thither for the Duke, and preuented their purpose. Dourlans distant from Amiens but fife small leagues, wherefore the Duke was forced to depart thence, so soone as he vnderstood of Amiens reuolt: from thence therefore he went to Arras in great haste and feare, doubting the execution of diuers other such enterprises, the rather for that he saw himselfe enuiroined with the Constables kinsfolkes and friends: farther because the bastard *Baudouin* was fled, he entred into suspicion of his other brother the great bastard of Burgundie: notwithstanding his forces repaired to him by little and little. The King thought now that all had been his owne, supposing the aduertisements to be true that the Constable and the rest had giuen him of their intelligences, whereupon if he had not hoped, he would haue wished this enterprise vnbegun.

It is meete I should heere declare what mooued the Constable and the Duke of Guienne considering the great fauours, curtesies, and benefits the Duke of Guienne had receiued at the D. of Burgundies hands, to kindle the fire between these two Princes that lay at rest in their dominions, and which way this warre could turne to their profit. Somwhat I spake hereof before, saying, that they did

it to be in the more assurance of their estates and offices. For they feared if the King liued in peace he would keep some stir among them. Notwithstanding this was not the only cause that moued them. But you shall vnderstand that the Duke of Guienne and they had been earnest suters to conclude a marriage between the said Duke of Guienne, and the Duke of Burgundies onely daughter and heire (for sonne he had none) which matter they had often moued to the Duke, who in words shewed himselfe not vnwilling thereunto, yet not withstanding would neuer conclud it, but entertained others also in hope thereof. Now marke how these men sought to atchieue their enterprise by constraining the Duke of Burgundie to this marriage. Immediately after these two townes were taken, and the Duke gone to Arras to leuie forces with all speed: the Duke of Guienne sent a secret messenger to him, who brought him three lines written with the said Dukes owne hand, foulded vp in a small lumpe of wax, and conteining these words. *Endeuar your selfe to appease your subiects, and you shall not faile of friends.* Farther the Duke of Burgundie being at the first in exceeding great feare, sent to the Constable, desiring him to shew himselfe fauourable, and not to presse forward this war begun without any defiance made. At the which message the Constable grealy reioyced, supposing that he now held the Duke in such feare as he desired, which to increase, he sent him a speedy and discomfortable answer, the effect wherof was, that his estate stood in marvellous danger, so far forth that he saw no way for him to winde himselfe out of these troubles but one: namely, by giuing his daughter in marriage to the D. of Guienne, which if he would do, he should then be succoured with great forces: for both the Duke of Guienne and diuers other Lords would declare themselues for him against the King, and he also would restore him S. Quintine and take his part, otherwise he said he durst do nothing, considering how strong the K. was, hauing both his armie very well appointed, and also great intelligence in the D. dominions. This was the answer he sent, with diuers other fearefull messages. But I neuer knew man in my life come to good end that sought to put in feare and hold in subiection his master, or any other great Prince with whom he had to do, as in the end the Constables example shall well declare. For notwithstanding that the King were then his master, and that the greatest part of his reuenues lay, and all his children were resident in the Duke of Burgundies dominions: yet continued he these practises against both these Princes, with intent to hold them both in feare each by other, which cost him deere in the end, and no maruell. For notwithstanding that euery man desire to liue out of subiection and feare, and that all men naturally hate those that hold them in awe: yet none so extremely as Princes. For I neuer knew Prince that hated not mortally all those that sought to put him in feare.

After the D. of Burgundy had receiued the Constables answer, he perceiued well no friendship to be in him, and farther that he was the onely author of this war. Whereupon he conceiued so extreame hatred against him, that after this he could neuer brooke him, especially because by these fearefull messages hee sought to constraîne him to marie his daughter at his pleasure: a vaine attempt. For before the returne of the Constables answer, the D. had reconered his spirits, and had a great army with him. You may easily perceiue both by the message sent by the Duke of Guienne first, and the Constables answer afterward, that this was a compact matter between them, and the rather for that the like message of a more dreadfull came soone after from the D. of Britaigne, who sent also to the K. service a hundred Britons, all men of armes vnder the leading of the Lord of Lescut. Wherefore we may boldly say that this war was moued onely to con-

straine the D. of Burgundy to conclude this mariage, and that they did but abuse the King in perswading him to begin war : for they were all in manner lies that they told him of their intelligences in the Dukes dominions. Notwithstanding, in this voyage the Constable did the King great seruice, and shewed extreme malice against the Duke of Burgundy, knowing that the Duke had conceived mortall hatred against him. The Duke of Guienne also serued the King in these wars very well accompanied, so that the D. of Burgundy stood vpon hard tearmes. But if at the first he would haue assured his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, both the said Duke of Guienne, the Constable, and diuers other noble men with all their adherents would haue reuolted to him against the King, and done their endeuour to haue pulled him vpon his knees. But whatsoeuer man purposeth in such cases, God disposeth afterward of them at his pleasure.

Chap. 3. How the Duke of Burgundie tooke Piquigny, and afterward found meanes to make truce with the King for a yeere to the Constables great grieve.



You haue heard at large the cause of this war, at the beginning wherof both the Princes were blinded, inuading each other and neither of them knowing the cause why, which was a maruellous cunning of the contriuers of this enterprife. For a man might haue pronounced the old Prouerbe of these two Princes : that the one part of the world was not acquainted with the others manners nor actions. All these affaires aboue reherfed since the beginning of these warres, chanced in a very short space, for within lesse than 15. daies after the taking of Amiens, the D. put himselfe into the field neere to Arras, (for farther he retired not,) and from thence marched to the riuier of Somme, and so straight to Piquigny, but vpon the way thither he met with a messenger of the Duke of Britain on foot, who aduertised him from the D. his Master, that the King had giuen his said Master to vnderstand of diuers secrets, and among others of intelligences he had in many great townes of his dominions : namely Andwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles, adding also that the King was determined to come and besiege him into what towne soeuer he should retire, were it euen into Gaunt. All the which aduertisements I suppose the Duke of Britaine sent in fauour of the D. of Guienne, hoping thereby to further much the mariage aboue mentioned. But the Duke of Burgundie tooke this message in euill part, and forthwith dispatched the messenger, willing him to tell his master that he was misinformed by some euill seruants about him, who put these feares and doubts into his head, to the end he should not aide him as he was bound by their league. And farther that hee knew not what townes Gaunt and the other cities were : in the which he said the K. would come to besiege him : for they were too great to be besieged. He bad him farther to informe his Master in what sort he found him accompanied, and to aduertise him that the world went otherwise with him than he supposed, for he was determined to passe the riuier of Somme, and to fight with the King, if he would come to stoppe him vpon the way. Last of all, hee willed him to desire his Master on his behalfe to ioyne with him against the King, and to shew himselfe a friend to the Duke of Burgundie, as he had shewed himselfe to him by the treatie of Peronne. The next day the Duke of Burgundie approched neere to a towne vpon the riuier Somme called Piquigny, the seate whereof was maruel-

marvellous strong. There he determined to make a bridge to passe the said riuer, but fower or fivie hundred franke archers, and certain gentlemen, who by chance lodged at that present in the towne, seeing the Duke passe by, sallied out to the skirmish vpon a long causey, and issued forth so far from the place, that thereby they gaue the Dukes men occasion to pursue them, who followed them so speedily that they slue a great number of them, before they could retire into the town, and tooke the suburbs into the which the causey led. Then fower or fivie peeces of artillerie were bent against the towne, notwithstanding that it were impregnable on that side, for that the riuer ran between the towne and the Dukes batterie. But these franke archers fearing (because they saw the bridge in hand) to be besieged also on the other side, abandoned the place and fled. The castle held two or three daies and then yeelded by composition, and the souldiers departed in their doblers and their hose. The good successe of this small exploit so much encouraged the D. that he led his armie before Amiens, where he built two or three lodgings, saying that he would keep the field, to see if the King durst come to fight with him, and in the end approached with his artillerie so neere the town, that it shot at randon ouer and into it: in the which estate he lay there at the least six weeks. Within the town was the Constable and all the great officers of the realme: namely the Lord great Master, Admirall, Marshall, Seneshals, and others, accompanied with 1400. men of armes, and 4000. franke archers. The King in the meane time lying at Beauuais made a great muster, being accompanied with the Duke of Guienne his brother, and *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria, son and heire to *John D.* of Calabria and Lorraine, and onely heire of the house of Aniou. Farther all the nobles of the realme subiect to the Arriereban were come thither to him, who trauelled earnestly (as I haue been since informed) to vnderstand the bottom of this enterprise, for they saw the troubles so far from pacification that the K. was now more busied with wars than euer. They within Amiens determined to assaile the D. of Burgundie and his armie, if the King would send his forces being at Beauuais to ioine with them. But the K. being aduertised of this enterprise, sent forthwith to countermand it: for notwithstanding that in all apparence the successe thereof was like to be good: yet was it not altogether voide of danger, especially for those that should haue salied: for considering that they must all haue issued forth on foot, and at two gates, one of the which was hard by the D. camp: if happily they had been repulsed, they should haue put both the town and themselves in great hazard. In the meane time the D. sent one of his pages to the King called *Simon* of Quingy, afterward Bailife of Troy with a letter of six lines written with his own hand, wherein he humbled himselfe to him, saying that he was very sorry he had thus inuaded him for other mens pleasures, which he supposed he would not haue done, if he had been well informed of their practises. The Kings armie sent into Burgundy, had defeated all the force of the country in battell, and taken many prisoners. The number of the slaine was not great, but the discomfiture was great, in such sort that the Kings forces had already taken some places, and besieged other some, wherewith the Duke was somewhat abashed, notwithstanding he made the contrary to be bruted in his campe, saying that his armie had obtained the victorie.

When the K. had read the Dukes letter aboue mentioned, he reioyceth much thereat, both because of the reason aboue alleaged ², and also for that he soone waxed weary of all long enterprises. Wherefore he gaue him a speedy answer, and directed a commission to certaine in Amiens authorising them thereby to treat of truce. Whereupon diuers truces were concluded one after another

1 Of this army he spake somewhat in the Duke of Bourbons aduertisement sent to the Duke of Burgundy mentioned in the first chapter of this booke, it was led by the Earle Dauphin d' Auvergne sonne to the Earle of Montpensier. Of this discomfiture read *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 945.
2 The reason was because he perceived the intelligences of the Constable and the rest to be untrue.

for fower and five daies : and in the end one so far as I remember for a yeere, to the Constables great discontentation : for vndoubtedly whatsoever men haue thought or can thinke to the contrary, he was then mortall enemie to the Duke, and many hot words passed between them in such sort, that after this they neuer were friends as the sequele well declared. True it is that they sent after ward one to another, but all for practise sake, and each to make his profit by the other. For all that the Duke did was onely to recouer S. Quintine, which the Constable euer when he stood in feare of the King promised to restore, and some of these treaties between them I haue knowne so far aduanced, that the Dukes men vpon the Constables promise to be receiued, haue come within two or three leagues of the towne. But when the matter should be executed, he euer continued in his accustomed diffimulation, and sent a countermaund, which his double dealing cost him deere in the end. He thought because of the seate of the towne, the great number of men he had vnder his charge paid out of the Kings cofers, and the variance between these two Princes (which himselfe nourished) to hold them both in feare, but this enterprise was too too dangerous : for they were both too great, too strong, and too subtile.

When these armies were dismissed, the King returned into the country of Touraine, the Duke of Guienne into his owne country, and the Duke of Burgundie into his : in the which estate these affaires remained awhile. The said Duke of Burgundie assembled all the estates of his dominions³, and declared vnto them what damage he had receiued by not hauing souldiers in ordinarie pay as the King had : alleaging that if there had been but five hundred men in a readinesse to defend the frontiers, the King would neuer haue mooued this war, but they should haue liued in peace. He shewed further what great dangers they were like to fall into if this inconuenience were not speedily redressed : and pressed them earnestly for the payment of eight hundred light horse. In the end they agreed to giue him a subsidie of sixscore thousand crownes⁴ ouer and aboue all other duties they yeerely paid him, in the which subsidie Burgundie was not comprehended. But his said subiects for diuers respects feared to put themselues into such subiection and slauerie, as they saw the realme of Fraunce in by reason of these men of armes : which their feare was not without cause : for after the D. had obtained five or six hundred men of armes in ordinarie, he sought continually to increase the number, and began to attempt more boldly against his neighbours in such sort, that in the end these 120000. crownes grew to 500000. and the number of his men of armes augmented so excessiuely, that his subiects were greatly charged for their maintenance. To say my fanisie of these ordinarie men of armes, I thinke vnder a wise Prince they be well imploied, but if he be otherwise, or happily at his death leaue his children in their minoritie, the seruice wherein their gouernors employ them is not alwaies profitable neither for the King, nor for his subiects. The hatred between the King and the Duke diminished not but still endured. Further the Duke of Guienne being returned into his country, sent often to the Duke of Burgundie, entreteining still his sute for his daughters mariage, who fed him continually with faire words, as he did euery other man that required her. And I thinke verily that he neither was desirous of a sonne⁵, neither would haue married his daughter during his life : but haue kept hir to entertaine men, thereby to obtaine their friendship and aide. For he had so many great enterprises in his head, that all his life time could not suffice to achieve them, and those, aduentures almost impossible to be compassed : for halfe Europe would not haue contented him. He had courage enough to attempt any thing,

³ This assembly was held the 16. of Iune Meyer.

⁴ But this subsidie of 120000. crownes was granted but for three yeeres. Meyer pag. 348. and 367.

⁵ The Duke desired no sonne, because then his daughters marriage could not haue stood him in such stead as now it did.

thing, his body was able to endure as much labour and trauell as was needfull, he was furnished both of men and money, but he lacked finenes and cunning sufficient for the managing of his affaires. And what Prince soeuer desireth to be great (notwithstanding that he be accomplished with all other good parts:) yet if he lacke an excellent wit all is to no purpose, which vndoubtedly proceedeth of the meere grace of God. To be short, if part of the D. vertues and part of the King our masters had been tempered together, they would haue made a perfect Prince: for vndoubtedly in wit the King far excelled him, as well appeared in the end.

Chap. 4. Of the wars among the Princes of England during these troubles betweene King Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundie.



Must now discourse of Edward King of England, because these three great Princes, namely our King, the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundie, liued all in one age: in the which discourse, I will not obserue the Historiographers vsuall order in writing, who set downe the certaine yeeres and daies when each thing hapned, neither will I vouch examples out of the ancient histories, for you know them better than my selfe, and in so doing I should but seeme to reason of Diuinity before a Doctor thereof. But I

Note that from this place til the 7. Chapter, all these English affaires, fall into the yeeres 1469. & 14 4

will rudely aduertise you of all that I haue seene, knowne or heard, of these Princes of whom I write. You liue in the selte same age that all these things hapned, wherefore me thinke it needlesse so exactly to note the howers and seasons.

I haue before rehearsed what occasion mooued the Duke of Burgundy to marry King Edwards sister, and said it was principally to fortifie himselfe against the King, otherwise he would neuer haue done it, for the great affection he bare to the house of Lancaster, whereof he was descended by his mother: for she was daughter to the King of Portugall, and her mother daughter to the Duke of Lancaster¹, so that as feruently as he loued the house of Lancaster, as extremely hated he the house of Yorke. But you shall vnderstand that at the time of this mariage, the house of Lancaster was vtterly destroied, and the house of Yorke no more spoken of. For King Edward being both King and Duke of Yorke raigned peaceably. During the ciuill wars betweene these two houses, were fought in England seuen or eight cruell battels, and in them slaine three or fower score Princes and Lords of the blood royall, as before is rehearsed in this historie. The rest that escaped being all younge Lords, whose fathers died in these battels about mentioned, liued as banished men in the Duke of Burgundies court, who receiued them as his kinsmen of the house of Lancaster, before his marriage with King Edwards sisters. I haue seene them in so great miserie before they came to the Dukes knowledge, that those that beg from doore to doore were not in poorer estate then they: for I once saw a Duke of Excester runne on foote bare legged after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods sake, but he vttered not his name. He was the neereft of the house of Lancaster, and had married King Edwards sister², but when he was knowne, the Duke gaue him a small pension to maintaine his estate. They of the house of Sommerfet and diuers others, were there in like manner, who died all afterwards in the wars. Their fathers and kinsmen had spoiled and destroied the realme of Fraunce, and possessed the greatest

Philippa daughter to John Duke of Lancaster was married to John King of Portugall, and had issue by him Isabell mother to Duke Charles. This was Henry Holland Duke of Excester, whose wife was Anne sister to King Edward the fourth, and his grandmother waa Elizabeth daughter to John Duke of Lancaster by his first wife, but he died without issue.

part thereof many yeeres, and afterwards slew one another, and those that remained aliue in England and their children haue died as you haue seene. Yet men say, that God punisheth not now as he did in the children of Israels time, but suffereth euill men and euill Princes to liue vnpunished.

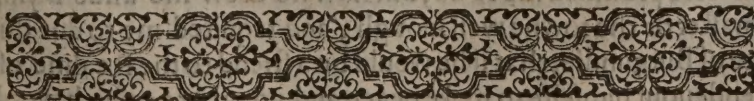
True it is that he threatneth not now by expresse messengers as he did than: for he hath left examples ynough to instruct vs. Notwithstanding you may perceiue by these discourses, ioyning thereto the great knowledge you haue besides, that of euill Princes and such as haue authority in this world, and abuse it to cruelty or tyranny, few or none escape vnpunished though it happen not by and by after the fault committed, neither so soone happily as those that are afflicted, desire. But to returne to King *Edward*, the chiefe man in England that maintained the house of Yorke was the Earle of Warwicke. And on the other side the greatest Champion of the house of Lancaster was the Duke of Sommer-set. The said Earle of Warwicke might iustly be called King *Edwards* father, as well for the training of him vp, as also for the great seruices he did him, for the which the King had also highly aduanced him, for besides his owne inheritance which was great, he held goodly lands of the Kings gift, as well crowne lands, as lands forfeited by attaindor. Farther he was deputie of Calais, and had diuers other great offices, so that I haue heard his yeerely reuenues valued at fouerscore thousand crownes, besides his owne inheritance. But in the end he fell at variance with the King his master, about a yeere (as I gesse) before the Duke of Burgundies comming before Amiens: which breach the said Duke furthered to the vttermost of his power. For the Earles great authoritie in England much discontented him, besides that they two were not friends, for the Earle had continuall intelligence with the King our Master. To be short, about this present or not long before, the Earles of Warwicks force was so great, that he seased the King his master into his handes, and put to death diuers personages that he highly fauoured, namely the Lord Scales the Queenes father³, and two of his sonnes, (the third being also in great danger) and with them diuers other knights. He entertained the King his master for a season verie honourably, and placed new seruants about him, supposing that through simplicitie he would soon forget the old. The Duke of Burgundie being not a little troubled with this aduenture, practised secretly how King *Edward* might escape, and they two commune together, which enterprise had so good successe, that the King escaped in deede, and leuied men, and defeated certaine of the Earle bands. He was a fortunate Prince in the field: for he wan at the least nine great battels, fighting himselfe on foote in euery one of them. The Earle of Warwicke vnable to make resistance, aduertised his friends what they should doe, and embarked at leisure, being accompanied with the Duke of Clarence, who had married his daughter and tooke part with him, notwithstanding that he were King *Edwards* brother. They transported with them both wiues and children, and a great band of men, and sailed straight towards Calais: within the which was the Earles lieutenant named the Lord of Vaucle⁴, and diuers of the said Earles household seruants, who in stead of receiuing their Master presented him the canon. Further you shall vnderstand, that as they lay at anchor before the towne, the Dutchesse of Clarence daughter to the Earle of Warwicke was deliuered of a sonne, and great intreatie was made, before *Vaucle* and the rest of the towne would suffer two flaggons of wine to be brought forth to her, which was great extremitie of the seruant towards the master. For it is to be supposed that the Earle thought himselfe well assured of this place, which is the very key of England: and the goodliest captainship in mine

³ Our Chronicles name the Queenes father Earle of Riuer, and so doth afterward also our Author lib. 5. cap. 15.

⁴ This *Vaucle* was a Gascoigne borne.

mine opinion in the world, at the least in Christendome : which I dare boldly avow, because I was there diuers times during these wars, and heard also the Maior of the staple report, that he would willingly farme yeerely the deputiship of Calais of the King of England for fifteene thousand crownes. For the deputie receiueth the profits of all that they haue on this side the sea, and of all safe conducts, and placeth also the greatest part of the garrison at his pleasure.

The King of England fauored highly the Lord of Vaucles for this refusall made to his Captaine, and granted him by his letters patents the deputiship of Calais for himselfe, which the Earle his master before held : for he was a wise and an ancient knight, and one of the order of the garter. The Duke of Burgundie also who then lay at Saint Omer, conceiued a maruellous good opinion of him, so farre forth that he sent me to him, granting him a yeerely pension of a thousand crownes, and desiring him to continue a true and faithfull seruant to the King his Master as he had begune : which at my comming thither, I found him fully determined to doe, so that he sware in Staple Inne in Calais, (laying his hand within mine) to be faithfull and true to King *Edward*, and to serue him against all men. The like oth all the towne and all the garrison sware also. Farther I was by the space of two months almost continually resident at Calais, at the least posting daily betweene Calais and Bullen to entertaine the said *Vaucles* : for you shall vnderstand that during these English troubles, the Duke of Burgundie came to Bullen where he prepared a great army by sea against the Earle of Warwicke, who at his departure from Calais, tooke many ships of the Dukes subiects, which aduanced forward the war betweene the King of Fraunce and vs. For the Earles men sould the bootie in Normandie : whereupon the Duke of Burgundy arrested all the French Marchants that came to the Mart at Andwerp. Now because it is meete to vnderstand as well the cunning and subtiltie, as the iust and vpright dealing of the world, (not to practise them, but to know how to auoide them,) I will rehearse vnto you a sleight or subtiltie (terme it as you list) that was cunningly conueighed. Farther I would that men should vnderstand the practises as well of our neighbours as of our selues, to the end it may appeare that in all places are both good and bad. When the Earle of Warwicke came before Calais, thinking to enter into it as his onely refuge : the Lord of Vaucles being a very wise gentleman, sent him word that if he entred the towne he should cast away himselfe : considering that all England, the Duke of Burgundie, the people of the towne, and a great part of the garrison : namely the Lord of Duras marshall there for the King of England, and diuers others that had men in the towne were his enemies : wherfore his best way should be to retire into Fraunce, and as touching the towne of Calais he willed him not to trouble himselfe : for he would yeeld him good account thereof when time and occasion should serue. He did his Captaine good seruice by giuing him this aduise, but shewed himselfe thereby a very *Iudas* to the King his Master. For vndoubtedly a more traiterous part was neuer plaied, considering both that the King of England had made him deputy of the towne of Calais, and the Duke of Burgundie giuen him so large a pension.



Chap. 5. How by King Lewis his aide, the Earle of Warwicke chased King Edward out of England, to the Duke of Burgundies great grieve, who receiued him into his countries.



He Earle of Warwicke followed *Vauclers* aduise, and landed in Normandie, where the King honorably receiued him, and furnished him largely of money for his mens expences, and appointed also the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce being well accompanied, to defend the Englishmen and their ships against the Duke of Burgundies nauie, which was so mighty and strong that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for feare of it, making warre vpon the Kings subiects both by sea and land, and threatening them euery where. All this happened the sommer before the King surprised Saint Quintine and Amiens, which was (as before you haue heard) in the yeere 1470. The Duke of Burgundies nauie aboue mentioned was stronger than the Kings and the Earles ioined together. For he had taken at Sluse many great ships, of Spaine, Portugall and Genua, and diuers hulks of Almaine. King *Edward* was a man of no great forecast, but very valiant, and the beautifullest Prince that liued in his time. He tooke no care for the Earle of Warwicks landing as the Duke of Burgundie did, who perceiuing great tumults already arising in England arising in the Earles fauour, aduertised the King often thereof. But he made small account of any danger, neither seemed to feare his enemy: which sure was great folly considering the great preparation he saw made against him. For the King armed all the ships to the sea that he could get, and manned them well, and prouided furniture also for the English men.

Besides this, he made a marriage betweene the Prince of Wales and the Earle of Warwicks second daughter. The said Prince was onely sonne and heire to King *Henry* of England, who liued yet prisoner in the tower of London. This was a strange mariage when the Earle had deposed and imprisoned the Princes father, to cause him to marry his daughter, and to entertaine also the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King of the other faction, who had iust cause to feare his owne estate, if the house of Lancaster recovered the crowne. Thus we see that such enterprises are not atchieued without dissimulation. At the selfe same time that this army aboue mentioned lay in a readines to salie into England, I was at Calais to entertaine the Lord of *Vaucler*, whose double dealing till that very instant I neuer perceined, notwithstanding that it had now continued the space of three months. But at that present, I desired him (because of the newes we heard) to put all the Earle of Warwicks household seruants being to the number of twenty or thirty out of the towne, alleadging that I was sure the Kings army and the Earles were ready to depart out of Normandy where they lay, and if the Earle should happen sodainly to land in England, some such tumult might arise in the towne of Calais by meanes of his seruants, that he should not be master thereof. Wherefore I pressed him earnestly in all hast to put them out of the towne, which he alwaies heretofore promised me to do, but now he drew me aside saying, that he would be master of the towne well inough, and required me to doe this message to the Duke of Burgundie, that if he would be a friend to the Realme of England he should endeouour himselfe to make peace and not warre: which words he spake because of the nauie the Duke had on the sea against the Earle of Warwicke. He told me farther, that peace might easily be made, because that day a gentlewo-
man

man passed through Calice to go into Fraunce to the Dutches of Clarence with certaine ouertures of peace from King *Edward*. And he said true indeede, but as he abused others, euen so was himselfe deceiued by this gentlewoman : for she went about a great enterprife, which also she atchieued to the preiudice of the Earle of Warwicke, and his whole faction. Of this fine practife, and all other that haue been managed on this side the sea, I write the more at large because I am well assured that no man is able to make truer report of them then my selfe, at the least of those that haue hapned within these twenty yeeres.

The secret deliuered to this woman, was to counsell the Duke of Clarence not to cause the destruction of his owne house, by setting vp againe the house of Lancaster, but to remember their ancient hatred and diuision, adding that he might well assure himselfe that the Earle of Warwicke hauing married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and already done homage to him, would by all meanes possible seeke to make him King. This Gentlewoman so wisely executed the charge committed vnto her, that she wan the Duke of Clarence, who promised to reuolt to the King his brother immediately after his returne into England. Shee was a woman well aduised and of few words, and because of her fixe, had leaue granted her to passe to her Meistres easilier then a man should, & as craftie a foxe as this *Vaucler* was, this woman went beyond him, and was the only contriuer of the enterprife, whereby the Earle of Warwicke and his whole faction were vtterly destroyed : wherefore it is no shame to be suspicious, and to haue an eye vpon those that passe to and fro, but great shame it is to be deceiued, and vndone through our owne folly. Notwithstanding suspicions ought to bee grounded vpon some good presumption, for to be too suspicious is naught.

You haue heard already how the Earle of Warwicks army, and the Kings ships appointed to waste him ouer were in a readines to take sea, and how the Duke of Burgundies naue being at Hancy lay prepared to fight with them. But it pleased God so to dispose of this voyaige, that the selfe same night so great a tempest arose that the Dukes naue was forced to seuer : part whereof ran vpon the coast of Scotland, and part into Holland : and not long after, the Earle hauing a good gale of winde, passed into England without all danger. The Duke of Burgundie had aduertised King *Edward* in what port the Earle would land, and had sent men purposely to him to sollicite him to looke to himselfe : but he little regarding the danger, passed forth the time in hunting, hauing none so neere him as the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Marquesse of Montague, the Earle of Warwicks brethren, who had promised and solemnely sworne to serue him against their brother and all others, whereunto he gaue credit. Immediately after the Earles landing, great forces ioyned with him : wherewith the King being much abashed, began then, (but all too late) to looke about him, and send word to the Duke of Burgundie, desiring him that his naue might still keepe the Sea to stop the Earle from retiring againe into France (for vpon the land he would match him well ynough) which message pleased no man that heard it : for it had been much better to haue kept him from landing, then to be constrained to hazard his estate in battell when he was landed. Fiue or fixe daies after the Earles arriual his power was so great, that he encamped within three leagues of King *Edward*. Notwithstanding the Kings force was greater then his, if all his men had been faithfull and true, and lay also in campe to fight with him. Further you shall vnderstand that the King lodged (as himselfe told me) in a strong village - at the least a strong house into the which no man could enter but by a draw bridge, which was a happy chance for him : the rest of his army lay in other villages.

lages round about. But as hee sat at dinner, suddenly one came running in, and brought newes that the Marques of Montague the Earles brother and certaine other were mounted on horsebacke, and had caused all their men to crie, God saue King *Henry*. Which message at the first the King beleeued not, but in all hast sent other messengers forth, and armed himselfe, and set men also at the barriers of his lodging to defend it. He was accompanied with the Lord *Hastings* Lord Chamberlain of England, a wise Knight and of the greatest authoritie about him, who was married to the Earle of Warwicks sister, yet notwithstanding was true and faithfull to his Master, and had three thousand horse vnder his charge in the Kings armie as himselfe told me. With the King was also the Lord *Scales* the Queene of Englands brother, and diuers other valiant Knights and Esquiers, who all perceiued that this busines went not well: for the messengers brought word that the report was true, and that the enemies assembled to assault the King.

• The King
embarked at
at Lyn.

But God so prouided for the King that he lodged hard by the sea side, neere to a place where a little ship laden with victuals that followed his armie, and two hulks of Holland fraughted with merchandise lay at anchor: he had no other shift but to run to saue himselfe in one of them. The Lord Chamberlaine staid a while behind him, and talked with the lieutenant of his band and diuers other particular men in the Kings armie, willing them to go to the enemies, but to beare true and faithfull hearts to the King and him: which talke ended: he went aboard to the rest being ready to depart. Now you shall vnderstand that the custome in England is, after the victory obtained, neither to kill nor ransome any man, especially of the vulgar sort: knowing all men then to be readie to obey them, because of their good successe. Wherefore these soldiers after the Kings departure receiued no harme. Notwithstanding King *Edward* himselfe told me, that in all battels that he wan, so soone as he had obtained victorie he vsed to mount on horsebacke, and crie to *Saue the people and kill the nobles*: for of them few or none escaped. Thus fled King *Edward* the yeere 1470. with two hulkes and a little bote of his owne countrie, accompanied with seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing none other apparell than that they ware in the wars, vtterly vnfurnished of money, and hardly knowing whether they went. Strange it was to see this poore King (for so might he now well be called) to flie after this sort pursued by his owne seruants, and the rather, for that he had by the space of twelue or thirteene yeeres liued in greater pleasures and delicacies than any Prince in his time: for he had wholly giuen himselfe to dames, hunting, hawking, and banketting, in such sort that he vsed when he went a hunting in the sommer season, to cause many pauilions to be pitched to solace himselfe there with the Ladies. And to say the truth his personage serued aswell to make court as any mans that euer I knew: for he was younge, & as goodly a gentleman as liued in our age, I meane in this time of his aduersitie: for afterward he grew maruellous grosse. But behold now how he fell into the troubles and misfortunes of the world. He sailed straight towards Holland, and at that time the Easterlings were enemies both to the English men and the French, and had many ships of war vpon the sea, wherefore they were much feared of the English men, and not without cause: for they were very good soldiers, and had done them great harme that yeere, and taken many prises. These Easterlings discried a farre off the ships wherein the King fled, and seuen or eight of them beganne to make saile after him, but in vaine: for he was far before them, and fell vpon the coast of Holland or somewhat lower: for he arriued in Freezeland by a little town called *Alquemare**, as neere the which as was possible his mariners cast anchor: for because it was ebbing water they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings came

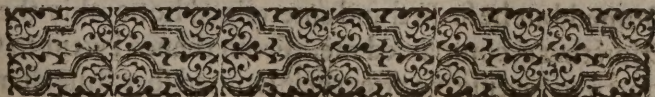
• *Alquemare*
Meyer nameth
Tesselu.

came in like manner & anchored hard by them, minding to bord them the next tide. Thus we see that one mischiefe neuer commeth without company.

King *Edwards* good successe was now cleane altered, and his thoughts quite changed: for not palt fiftene daies before this misfortune, he would little haue beleueed him that had told him that the Earle of Warwicke should chase him out of England, and subdue the whole Realme in eleuen daies: for in that small space he brought it to due obedience. Further, he mocked the Duke of Burgundie for spending his treasure in defending the sea: and wished that the Earle were already landed in England. But what excuse could he make now for himselfe receiuing so great a blow through his owne fault, saue this, that such a mishap was not to be doubted: of which excuse a Prince growen to mans estate ought to be ashamed, for it will not serue. Wherefore let King *Edwards* example teach all Princes that think it shame to feare their enemies, to be wise in time: for notwithstanding that the greatest part of their seruants throug their flattery vphold their sayings, and that themselues also by such words suppose to purchase an opinion of great courage: yet sure (whatsoeuer is said to their face) wise men account such language but meere folly: for it is great honor to feare that which is to be feared, and to prouide for it according. Further, a wise man in a Princes company is a great treasure and iewel, if he may be beleueed & haue leaue to speak the truth.

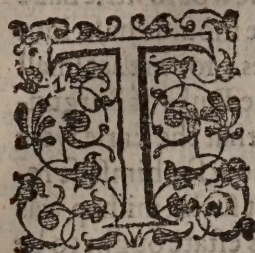
By chance the Lord of Gruteuse the Duke of Burgundies lieutenant in Holland was at that present in the place where K. *Edward* arriued, who being aduertised, by certain that the King sent to land, both of his arriuall, & of the danger he was in of the Easterlings, gaue commaudemēt forthwith to the said Easterlings not to touch him: and went also himselfe into the Kings ship to welcome him. And thus he landed: being accompanied with his brother the Duke of Gloucester (who afterward named himselfe King *Richard*) and a traine of fiftene hundred persons. The King had not one peny about him, but gaue the Master of the ship for his passage a goodly gown furred with martins, promising one day to do him a good turne: and as touching his traine neuer so poore a company was seene. But the Lord of Gruteuse dealt very honorably with them: for he gaue much apparell among them, and defraied the King to La Haye in Holland whither himselfe also waited vpon him. Afterward he aduertised the Duke of Burgundie of this aduenture, who was maruellously abashed at the newes, & had much rather haue heard of the Kings death: for he feared the Earle of Warwicke, who was his mortall enemy, and bare now the whole sway in England. The sayd Earle soone after he was landed, found infinite numbers to take his part. For the army that King *Edward* left behind him, what for loue, what for feare yeelded to him, in such sort that euery day his forces encreased. And in this estate went hee to London, where a great number of Knights & Esquiers (who afterward did King *Edward* good seruice, tooke sanctuary, as also did the Queene his wife, who was there deliuered of a sonne in very poore estate.

King *Edward* landed in Holland the 9. of October. *M. CCCC.*



Chap. 6. How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison

King Henry of England.



He Earle immediately after his arriual at London, went forthwith to the tower and tooke King *Henry* out of prison whom himselfe many yeeres before had lead thither crying before him, Traitor, Traitor: but now he called him his So-ueraigne Lord, and conueighed him to his palace at Westminster, where hee set him vnder the cloth of estate, in the Duke of Clarendons presence, who little liked that sight. Farther he sent forthwith three or foure hundred men to Calais to spoile and forray the country of Boulonois, whom the Lord of *Vaucles* (so often aboue mentioned) friendly receiued, and made then open declaration of the good will he had alwaies borne the Earle his Master. The same day that the Duke receiued newes of the Kings arriual in Holland: I was come from Calais to Boulen. (where the Duke then lay,) vnderstanding nothing of this aduenture, nor of the Kings flight. The Duke was first aduertised that hee was dead, whereof he forced not greatly, for he loued the house of Lancaster much better then the house of York. Besides that he had with him the Dukes of Excester and Sommerfet and diuers other of King *Henries* faction, by whose meanes hee thought himselfe assured of peace with the house of Lancaster. But he feared the Earle of Warwicke, neither knew he how to entertaine him that was come to him^r, I meane King *Edward* who was his brother in law, and they both of one order; for the King ware the golden Fleese, and the Duke the Garter.

^r He meaneth
whether he
should aide
the King or
no.

The Duke forthwith sent me backe againe to Calais accompanied with a gentleman or two of this new King *Henries* faction, and gaue mee instructions how to deale with this new world, pressing me earnestly to goe, because it stood him vpon to be well serued in this busines. I went as far as Turnehan a castell neere to Guisnes, and further durst not passe, because I found the people flying for feare of the English men, who were abroad and spoyled all the countrey. But I sent forthwith to the Lord of *Vaucles* desiring a safe conduct: for before I was accustomed to go without any, and was alwaies honorably receiued: for the English men are very courteous & honorable in their entertainment. All this seemed strange to me: for I neuer had seen such sudden alterations in the world. I aduertised the Duke the same night of the danger I should be in if I passed further, making no mention of the safe conduct I had sent for, because I doubted what answer I should receiue thereof. The Duke sent me a ring from his finger bidding me go forward, and if I were taken prisoner he would redeeme me: for he cared not greatly to endanger one of his seruants at his neede. But I had prouided well for my selfe: for I receiued a safe conduct with very courteous letters from the Lord of *Vaucles*. Wherin he sent me word that I might go and come after my wonted manner. Whereupon I went to Guisnes, and found the captaine at the castell gate, who offred me a cup of wine, without that he led mee into the castell as he was accustomed, but he feasted and entertained honorably these gentlemen of *K. Henries* faction that accompanied me. From thence I went to Calais, where no man came forth to receiue me after their wonted sort, but all men ware the Earle of Warwicks liuery. Further, vpon the gate of my lodging they made aboue an hundred white crosses & rimes, signifying that the King of Fraunce and the Earle of Warwick were all one: all the which seemed strange to me. Soon after my

my comming to Calais, I sent to Graueling, being but five leagues thence, commanding all English merchants & merchandises to be stayed, because the Englishmen had so spoyled the country. The Lord of Vaucler sent for me to dinner, being wel accompanied, and wearing on his cap a white ragged staffe of gold enamiled², being the Earles cognisance, which all the rest that were with him were likewise, and he that could not haue it of gold, had it of cloth. It was told me there at dinner, that within lesse than a quarter. of an howre after these newes came out of England, euery man ware the said cognisance: so speedy and sudden was the change. This was the first time that I beganne to consider how vnstable and vncertaine all worldly things are: The said *Vaucler* gaue me very courteous language, & made certain excuses in the Earle his captaines behalfe, rehearsing also what great benefites he had receiued at his hands. But as touching the rest that were with him, I neuer saw men so farre out of frame: for those that took to haue been the kings trustiest seruants, were they that most thretned him: some I think for feare, but others in good earnest. Those household seruants of the Earles, whom I had required the Lord of Vaucler heretofore to put out of the towne, were now in great credit. Notwithstanding they neuer vnderstood that I had moued the said *Vaucler* to any such purpose. In communication that passed between them and me, I euer tolde them that *K. Edward* was dead, whereof I said, I was well assured, notwithstanding that I knew the contrary, adding further, that though it were not so, yet was the league betweene the D. of Burgundy and the king, and realme of England such, that this accident could not infringe it: for we would account him King whom they did. I said moreouer, that because of the alterations that had hapned in times past, these words, *With the King and the Realme*, were inserted into the league, for performance also whereof, fowre of the best townes in England were in pledge to the Duke. The merchants required in any wise to haue me staied, because their goods were taken at Grauelin by my commandement as they said. In the end peace was thus concluded betweene them and me, that they should pay for all the cattell they had taken, or restore it againe: for by agreement between the house of Burgundy & them, they might goe into certain pastures thereabout, and take cattell for the prouision of the town, at a price which they now paid, and prisoners they had taken none. Thus it was agreed that the league should remaine firme and vniolable between vs & the king & realm of England, saue that for *Edm.* we named *Henry*. This agreement pleased well the Duke of Burgundy, for the Earle of Warwicke was sending fowre thousand Englishmen to Calais, to make sharpe warre vpon his dominions, neither could the D. pacifie him by any means. Notwithstanding the rich merchants of London, diuers of the which were then at Calais, in the end perswaded him to peace, because their staple of wools is there, which is a farre goodlier thing than a man would belieue: for it is almost incredible of how great value the wooll is that is transported thither twise a yeare, and lyeth there till merchants come to buy it. The chiefe vent whereof is into Flaunders and Holland, which was the principall cause that moued these merchants to labour so earnestly for peace, and for stay of the soldiers the Earl was sending ouer: which was a happy chance for the Duke of Burgundy, for it was euen at the very same instant that the King tooke Amiens and Saint Quintin: and if both the realmes had made war vpon him at once, vndoubtedly he had been vndone. He trauelled to appease the Earle of Warwicke by all meanes possible, alleading that he would attempt nothing against *K. Henry*, seeing himselfe was of the house of Lancaster, and vsing such words as might best serue for his purpose.

² Our author reporteth this ragged staffe to be blacke, but because the Earles of Warwicke neuer gaue it blacke, but the Earles of Kent, I haue translated it white, no whit doubting but that either the Printer hath faulted here, or our authors memory hath faile him.

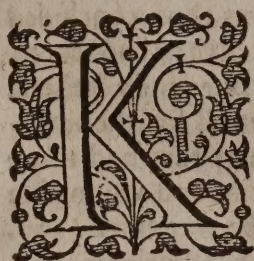
Now to returne to King *Edward*, he came to Saint Paul to the Duke of Burgundie, and pressed him earnestly for aide to returne home, assuring him that hee had great intelligence in England, and desiring him for Gods loue not to abandon him, considering he had married his sister, and that they were brethren of one order. The Dukes of Sommerfet and Excester labored him to the contrary, to wit, to take part with King *Henry*. The Duke could not tell whom to please, and eyther party he feared to displease. But in the end because sharpe warre was already begun vpon him, euen at his very nose³, he inclined to the Duke of Sommerfet, and the others aboue named, accepting their promises against the Earle of Warwicke their ancient enemy. Wherewith K. *Edward* there present was wonderfully disquieted. But the Dukes seruants alleadged the best reasons they could in excuse thereof, saying that the Duke vsed this dissimulation to auoyde warre with both the realmes at once, adding thereto; that if he should bee overthrowne, he could not after aide him at his ease. Notwithstanding the Duke seeing that he could no longer stay the King there, but that needs he would return into England, and fearing for diuers considerations altogether to discontent him: pretended openly that he would not aide him, and made proclamation that no man should go to his seruice: but couertly he deliuered him 50000. gildons of the Sa. Andrewes crosse, and caused three or fowre great ships to be armed for him at La Vere in Zeland⁴, which is a haven where all nations are receiued. Besides this, he entertained for him secretly foureteen shippes of the Eastlings well appointed, who promised to serue him till he were landed in England, and fifteen daies after, which was great aid considering the time.

³ To wit, by the English men sent ouer by the Earle of Warwicke.

⁴ La vere, otherwise called Camphere is in the Ile of Walkeren in Zeland, not in Holland, and is the Scottish staple, wherefore I haue bene bold to amend the booke.

Chap. 7. How King Edward returned into England, where he slue in battell first the Earle of Warwicke, and then the Prince of Wales.

Here our English affaires begin the yeere, 1471.



King *Edward* departed out of Flaunders, the yeare 1471. at the selfe same instant that the Duke of Burgundie went to Amiens against the K. The said Duke thought now howsoeuer the world went in England, he could not speede amisse, because he had friends on both sides: King *Edward* immediatly after his landing, marched straight towards London, because three or foure hundred Knights and Esquiers of his faction, together with others of the meaner sort, to the number of two thousand and better, had retired themselues into the Sanctuaries of the City, which was a happy chance for him, for hee landed with small force. The Earle of Warwicke being in the north parts with a great army hearing these newes made haste to be at London before him, rather for other respects than for that he greatly feared the reuolt of the town, notwithstanding the contrary happened. For K. *Edward* was receiued into the City with great ioy & triumph the tuesday before Easter, contrary to the expectation of most men, for all the world accounted him as vtterly vndon. And vndoubtedly if they had shut the gates against him, he had been past all recouery: for the Earle of Warwicke was but a daies journey behind him. There were three things especially (as I haue heard) that caused the town to reuolt, First, the gentlemen that were in the sanctuaries & the young Prince lately borne. The second, the great debtes that the K. owed in the town, in respect wherof, the Merchants to whom he was indebted, thought it their best way to take part with him. The third, a great many women of honor, & rich merchants wiues, with whom in times past he had bin familiar,

familiar, perswaded their husbands and friends to incline to him. He staid not past two or three daies in the towne: for vpon Easter euen he departed with all the force he could leuy, and marched against the Earle of Warwicke, whom he met the next morning being Easter day: and as they stood in order of battell, the one in face of the other, suddenly the D. of Clarence the Kings brother (who was reconciled to the King as before you haue heard) reuolted to the King with twelue thousand men and better¹, which no lesse astonied the Earle than encouraged the King, whose force was not great. But all this notwithstanding the battell was cruell and bloody. They were all footemen on both sides, of the Kings vaward a great number were slaine: then his battell and the Earles met, and ioined so fiercely together, that the King himselfe fought in person more valiantly then any man of either army. The Earle of Warwicke vsed neuer to fight on foote, but his manner was when he had led his men to the charge, to take horse, and if the victorie fell on his side to fight among his soldiers, otherwise to depart in time. But at this battell he was constrained by his brother the Marques of Mountacute, a valiant Knight, to light on foote and send away his horse. To conclude, in this battell died the Earle and his brother, with a great number of gentlemen, the slaughter also of the poore people was great. For King Edward at his departure out of Flaunders, resolved to crie no more to saue the people and kill the nobles: but he had conceiued extreame hatred against the communitie of England, both for the great fauour they beare the Earle of Warwicke, and for other respects also: wherefore at this battell he spared them not. Of the Kings side died about fiftene hundred, and the field was valiantly fought.

¹ Our Chronicles report that the Duke turned on the Kings side at Couentrie before the Kings coming to London: and they vary also in other circumstances from our author.

At the time of this battell the Duke of Burgundie lay before Amiens where he receiued letters from the Dutches his wife, that King Edward her brother was not a little discontented with him, alleaging that the aide he gaue him, was given in euill sort, and with euill will, so far forth that he was vtterly forsaken of him: and to say the truth the King and he after this neuer loued one another. Notwithstanding the Duke supposing that this victorie would greatly further his affaires, caused the newes to be published in all places.

² Our histories report otherwise of King Henries death, for he was slaine in the Tower, and not so soone after the battell.

I had forgotten to tell you how King Edward finding King Henry at London, lead him with him into the battell aboue mentioned. This King Henry was a very simple man, and almost an innocent: and if I haue not heard a lie, incontinent after the battell the Duke of Glocester K. Edwards brother, (who afterward named himselfe K. Richard) slue this holy man K. Henry with his owne hands, or caused him to be slaine in his presence in some secrete place². The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell aboue mentioned was fought, hauing in his company the D. of Excester & Sommerfet, with diuers others of his kinfolkes & ancient followers of his house. His army was to the number of fortie thousand, as I haue been informed by diuers that were with him: and if the Earle of Warwicke would haue staid for him, it is very like the victorie should haue been theirs. But the Earle feared both the D. of Sommerfet, whose father & brother he had slaine: & also Queene Margaret the Princes mother: wherefore he fought alone & would not tary for them³. Marke here by this example how long ancient factions and partialities endure, how much they are to be feared, and what great damage ensueth thereof. So soon as K. Edward had obtained this victorie, he marched incontinent against the Prince of Wales, where another cruell battell was fought: for the Princes force was greater than the Kings, notwithstanding the lot of the victorie fell to the King, and the Prince was slaine vpon the place⁴ with diuers other great Lords, and a marvellous number of common

³ Our Chronicles report that the Duke of Sommerfet was at Barnet field with the Earle of Warwicke, and repaired afterward to the Queene, and was taken in the second battell, and then beheaded.

⁴ Our histories write that the Prince was not slaine in the battell but soone after, hauing had communication with King Edward.

soldiers. The Duke of Sommerſet was taken, and the next day beheaded. In eleven daies the Earle of Warwicke ſubdued the whole realme of England, at the leaſt brought it to obedience: and in one and twenty King *Edward* recovered it, hauing fought two great and cruell battels. Thus you ſee what ſudden mutations haue beene in England. King *Edward* cauſed many of the people to be put to death in many places, eſpecially ſuch as had made aſſemblies againſt him. And from that day forward raigned peaceably in England till his death, though not without great trouble and vexation of minde. I will here end my diſcourſe of theſe Engliſh affaires, till time and occaſion ſerue in ſome other place, onely adding this, that of all the nations in the world, the Engliſhmen are moſt deſirous to trie their quarrels by dint of ſword.

Chap. 8. How the wars reuined betweene King Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundie, by the ſollicitation of the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine.



Will now returne to our affaires on this ſide the ſea, wherof I haue made no mention ſince the Duke of Burgundies departure from before Amiens, the Kings returne into the countrey of Touraine, and the Duke of Guienne his brothers into Guienne. The ſaid Duke of Guienne continued ſtill his ſute aboue mentioned for his marriage with the Duke of Burgundies daughter, whereunto the Duke in word euer ſhewed himſelfe willing, but indeed meant nothing leſſe, both becauſe he purpoſed to uſe her as an inſtrument whereby to entertaine all the world, and a marchandiſe to put euery man in hope of, and alſo for that he ſtomacked the euill practiſes they had contriued to conſtraine him to this marriage perforce. The Earle of Saint Paul Conſtable of Fraunce buſied himſelfe in this treatie very carneſtly, deſiring that the mariage might ſeeme to be effected by his onely meanes and procurement. On the other ſide the Duke of Britaine traueled therein, to the end the whole honor thereof might redound to him. The King was as buſie as the beſt to breake it off, though needleſſy, as well for the two reaſons aboue alleaged, as alſo becauſe the Duke of Burgundie was not deſirous of ſo great a ſonne in law, wherefore in vaine the King troubled himſelfe, but he could not ſee another mans thoughts. And ſure hee had iuſt cauſe of feare, for if this mariage had taken effect, his brother ſhould haue been ſo mightie, that he and the Duke of Britaine ioined together, might haue put the Kings eſtate and his childrens in great danger. In the meane time about theſe affaires many ambaffadors paſſed to and fro as well ſecretly as openly.

This often paſſing to and fro of ambaffadors is a thing very dangerous: for vnder colour thereof many times euill practiſes are entertained: yet notwithstanding ambaffadors muſt of force both be ſent and receiued. They that ſhall read this hiſtory will aſke peraduenture what remedie I can deuife againſt this inconuenience, becauſe it ſeemeth almoſt remedieleſſe. For anſwere whereunto I will ſhew mine aduiſe, notwithstanding that I know a number far better able to diſcourſe hereof than my ſelfe. Ambaffadors that come from perfect friends, with whom no occaſion of quarrell can ariſe, muſt be well entertained, & permitted to come often, to the Princes preſence, I mean if the Princes be wiſe & of comly perſonage, otherwiſe the leſſe he be ſeen the better. Notwithstanding when he muſt of neceſſity be ſeen, let him be well apparelled, & well inſtructed what to ſay, and

vſe

use short speech according to Princes amity, which vsually is but short. But if ambassadors be sent openly or secretly between Princes that are in continuall hatred and war, as all those haue been that I haue knowen or been conuersant with in my time, sure there is great danger therein. Notwithstanding mine aduise is, that ambassadors be well entertained and honorably receiued: for to send to meete them, to lodge them well, to appoint trusty and wise men to accompanie them, are not onely points of great curtesie, but also of great safetie. For thereby you shall both vnderstand who they are that resort to them, and also stay such as be light headed and discontented with the present estate, from bringing them intelligence: for there is no Princes court wherein all haue contented mindes. Further, they must haue speedy audience, and soon be dispatched. For me thinke it a perilous matter for a man to harbor his enimie in his house, but to defray them, to lodge them well, and to giue them presents is but curtesie. Further, in time of open warre no practise nor ouerture of peace must bee altogether broken off (because peraduenture the least of them may serue vs to good purpose) but all must be continued and entertained, and all ambassadors heard, vsing them as before is said, and appointing sure watch to espy who goe to beare them intelligence, and are sent to them either by day or night: but this must be done as secretly as may be. Further, for one ambassador they send to you, send you two to them: and though they be weary of your ambassadors, and forbid any more to come: yet send still when time and occasion serueth. For no spie shall haue such libertie to inquire and vnderstand of all matters as they. And if you send two or three together, it is impossible for your enimie to haue so good watch (I meane vsing them with good termes as ambassadors are to be vsed) but that some of them shall haue conference and intelligence with one or other. Lastly, a wise Prince must alwaies endeuer himselfe to haue some secret friend or friends about his enimie, and beware as neere as he may (for in such cases men cannot alway doe as they would) that his enimie haue not the like about him. You will say peraduenture that by such often sending I shall increase mine enemies insolencie and pride. But I force not thereof: for by this meanes I shall vnderstand his secrets, and in the end all the profit and honor shall redound to me. And notwithstanding that mine enimie may deale with me after the same sort, yet would I not cease from sending, but entertaine all ouertures and breake off none, to the end I may alwaies haue occasion to send. For all men haue not like wisdom, like cunning, nor like experience in these affaires, neither like occasion to trauell for experience, and in these cases the wisest win the garland: wherof I will giue you a manifest example. In all treaties of peace concluded between the English and French nations, the French haue alwaies shewed more finenesse, subtiltie, and cunning than the English, so far forth that the said English men haue a common prouerbe, as once they told me, when I treated with them: that in all battels fought with the French, euer or for the most part they haue obtained honor and victorie, but in all treaties that haue been concluded between them they haue euer receiued losse and dammage. And sure in mine opinion I haue knowen in this realme (especially of King *Lewis* his training vp) men as sufficient to negotiate in a treatie of peace as any in the world. For those that are imploied in these affaires must be milde men, and such as can beare patiently all rude words to compasse their purposes for their Masters profit, and such onely would King *Lewis* employ. I haue been somewhat long in discoursing how ambassadors actions must diligently be obserued, but not without cause: for I haue seen and knowen

known so great fallhood and treacherie vsed vnder colour thereof, that I could no sooner end my discourse.

¹ This *Nicholas* is named in other histories *Marques du Pount*.

This mariage between the Duke of Guienne and the Duke of Burgundies daughter was so earnestly laboured, that in the end some promise was made thereof both by mouth and letter. But I haue knowne the like done to *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria and *Lorraine* ¹ sonne to *John* Duke of Calabria so often aboue mentioned, and to *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy that last died, and to *Maximilian* Duke of Austrich now King of Romans only sonne of *Frederike* the Emperor, who also receiued a letter written with the damsels owne hand by hir fathers commandement, and a diamond therewith. All which promises were made in lesse than three yeeres space: yet am I well assured that during the Dukes life, none of them should haue been accomplished, at the least with his consent. But this letter aboue mentioned furthered much Duke *Maximilians* sute, as hereafter you shall heare. I write not this to charge thereby the Duke of Burgundie, or any of those aboue mentioned, but only to rehearse the course of these affaires. Further, I perswade my selfe that rude and simple men will not busie their braines about the reading of this historie: but Princes and Courtiers shall finde in it good lessons and aduertisements in mine opinion. During this treatie of mariage diuers new enterprises against the King were in communication. With the Duke of Burgundie was the Lord of Vrfé, *Poncet* of Riuiere, and certaine other meane personages that ran to and fro, for the Duke of Guiennes affaires. In like manner the Abbot of Begarde afterward Bishop of Leon was resident with him, for the Duke of Britaine. These aduertised the Duke of Burgundy, that the King practised to corrupt the Duke of Guiens seruants, and to withdraw them from him, partly by loue, partly by force: adding also that he had already razed a certaine place belonging to the Lord of Estissac, the Duke of Guiennes seruant, and had begun diuers other attempts against his brother, so far forth, that he had withdrawn from him certaine of his household seruants: whereby appeared manifestly (as they said) that he ment to take Guienne from him now as in times past he had Normandy, once granted him for his partage, as before is mentioned. The Duke of Burgundy sent diuers ambassadors to the King about these affaires, who euer excused himselfe ², and accused his brother, saying that for his part he minded not to touch his brothers partage: but that his brother by seeking to inlarge his limits, was author of all these troubles.

² The King made warre vpon his brother, because he had restored the Earle of Armignac to all his possessions in Guienne, whom the King before had banished. *Annal. Aquit.*

We haue here to consider how troublesome, dangerous, and far from all good end the affaires of this Realme are, when it is in discord and ciuill dissention: for notwithstanding that at the beginning of the troubles all men hope shortly to see them at an end: yet is the contrary greatly to be feared, for though the fire be kindled at the first, but between two or three Princes, or men of meaner estate: yet before two yeeres be expired, all our neighbours shall be bidden to the banquet, as plainly may appeare by this that followeth. At this very instant that I now write of, the Duke of Guienne, at the least his seruants, and the Duke of Britaine desired the Duke of Burgundy in no wise to call the Englishmen to his aide: for seeing all that they did was for the good and benefit of the realme, they would not bring the ancient enimies of the crowne into the realme: adding farther that if he would be in a readinesse they should be strong enough of themselves, as well because of their great forces, as also of the good intelligence they had in the realme with diuers Captaines and others. And once it was my chance to be present when the Lord of Vrfé had communication with the Duke to this effect;

fect, and withall pressed him earnestly with all speed to leuie his army. The Duke stood at a window and called me to him and said : Heere is my Lord of Vrsé that presseth me earnestly to leuie the greatest force that possibly I may, alleaging that it shall be greatly for the benefit of the realme : what think you of this motion if I enter into the realme with my army, shall I doe any great good there ? I answered him merrily that I thought no: then said he, I loue the realme of France better than my Lord of Vrsé weeneth, for where it hath one king, I would it had sixe.

During the treaty of marriage aboue mentioned, *Edward* king of England, who thought verily that the marriage should haue beene accomplished: (wherein hee was deceiued, as was also the king) travelled earnestly with the Duke of Burgundy to breake it off, alleaging that the King had no issue male, wherefore if he happened to die, the crowne should descend to his brother, whereby (if this marriage tooke effect) the realme of England should stand in great danger, so many seignories being vnited to the crowne. This matter troubled maruellously though needlessly, not onely the King of England, but his whole Councell also in such sort, that they would giue no credit to the Duke of Burgundy what promise soeuer he made to the contrary. The saide Duke notwithstanding the request aboue mentioned made vnto him by the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine, for not calling in strangers to his aide, was very desirous that the King of England should inuade some part of the realme, and himselfe would haue pleaded ignorance therein. But the Englishmen would not be wooon thereunto: for they so much feared the annexing of the house of Burgundy by this mariage to the crowne of France, that they would at that time rather haue aided the King, than inuaded him. You see heer all these Princes throughly busied and accompanied with a number of wise men, who (as the sequelle well declared) foresaw a farre off more by the one halfe than in their life time tooke effect: for they all through this continuall toyle and trauell, in short space one after another ended their liues, each man reioycing at others death, as of a thing most desired. Soone after followed their Masters, leauing their successors troubles enough, all saue the king our master, who left his realme to his sonne, quiet both from forraine warres, and ciuill dissention, so that hee did more for him than euer he eyther would or could doe for himselfe: for I neuer knew him in peace saue onely a little before his death.

The Duke of Guienne at this present lay sicke and in daunger of death, as some said, but others affirmed the contrary: his men pressed earnestly the Duke of Burgundy to put himselfe into the field, because the time of the yeere serued fitly for that purpose, and aduertised him that the Kings army was abroad, and lay at Saint Iohn d' Angelie, or at Xainctes, or thereabout. To bee short, they laboured the Duke so importunately, that he went to Arras, and there assembled his forces, and marched towards the townes of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier: his army was marvellous great, yea the greatest that euer he had before: for in it were twelue hundred Launces of his ordinary retinue, euery one of them accompanied with three archers well armed and well mounted: farther in euery company of these Launcers were ten men of armes for a supply, besides the Lieutenant and Ensigne bearer. The Gentlemen of the Dukes dominions were likewise in very good order: for they were well paid and led by valiant knights and esquires. And sure at that time these countries were marvellous rich.

Chap. 9. How the finall peace treated of between the Duke of Burgundy and the King brake off, because of the Duke of Guiens death, and how these two great Princes sought to deceine each other.

1472.



1 The Duke of Guienne died the 12. of May, but Meyer saith the 24. *Annal. Aquit.* the 11. Of his death read *Annal. Burgund. lib. 3. fol. 946. Meyer lib. 27. fol. 353.* writeth thus of it. *Rex fratri venenum miscebat per Iordanum Abbatem, Dini Iohannis benedictini uominu: where reade also what Th. Bassius Bishop of Lisieux writeth of the Dukes death, who compareth King Lewis to Cain, Aueus, Thistes, Polinices, and Eteocles, Hollandia scrip. sor saith thus: Rex ille, inquit idem, fecit quod Cain, qui unicum fratrem suum Abelin-terfecit. Dedit enim Rex mortiferum Carolo fratri venenum qui non statim extinctus est, sed mensibus aliquot misere- biliter afflictus*

While the Duke was leuying his armie aboue mentioned, the Lord of Cran and Master *Peter Doriote* Chauncellor of Fraunce came to him twise or thrise from the King, and secretly treated with him of a finall peace, which heeretofore could neuer bee concluded, because the Duke required restitution of Amiens and Saint Quintine, whereunto the King would neuer condescend: but now partly because of the great preparation he saw made against him, and partly in hope to compasse certaine purposes whereof heereafter you shall heare, hee agreed to yeeld them. The conditions of this peace were, that the King should restore to the Duke, Amiens and Saint Quintine, and whatsoeuer else was in controuersie betweene them. That he should abandon the Earles of Neuers and Saint Paule Constable of France, and permit the D. to do with them and all their possessions at his pleasure, and seaze them into his owne hands if hee could. That the Duke in like manner should abandon the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine, and permit the King to doe with them and their seigniories at his pleasure. I was present when the Duke of Burgundy sware this treaty, and likewise the Lord of Cran, and the Chancellor of Fraunce in the Kings name, who also at their departure from the Duke aduised him not to dismishe his army, but to march still forward, to the end the King their Master might make the speedier deliury of the two places aboue named. Further *Simon* of Quingy was sent with them to see the King sweare and confirm this treaty, which his ambassadors had concluded: but the King delaied the confirmation a certaine space, and in the meane time hapned his brothers death.

The Duke being ready to depart from Arras receiued two seuerall aduertisements: one that *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, heire of the house of Aniou, and son to *John* Duke of Calabria was comming to him about his daughters mariage, whom he honourably receiued, and put in great hope of his sure. But the next day being the 15. of May^a 1472. (as I remember) came letters from *Simon* of Quingy the Dukes ambassador to the King, wherein hee aduertised his Master of the Duke of Guiennes death, and that the King had already recouered a great part of his country. The like aduertisements receiued he also incontinent from others, but reporting diuersly of the said D. death. Soone after returned *Simon* of Quingy from the K. with a cold answer: for he refused to sweare the treatie, which the Duke tooke very disdainfully as a matter tending to his contempt and dishonour. His men also in time of warre as well for this as other causes spake very villanous and opprobrious words of the King, and I warrant you the French requited them with the like. The Duke of Burgundy being almost out of his wits because of these newes, by the perswasion of certaine no lesse sorry for this accident than himselfe, writ letters to diuers townes of the realme, charging the King with his brothers death, but little it auailed, for no man stirred¹. Notwithstanding if the Duke of Guienne had liued, vndoubtedly the King should haue had enough to do: for the Britons were in a readines to inuade him, hauing greater in-

Gaguin a French historiographer saith thus: The King was aduertised of his brother Duke *Charles* his death, who died at Bordeaux poysoned by a certaine Abbot, but not without the Kings consent as the report went. *Annal. Aquit.* written by a French man seeme to make King *Lewis* accessory to his death. The Duke was poysoned as he sate at the table with the Lady of Mountforeau whom he entertained, and who was also poysoned with him. The King commanded the Abbots proceffe to cease, and the rest which were suspected: whereby he plainly bewraied his owne guilty conscience.

telligences

telligences in the realme than euer before: all the which failed by the D. death.

The Duke of Burgundy in this fury put himselfe into the field, and marched towards Nefse in Vermandois, making foule and cruell war, contrary to his accustomed manner: for he spoiled and burned all the countrey as he passed. His vaward marched before him, and besieged the saide towne of Nefse being of no force: but the Duke himselfe lodged three leagues from it. Within the towne were certaine franke archers, that slew a herald of the Dukes, comming to summon them. Further, their Captaine came forth to parle vnder surety, thinking to bring the matter to composition but could not, and as he returned into the towne (the truce yet continuing because of his salie) they within the town (notwithstanding that themselves stood open vpon the wall no man seeking to hurt them) slew yet two other of the Dukes men, wherefore the truce was disauowed, and word sent to the Lady of Nefse being within the towne, to come forth with all her household and stuffe, which she did accordingly: and immediately after, the place was assaulted and taken, and the greatest part of them that were within it slain: all that were taken aliue were hanged, saue a few whom the soldiers for very pittie let goe; a number also had their hands cut off. It lotheth mee to make mention of this cruelty: but because I was present, somewhat I am forced to write thereof. And sure either the Duke was maruellously passionate, in that he committed so cruell an act, or some great cause mooued him thereunto. Hee alleaged two, the one the Duke of Guiennes death, wherof he spake very strangely vpon other mens report: the other the grieve he had conceiued for the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin aboue rehearsed.

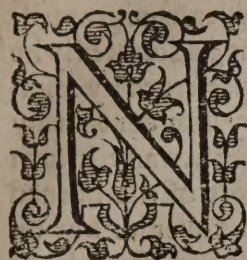
Some that shall read this that followeth, will thinke happily that there was small faith in these two Princes, or that I misreport them: I would be loth to misreport either of them. And to the King our Master, how much I am bound, all the world knoweth. But to continue my history (right reuerend) in such sort as you haue required, I am forced to vtter that I know howsoever it passed. And I doubt not but these two, being compared with other Princes, shall seem noble, worthy and honourable, and the King our Master wise aboue all the rest, who left his realme enlarged and in peace with all his enemies. Wherefore let vs now consider whither of these two Princes sought to deceiue the other, to the end that if heereafter this history happen to fall into the hands of some yoong Prince that hath to negotiate in such like affaires, he may by reading thereof bee the better instructed how to looke to himselfe. For notwithstanding that neither Princes nor enemies be alwaies alike, nor deale alike, in like affaires: yet it is good to know the histories of times past. To speake therefore vp rightly, I thinke both these Princes were fully bent each to deceiue other, and tended both to one end, as you shall heare. Both of them had their armies abroad in a readines. The King had already taken diuers places, and during the treaty, made sharpe warre vpon his brother, whom the Lords of Courton, Patris, Foucart, and diuers others had already relinquished, and were receiued into the Kings seruice. Further, his armie lay about Rochell, hauing great intelligence in the towne, for the citizens practised continually, as well bicause of the rumor of this treaty, as also bicause of the Dukes sicknesse. And I thinke the Kings resolution was, if he could atchieue his enterprise there, or his brother hapned to die, not to sweare the treatie: but if he found great resistance, to sweare it, and performe his promise, therby to auoid all danger. And sure he lost no time, but vsed great diligence, delaying also very cunningly *Simon* of Quingy the space of eight dayes, during the which delay, his brother died: further, he knew well the Duke of Burgundy so greatly to

desire

desire the restitution of these two townes aboue named, that he durst not flatly fall out with him. Wherefore he meant to delay him, and fed him forth with faire words fifteene or twenty daies (as he did accordingly) to see in the meane time what would happen. Now that I haue spoken of the King, and shewed how he was purposed to deale with the Duke, it is fit I should also declare how the D. was minded towards him, and thought to delude him, had not the Duke of Guiennes death hapned. *Simon* of Quingy by the Kings request had a commission from the D. his Master, commanding him immediately after the treaty sworne, and writings deliuered for the confirmation therof, to go into Britaine to inform the Duke of Britaine of the conditions of the peace, and in like manner the Duke of Guiennes Ambassadors resident in Britaine, to the end they might aduertise their Master thereof at Bourdeaux: whereby the King meant to put the Britons into the greater feare, when they should see themselves abandoned of him that was their chiefe anchor hold.

Now you shall vnderstand that *Simon* of Quingy had in his company a rider of the Dukes Escuirie called *Henry* a Parisian borne, a wise fellow and of good experience: who had a letter of credit to the said *Simon* written with the D. owne hand, but his commission was not to deliuer it till the said *Simons* departure from the King, and his arrivall to the Duke of Britaine at Nantes, where his charge was to deliuer him the letter and this Message withall. That hee should will the Duke of Britaine not to thinke that his Master would abandon the Duke of Guienne and him, for he would succour them, both with body and goods, and that he had concluded this treaty to none other end but to auoyd war, and recouer the townes of Saint Quintine and Amiens: which the King in time of peace contrary to his promise had taken from him. And further to aduertise the sayd Duke, that the Duke his Master would send an honorable ambassage to the King (so soone as he should be seized of that he demanded) humbly to beseech him to end his war, and relinquish his enterprize against the sayd two Dukes, and not to giue credit to the oath he had sworne, which he was no more determined to obserue, than the King had obserued the treaty made before Paris called the treaty of Conflans: and the treaty which hee had sworne at Peronne, and long after confirmed also. Further desiring him to call to remembrance, that hee tooke these townes against his faith and promise in time of peace: wherefore he must hold himselfe contented if he recouered them after the same sort. And as touching the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, and the Earle of Neuers whom the King had permitted him to vse at his pleasure, he would protest, that notwithstanding he hated them as he had iust cause to do: yet would he forgieue all their offences, and let them liue in quiet, desiring the King to grant these two Dukes the like: and that it would please him to suffer all men to liue in peace and safety, in such manner and forme as he had sworne at Conflans, when they were all there assembled together: which if he refused to doe, he would then succour his confederates. And it was determined that the Duke should bee in campe when his ambassage should be sent to the King. But God disposed otherwise of these purposes: for death which departeth all things, and changeth all determinations, set them otherwise a worke, as partly you haue vnderstood already, and shall heereafter perceiue more at large: for the King restored not these two townes, and yet had the Duchy of Guienne by his brothers death, as reason was.

Chap. 10. How the Duke of Burgundie seeing that he could not take Beauuais, before the which he had laid his siege, went to Roan.



OW to returne to the war, you haue heard how certain poore franke archers were handled at the taking of Nelle: thence the D. departed and went before Roye: within the which were 1500. franke archers and certain men of armes of the Arriereban. The Dukes force was neuer so great as at that present. The next day after his arriuall, these franke archers fearing their liues, lept downe the wals and yeelded themselves: and the third day the rest that yet remained within rendered both themselves and the towne by composition, leauing behind them both horse and harnesse, saue that euery man of armes brought forth a traouelling nag. The D. left men in the towne and went to Montdidier, which he began to raze, meaning vtterly to destroy it and lay it desolate; but because of the good will he perceiued the people of those parts¹ to beare him, he caused it to be repaired, and left a garrison in it. From thence he departed, meaning to march straight into Normandie: but as he passed hard by Beauuais, the L. of Cordes who led his vaward, rode to the towne, and at his first arriuall the suburbs before the Bishops palace were taken by a couetous Burgundian, named Master James of Montmartin: who had vnder his charge a hundred launces, and 300. archers of the Dukes ordinarie retinue. The Lord of Cordes scaled the towne on the other side, but he lacked ladders, and those few he had, were too short. He had two canons which shot twise at the towne gate; and brake downe a peece thereof: and if he had been furnished to haue continued the shot, vndoubtedly he had entered the town, but he was vnprovided, because he came not for any such exploit. At his first arriuall none were in the towne, but the citizens themselves, and the captaine of the towne called *Loyset* of Bailligny, with certain soldiers of the Arriereban, but not ynow to defend the place. Notwithstanding it pleased God miraculously to preserve it, as he manifestly declared. For the Burgundians that were with the L. of Cordes fought hand to hand with the French at the breach made in the gate: whereupon the said Cordes sent word diuers times to the D. of Burgundie to make haste thither, assuring him that the towne was his own. But in the meane time while the D. was vpon the way, one within deuised to throw flaming fagots in their faces that were about to breake down the gate: whereof they threw so great plenty, that the gate and the porch tooke fire in such sort, that the Burgundians were forced to retire till the fire ceased. Soon after arriued the Duke himselfe, who in like manner held the towne as taken, the fire being once quenched, which was very great, for all the porch was on fire. And vndoubtedly if he had lodged part of his armie on the other side of the towne towards Paris, no man could haue entered to releue it. But it pleased God he should make doubt where none was: for because of a little brooke that was to passe he made difficultie so to doe then, and yet afterward when a great number of men were entered the town he would haue done it, and was hardly dissuaded from it: notwithstanding that therby he should then haue endangered his whole army. All this happened the eight and twentieth of Iune in the yere 1472. The fire aboue mentioned continued all day, and in the euening ten launces onely of the Kings ordinarie retinue entered the towne, as I was afterward informed: for I serued yet the Duke of Burgundie, but we saw them not enter, both

¹ The French hath Chastellenies, which were places where certeine courts of the inferior iurisdiction were held, to the which the countrey there about was bound to repaire.

bicause euery man was busied in making his lodging: and also bicause we had no force on that side the town. By breake of day the Dukes battery was bent against the wals: but soone after we saw 200. men of armes enter the towne: and had it not been for their comming, I thinke the citizens would haue treated of a composition: which notwithstanding the D. in this fury would neuer haue granted: for he desired to take the towne by assault, and if he had so done, vndoubtedly he would haue burnt it, which had been great pittie: sure it was preserued by miracle. After these men of armes were entred, the Dukes artillery shot continually the space of fifteen daies, and the place was as well beaten as euer was any, in such fort that the breach was faultable: but the ditch of the one side of the burned gate stood full of water, so that we were forced to build a bridge ouer it: but on the other side we might come hard to the wals without any danger, saue of one flanker which was so low that our artillerie could not beat it.

2. *Annal. Franc.* report that the Constable lay hard by the towne, but moued not to defend it, for the which cause it was thought he had intelligence with the Duke.

It is great danger and folly to assault a towne so well defended as this was: for within it was the ² Constable (as I remember) or lay hard by it, I wot not well whether, the Marshall *Ioachim*, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lord of Crussol, *William* of Valieu, *Mery* of Croy, *Sallezarde*, *Theuenot* of Vignoles, being all ancient capitaines, accompanied with an hundred men of armes of the Kings ordinarie retinue: besides a great number of footmen and others that were come thither with them. Yet the Duke contrary to the opinion of his whole army, determined to giue the assault. And the night before, as he lay on his field bed in his clothes, according to his accustomed manner, he asked certaine there present, whether they thought the town would abide the assault: who answered that they thought yea, seeing they were force sufficient to defend it: at the which answer he scoffed, saying that they should not finde a man there the next day. In the morning by breake of day the assault was giuen very couragiously, and the breach no lesse valiantly defended. A great number went thronging on our new made bridge in such sort, that an ancient knight of Burgundy called *Despiris* was smothered there, who was the best man that died before the town. On the other side of the gate certain of our men got vp to the top of the wall, but some of them neuer returned. They fought hand to hand a great while, & the assault continued so long, that fresh bands were appointed to succeed, the first being wearied: but because the Duke saw his men to labour in vaine, he caused them to retire: yet notwithstanding they within salied not, for they saw company enough ready to receiue them. At this assault were slaine sixscore soldiers ³, and the best man that died there was the abouenamed *Despiris*. It was thought at the first that many more had been lost: for aboue a thousand were hurt. The next night they within salied forth, but because their number was small, and the most of them on horsebacke, and thereby encombred with the cords of our tents, they did no great exploit, but lost two or three gentlemen of their company, and hurt one of ours named Master *James d'Orson*, a very honest gentleman, and master of the Dukes Ordinance, who a few daies after died of the said hurt.

3. *Gaguin* saith, that there were slaine at the assault of Beauuais 1500. men.

4. The Duke lay before Beauuais six and twenty daies, and leuiued his siege the 22. of Iuly. *Meyer.*

Seven or eight daies after this assault, the D. would haue diuided his army into two bands, and lodged part therof at the gate towards Paris, contrary to all mens aduise and to all reason, considering the great number of soldiers within the towne. This should haue been done at the beginning, but now it was too late. Wherefore seeing no remedie, he raised his campe in very good order ⁴, hoping that they within would issue forth to the skirmish, which notwithstanding they did not. From thence he marched into Normandy, because he had promised the Duke of Britaine to meete him. But because of the Duke of Guiennes death,

death, he altered his minde, and stirred not out of his country. The Duke of Burgundie came before Eu, which was yeelded vnto him, as was also Saint Valery, and he burnt all this quarter euen hard to Diepe. He tooke likewise Neufchastell, and burnt both it and all the countrey of Caux, or the greatest part, euen hard to Roan gates: further, he presented himselfe in person before the said towne of Roan: he lost many of his forragers, whereby his army was in great distresse of victuals. In the end, because winter approched, he departed homeward, and his backe was no sooner turned, but the French recouered Eu and Saint Valery, and tooke prisoners by composition seuen or eight Burgundians that were within them.

Chap. 11. How the King made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundie, and how the Earle of Saint Paule escaped for that time a conspiracie that these two Princes made against him.



Bout this time I came to the Kings seruice in the yeere 1472. who receiued also the selfesame yeere, the greatest part of his brother the D. of Guienne his seruants. He lay then at Pont de See, making war vpon the D. of Britaine: whither certaine ambassadors came to him out of Britain, and from whence also he sent his ambassadors thither. Among the rest that came to him to the said towne of Pont de See, were *Philip* of Essars, seruant to the Duke, and *William* of Sousplenuille seruant to the L. of Lescut, the which Lescut seeing his Master the Duke of Guienne at the point of death, tooke sea at Bordeaux and departed into Britaine, fearing to fall into the K. hands: he embarked in time, and caried away with him the D. of Guennes Confessor,¹ and a rider of his stable, who were charged with the Dukes death, and remained prisoners in Britaine many yeeres after. When these runnings to and fro had indured a while, the King in the end determined to haue peace with the D. of Britain, and to deale so liberally with the Lord of Lescut that he would thereby asswage the euill will he bare him, and win him to his seruice. For as he knew the Duke of Britaines forces, being gouerned by so worthy a man, greatly to be feared: so was he assured if he could win the said Lescut to his seruice, that the Britons would labour for peace, because he was the only man of wisdom and experience in the countrey: besides that, generally the Britaines desire nothing more than peace with Fraunce: because continually a great number of them haue good entertainment, and be in good estimation in this realme, and not vnworthily: for sure in times past they haue done great seruice heere. -Wherefore mee thinkethe King did very wisely in concluding this treaty, notwithstanding that some not considering so deeply thereof as himselfe, thought otherwise of it. He had a very good opinion of the Lord of Lescut, and knew there was no danger in putting those offices and places of charge that he did into his hands, because he was a man of honor, and would neuer during these diuisions haue any intelligence with the Englishmen, nor consent that the townes in Normandie² should be yeelded to them, but had been the onely stay thereof, which was the cause of all his preferment. When the King had well debated this matter, he commanded *Sousplenuille* to put in writing all that his Master required, as well for the Duke as himselfe: which done, the King granted him all his demands being these: A pension of 80000. franks for the Duke: for his master the L. of Lescut, a pension of 6000. franks, the gouernment of Guienne, the two

¹ This Confessor was the Abbot of S. Iohn d'Angely, who died prisoner at Nantes in Britaine, in the great tower du Buffoy, where he confessed maruelous matters, and died very strangely.

² These places were those that remained in the Lord of Lescuts hands by the treaty of Caen, mentioned lib. 1. cap. 15.

Seneschallships of Launes and Bordelois, the captainship of one of the castels of Bordeaux, the captainship of Blaye, and of the two castels of Bayonne, of Dax, & of Saint Seuer, 24000. crownes in ready money, the Kings order, and the Earldome of Comminges. All the which the King granted and agreed vnto, saue that the Dukes pension was diminished by the one halfe, and continued but two yeeres. Further, the King gaue the said *Souplenuille* 6000. crowns (which with the other 24. thousand giuen to his Master, were to be paid in fower yeeres.) A pension of 1200. franks, the Mayraltie of Bayonne, the Bailiwick of Montargis, and certaine other small offices in Guienne. All the which aboue rehearsed estates, his Master and he enioyed till the Kings death. *Philip d'Essars* likewise was made Bailife of Meaux, and lieutenant of the waters and forrests throughout the realme of Fraunce, and had also a pension granted him of 1200. franks, and 4000. crownes in ready money: all the which offices and estates from that day till the King our Master his death they quietly enioyed, and the Lord of Comminges continued during his life his trusty and faithfull seruant.

The K. hauing pacified all matters in Britain, marched straight toward Picardy: for he and the D. of Burgundie vsed alwaies when winter approched, to make truce for six months, or a yeere, and sometime more. After the which their wonted manner they made truce at this present, which the Chancellor of Burgundie with certaine others came to the K. to conclude. There the Kings commissioners read the finall peace made with the Duke of Britaine, whereby the said D. renounced the league he was entred into with the Englishmen and the Duke of Burgundie: wherefore the King required the Duke of Burgundies ambassadors not to comprehend the Duke of Britaine in the truce as their confederate: wherunto they would not condescend, but agreed that the Duke of Britaine should be at his choise to declare himselfe within the time accustomed, either the Kings confederate or theirs: alleaging that heretofore also the said Duke had abandoned them by writing, yet had not departed from their friendship. Further adding, that though he were a Prince wholly led and gouerned by others, and doing little of himselfe: yet in the end he euer yeelded to that which was best and most necessary for his estate. All this was done in the yeere 1473.

1473.

During this treatie they murmured on both sides against the Earle of S. Paule Constable of Fraunce: for the King and those that were neereft about him had conceined maruellous hatred against him. And the Duke of Burgundie hated him worse than they, as he had iust cause to do: for I know the reasons that moued them both to beare him ill will. The Duke had not yet forgotten that he was the onely occasion of the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin, and perceiued well that he nourished this warre between the King and him. For in time of truce he spake him as faire as was possible, but so soone as the war opened, he shewed himselfe his mortall foe. Further, the Earle had sought to constrain him by force to marry his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, as before you haue heard. Besides all this there was yet another grudge: for while the Duke lay before Amiens, the Constable made a road into Henault, and among other cruell exploits burned the castell of Seure, belonging to a Knight named Master *Baudouin* of Launay: before the which time they vsed on neither side to fire any place. But in reuenge thereof the Duke this last sommer burned the country all the way his armie passed, as before you haue heard. Thus they began to practise the Constables destruction: for accomplishment whereof diuers of the Kings men conferred with such of the Dukes seruants as they knew to be his mortall enemies: for the French had him in as great iealousie as the Duke of Burgundie had, and accused him

him as the only occasion of the war : wherefore all his treaties and practises with both parties were ripped vp and discouered, and they both sought his death.

Some man may peraduenture aske hereafter, if the King alone were not of power sufficient to put him to death : whereunto I answer that he was not. For his lands lay iust in the middest between the King and the Duke : further, he held Saint Quintin a great and strong towne in Vermandois, and of his owne, Han, Bohain, and other very strong places neere to the said Saint Quintin, the which he might man at all times with any nation at his owne pleasure. He had charge vnder the King of fower hundred men of armes well paied, of the which company himselfe was controller, and tooke the muster, which was no small profit to him : for his companies were not compleat. Besides all this he had a yeerely pension of 45000. franks, and of euery tunne of wine that passed through his country into Flaunders or Henault, he receiued a crowne for impost. He had also goodly feigniories and possessions of his owne inheritance, and great intelligence as well in Fraunce as in the Dukes dominions, where he had many kinsfolks and allies.

The truce between the K. and the D. continued a whole yeere : all the which space this practise endured, and the Kings men addressed themselues wholly to the Lord of Hymbercourt (so often before named,) who of long time had been the Constables enimie : besides that, their hatred was lately increased. For in an assembly held at Roie, where the Constable and others were commissioners for the King : and the Chancellor of Burgundy and the L. of Hymbercourt, with diuers others for the Duke : as they conferred together of their affaires, the Constable gaue the lye very shamefully to the said Hymbercourt, who answered thereunto, that he would not beare this reproch at his hands, were it not in respect of the Kings honor, vnder whose safe conduct he was come thither as ambassador, and of the D. his Master whose person he represented, and to whom he would make report of this iniurie done vnto him. This only villanie and outrage so soone done, cost the Constable both lands and life as hereafter shall be declared more at large. Wherefore those that are in authoritie, yea and Princes themselves ought to take great heed how they iniurie any man by word or deed, and whom they iniurie : for the greater they are, the greater grieve and sorrow is conceiued of their words, bicause they that are iniuriéd thinke that the great authoritie of the person that iniurieth them, will cause them the more to be marked and noted. And if he be their Master or Prince they vtterly dispaire of benefit or good turne at his hands : and most men serue rather for the good they hope to haue, than for that they haue already received.

But to returne to the point, the Kings men practised continually with Hymbercourt, and likewise with the Chancellor, as well bicause the words spoken at Roie touched him in part, as also bicause of the neere friendship that was between Hymbercourt and him. And the matter was so earnestly pressed, that an assembly was held about it at Bouuines a towne neere to Namur, whither the King sent the Lord of Courton gouernor of Lymosin, and Master *Iohn Heberge* afterward Bishop of Eureux : and the Duke, the said Chancellor, and Hymbercourt, being the yeere 1474.

1474

The Constable being informed that they practised at Bouuines to his cost, sent with all speed to both the Princes, aduertising them that he vnderstood of all their doings, and so cunningly he wrought, that he perswaded the King that the Duke meant nothing but deceit, onely to allure the said Constable to his friendship : whereupon with all speed the King sent to his ambassadors at Bouuines,

commanding them to conclude nothing against the Constable for certaine reasons he would declare vnto them, but to prolong the truce according to their instructions, for a yeere or six months I wot not wel whether. But when the messenger arriued, he found the treatie already concluded, and the writings sealed and deliuered the night before. Notwithstanding the ambassadors had so good intelligence together, and were so great friends each to other, that they deliuered the writings backe againe: the contents whereof were, that the Constable for the reasons therein rehearsed, was declared enimie and traitor to both the Princes: who promised and sware each to other, that whether of them could first lay hands on him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliuer him to the other to do with him at his pleasure. It was also therein concluded, that he should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet enimie to both the Princes, and likewise all that should serue, helpe, aide, or fauor him. Further, the K. promised to deliuer to the Duke the towne of Saint Quintin, so often before mentioned, and to giue him all the Constables treasure & mooueables that should be found in the realme of Fraunce, with all such seigniories and lordships as were held of the said Duke, and among the rest Han and Bohain, which are two very strong places. Lastly, a day was appointed when both the King and the Duke should send their forces to besiege him in Han. Notwithstanding for the reasons aboue rehearsed, this conclusion was cleane broken off, and a day and place assigned where the Constable should come to commune with the King vnder safe conduct: for he stood in doubt of his person, because of the late treatie held at Bouuines. The place assigned was three leagues from Noyon neere to the towne of La Fere, vpon a pretty riuer which no man could passe, because the Constables men had taken vp all the bridges. In the said place was a narrow causey, overthwart the which a strong grate was built, whither the Constable came first, accompanied with all his men of armes, or the greatest part: for he had with him aboue three hundred gentlemen all men of armes: and himselfe ware his quirace vnder a short gowne vngirt. The King came accompanied with the Earle of Dampmartin Lord great Master of Fraunce, the Constables mortall enimie, and with six hundred men of armes and better, and sent me before him to make his excuse to the Constable of his long stay: and soone after arriued himselfe, and they communed together: at which their communication were present fise or six of the Kings seruants, and as many of the Constables, who excused his coming thither in armes, bicause he stood in feare of the Earle of Dampmartin as he said. To be short, in the end it was agreed that all offences past should be forgiven and forgotten: and the Constable passed through the grate to our side of the riuer, where the Earle of Dampmartin and he were made friends. That night he lodged with the King at Noyon, and the next morning returned to Saint Quintin thoroughly reconciled as he said. But when the King had well weighed this matter, and heard the murmuring of the people, he accused himselfe of great folly in going after this sort to commune with his seruant, and stomaked not a little, that he found the grate shut between them, considering that all the Constables men of armes were his subiects, and paid out of his coffers: wherefore if his hatred against the Constable were great before, sure this meeting much increased it: and as touching the Constable, his proud stomacke was no whit abated.

Chap. 12. A discourse very fit for this place, of the wisdom of the King and the Constable, with good advertisements to such as are in credit with Princes.



If a man consider well this action of the Kings, he cannot but iudge it to proceede of great wisdom : for I am of opinion that the Duke of Burgundie to recouer Saint Quintine would easily haue pardoned the Constable all his offences, notwithstanding any promise made to the King of the contrarie : Further, as touching the Constable, though he were a gentleman of great wisdom and vnderstanding, yet did he very vnadvisedly, and it appeared that God had vtterly bereft him of all good aduise, in that he came thus disguised before the King his Master, whose subiects all the men of armes were that accompanied him : and to say the truth, his very countenance shewed him to be astonished and abashed thereat : for when he came in person to the place, and found the grate shut betweene the King and him, he caused it forthwith to be opened, and passed to our side of the riuer, where vndoubtedly he was in great danger.

This his doing peradventure himselfe and his familiar friends accounted a worthy exploit : supposing the King to stand in feare of him, whom also they reputed a timorous Prince. And true it is that he was so at times when there was cause why : but not alwaies when the world so iudged of him. For you shall vnderstand, that the ciuill wars with the Princes of his realme, out of the which he had wound himselfe by large gifts and promises, had beaten this lesson into his head, not to put any thing in aduventure if he could compasse his purpose by any other meanes : which caused a number of men to suppose all his doings to proceede of feare. But diuers that vpon this imagination attempted foolish enterprises against him, found themselves much deceiued, namely, the Earle of Armignack and others, whom their fond attempts cost full deare. For the King knew when it was time to feare, and not to feare. Sure this praise I dare boldly giue him (which though happily I haue written before, yet deserueth againe to be spoken) that he was the wisest man in aduersitie that euer I knew. But to returne to my discourse of the Constable, who desired peradventure to hold the King in feare, at the least I suppose so (for I will not charge him with it, but write this onely for an aduertisement to those that are in Princes seruice, and vnderstand not all alike the affaires of this world :) for mine owne part, if I had a friend, I would aduise him to endeuor himselfe that his Master might loue him, not feare him : for I neuer knew man whose authoritie depended of the feare his Master had of him, that sped not euill in the end, and that by his Masters consent. Examples ynow haue been seene hereof in our time, or not long before. In this realme of the Lord of Trimouille and others : In England of the Earle of Warwicke and his faction. I could name some also in Spaine and in other countries. But those that shall read this discourse may peradventure bee able to say more therein than my selfe. This their presumption oftentimes proceedeth of their good seruice : for they thinke their experience so great that they cannot be spared, and their deserts such that their Masters ought to beare all things at their hands. But Princes on the contrarie side both say and thinke, that men are bound to do them seruice, and desire nothing more than to be rid of such malapert fellows.

lowes. Touching the which point, I must needs speake somewhat of the King our Master : for once he told me in talking of those that do their Prince great seruice (naming withall his author from whom he receiued this opinion) that good seruice sometime vndoeth men : and is recompensed with great ingratitude, not alwaies by the Masters forgetfulness, but many times through the seruants owne fault : who presuming vpon their good seruice behaue themselues arrogantly, either towards their Masters or their fellowes. Further, as touching those that come to preferment in Court, this was his opinion : that he is happier that receiueth a benefit of the Prince he serueth, without great desert, whereby hee standeth bound to his Prince : than he that hath done so great seruice, that his Prince seemeth indebted to him : adding, that he for his part loued those better that were bound to him, than those to whom he was bound. Thus you see how hard it is to liue in this world in any estate : wherefore greatly are they bound to God, whom he hath indued with vnderstanding how to gouerne themselues in their vocation. This enteruiew betweene the King and the Constable was in the yeere 1474.



THE FOUVRTH BOOKE.

Chap. 1. How the Duke of Burgundie being seized of the Duchie of Gueldres, sought to encroch farther vpon the Almaines, and how he laied his siege before Nuz.



He same sommer (as I remember) that the King and the Constable met, the Duke of Burgundie went to conquer the Duchie of Gueldres, vpon a title worthie of remembrance, to the end we may thereby consider the wonderfull iudgements and power of God. There was a young Duke of Gueldres named *Adolph*, who married his wife (being of the house of Bourbon, and sister to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon ¹ now liuing) in the Duke of Burgundies Court, for the which cause he was well fauored there. This Duke

Adolph committed an horrible fact: for one euening he tooke his father named Duke *Arnold* prisoner as he was going to bed, and led him fine Dutch miles on foote bare legged in a maruellous cold night, and laid him in a deepe dungeon the space of six moneths ², where he saw no light but through a little hole. Wherefore the Duke of Cleues (whose sister the old Duke being prisoner had married) made sharpe war vpon this young Duke *Adolph*. The Duke of Burgundie sought diuers meanes to agree them, but no good could be done. Wherefore in the end the Pope and the Emperor began to stir in this matter so far forth, that the Duke of Burgundie vnder great curses, was commanded to take the old Duke out of prison, which he did accordingly: for the young Duke durst not withstand him, both because he saw so many good men against him, and also because of the Duke's great force. I haue often seene them both together in the Duke of Burgundies chamber, pleading their cause before a great assembly, and once I saw the good old man present the combat to his sonne. The Duke of Burgundie was very desirous to agree them, and offered the young Duke (whom he fauored) the title of Gouvernor ³ of Guelderland with all the reuenues thereof, saue of one little towne neere to Brabant called Graue, which should remaine to the father, with the reuenues of three thousand florens, a yeerely pension of as much, and the title of Duke, as was but reason. I with others wiser than my selfe were appointed to make report of these conditions to the young Duke, who answered vs, that he had rather throw his father headlong into a Well, and himselfe after, than agree to such an appointment, alleaging that his father had bene Duke forty fower yeeres, and that it was now time for him to gouerne. Notwithstanding hee said that he would willingly agree to giue him a yeerely pension of three thousand florens, with condition that he should depart the countrey as a banished man, neuer to returne: and diuers other such like lewd speeches he vsed. This hapned at the very same instant, that the King wan Amiens from the Duke of Burgundie, who was then with these two Dukes at Dourlans, whence because of the wars he departed in hast to Hedin, forgetting this matter. This young Duke put on French apparell ⁴, and departed with one onely seruant, to repaire home into his countrey. But as he ferried ouer a water neere to Namur, he paid a gildon for his passage, whereupon a Priest there present mistrusting who he should bee, communed thereof with the ferry man, and viewed well the young Duke and knew him.

¹ This Duke *Adolph*, married Katherine daughter to Charles Duke of Bourbon, and *Agnes* sister to Philip Duke of Burgundy *Meyer*. Duke *Arnold* lay in prison sixe yeeres, *Meyer*. but he misseeth the cushion: for other approued authors, and namely *Guicciardin* agree with *Commynes*.

² The French hath *Mam-bourg* or *Mem-bourg*, which is as much as captain or gouernor: looke more hereof in the pedigree of the Dukes of Gueldres.

³ Least it seeme strange that this young Duke, whom our author in this very Chapter reporteth to haue bene well fauored of the Duke of Burgundie should be staid and imprisoned in his dominions: you shall vnderstand that the Duke of Burgundie vpon hope to be Duke *Arnolds* heire himselfe, altered his mind, and of the young Dukes friend became his foe.

him. There he was taken and led to Namur, where he remained prisoner till the Duke of Burgundies death : after the which, the Citizens of Gaunt deliuered him, and would perforce haue constrained the Dukes daughter afterward Dutches of Austrich to marry him. They led him also with them before Tournay, where being weakly accompanied in a certaine skirmish he was miserably slaine, in full reuenge of his impiety against his father. The father during his sonnes imprisonment died : the Duke of Burgundy yet liuing, whom because of his said sonnes ingratitude and vnnaturalnes he made his heir, by the which title the Duke at this present conquered the said Duchy of Gueldres⁵, where hee found some resistance : but because he was mightie and in truce with the King, he easily subdued it, and held it all the daies of his life, and his offspring possesseth it yet at this day, and so shall as long as it pleaseth God. This as I said at the beginning, I haue rehearsed onely to shew, that such cruelty and impietie neuer remaineth unpunished.

The Duke of Burgundy being returned into his countrey grew wonderfull loftie and high minded, because he had gotten this Dutchie into his clawes, and began to finde great sweetnes in these Dutch enterprises, both for that the Emperor was a Prince of an abiect minde, enduring all things rather than he would spend any thing : and also because without aide of the Princes of the Empire his owne force was but small. Wherefore the Duke prolonged the truce with the King. Some of the Kings seruants were of opinion, that the King did vnadvisedly to prolong the truce, and suffer the Duke to grow as he did. And sure they had some apparance of reason to lead them so to say, but because they lacked experience and had not seene the world abroad, they wist not what the matter meant. But others that vnderstood the case better than they, and were able to say more therein, because they had trauelled those countries, aduised the King to prolong the truce, and permit the Duke to weare and weary himselfe against the countrey of Almaine (the greatnes and force whereof is almost incredible)⁶ alleaging that after he had taken one place, or atchiued one enterprise, hee would forthwith attempt another : for one good aduenture could not content his nature, wherein he was of disposition cleane contrarie to the King : for the Duke the more he was busied, the more he sought to busie himselfe. Wherefore they told the King that he could no way better be reuenged of the Duke, than by suffering him to run himselfe out of breath as he did, aduising him withall rather to send him some small aide, than put him in any doubt of breach of the truce : further alleaging, that it could not otherwise happen but that he must of necessitie vtterly consume himselfe against the greatnes and force of Almaine, because the Princes of the Empire would make resistance, were the Emperor neuer so simple a man : and so it came to passe in the end.

There was a quarrell⁷ between two pretending title to the Bishopricke of Couloin : one of the which was the Lantzgrau of Hesses brother, and the other the Palzgrau of the Rhene his cosen⁸. The Duke of Burgundie tooke part with the Palzgrau, and attempted to place him in the sea of Couloin by force, trusting thereby to seaze some places of the countrey into his owne hands, and to that end went and laid his siege before Nuz, a towne neere to Couloin : in the yeere 1474. He had so many great enterprises in his head, that in the end the burthen thereof pressed him to the ground : for in the selfesame sommer he both trauelled with *Edward* King of England to passe with his armie into Fraunce, being in a readines by his sute and sollicitation : and purposed also to atchieue his enterprise in Almaine which was this : If he had taken Nuz, he meant to man it well,

⁵ The emperor stirred not against the Duke of Burgundy, for taking by force the Duchy of Gueldres which was held of the Empire, because the Dukes of Gueldres by the space of thirty yeeres had done no homage to the Empire. The Duke subdued Gueldres, anno 1473.

⁶ It was our author himselfe that gaue the King this aduise. *Meyer.*

⁷ This quarrell began anno 1473.

⁸ The Palzgraues name was Robert, his Chapter and he were at variance in such sort, that they had gotten him excommunicated, and chosen *Harman* the Lantzgrau of Hesses brother to gouerne the church. Then the Duke of Burgundy tooke vpon him to place him againe in his sea, which appertained not to him, but to the Emperor and the Pope: in the end this Robert was taken and died in prison.

well, and two or three other places about Couloin⁹ whereby the citie of Couloin being at his commandement¹⁰, he might haue gone vp countermount against the riuer of Rheine into the countrey of Ferette which he then held, and so all the Rhene should haue bene vnder his subiection euen downe to Holland, where it entreth the sea: vpon the which riuer are more strong townes and castles than in any realme christened except Fraunce. The truce with the King was prolonged for six moneths, which time being now almost expired, the King travelled to prolong it still, to the end the Duke might doe his pleasure in Almaine: whereunto the Duke would not agree because of his promise to the English men.

I would gladly passe ouer this siege of Nuz, because it is out of the course of my historie, for I was not present at it: notwithstanding somewhat I am forced to speake thereof, because of diuers accidents depending thereupon. The said town of Nuz was maruellous strong, and within it was the Lantzgrau of Hesse¹¹, with many of his kinsfolkes and friends, to the number of 1800. horsemen as I haue bene informed (who valiantly behaued themselves,) and of footemen sufficient. The Lantzgrau, as I haue said, was brother to the Bishop elected, against him whom the Duke of Burgundie defended, who laid his siege before Nuz in the yeere 1474.

His force was neuer so great as then, especially of horsemen: for because hee meant to attempt somewhat in Italy, he had in pay a thousand Italian men of armes good and bad, vnder the leading of one called the Earle of Campobache a Neapolitan borne of the house of Anious faction, a dangerous and a traiterous fellow. In the Dukes campe serued also *James Galeot* a valiant gentleman of Naples, and diuers others, whose names for breuitie I passe ouer. Further, he had in his armie three thousand English men excellent good soldiers, and of his owne subiects a maruellous number well armed, and who long had been trained vp in the wars, besides great force of goodly peeces of artillerie: all the which preparation he put in a readines to ioinewith the English men at their landing, who vsed as great diligence in England as they could. But it is long before an army can be leuied there, because the King may attempt no warre before he haue assembled his court of Parliament, being the same in effect that the three estates in Fraunce, which me thinke is a very good and a laudable custome. For the King by that meanes is the stronger and the better serued in all enterprises hee taketh in hand with the consent of his estates, to whom when they are assembled he declareth his intent, and desireth aide of his subiects: for no subsidie is leuied in England, but for inuasion of Fraunce or Scotland, or such like enterprises of great charge, which then the people grant willingly & liberally, especially to passe into France: wherefore the Kings of England vse often when money faileth them to leuy an armie, and make shew as though they would inuade Scotland or Fraunce. But after they haue receiued money for a yeere, they lie abroad in campe three months, and then returne home and dismisse their army: which practise King *Edward* was well acquainted with and vsed often.

It was at the least a yeere before this English army could be in a readines, but when it was furnished of all things necessary, the King of England aduertised the Duke of Burgundie thereof, who in the beginning of the sommer went before Nuz, trusting in short space to put his Bishop in possession, and to retaine certaine places, as Nuz & others in his owne hands, to what purpose you haue heard before.

I thinke verily that this proceeded of God, who beheld with a pitifull eye this realme of Fraunce: which vndoubtedly the Duke might shrewdly haue shaken, considering that his army was mightie and all of old soldiers, accustomed by the

⁹ The league betweene the Duke and the Bishop was, that these places heere mentioned (belonging to the Church of Couloin,) should haue remained to the Duke for his charges. Nuz was besieged the 28. of Iuly 1474. Meyer.

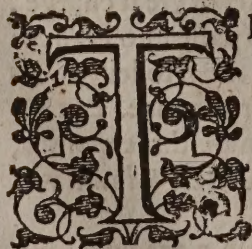
¹⁰ Nuz is beneath Couloin, so that if the Duke had held that and three or fouer places about Couloin, the said city of Couloin being in all sides inuironed by him, must perforce haue bene at his commandement. ¹¹ This Lantzgrau was *Lodowick*, grandfather to *Philip* that last died.

space

space of many yeeres to enter and spoile this realme without any resistance, saue onely by defence of the strong townes. True it is that this proceeded of the King who would hazard nothing, partly for feare of the Dukes force, and partly for doubt of rebellion in his realme if he should receiue an ouerthrow: for hee knew himselfe not to be beloued of all his subiects, especially the nobilitie. And (if I may vtter all) he hath eftsoones told me, that hee knew his subiects well ynough, and should finde them rebellious if his affaires happened to haue hard successe: wherefore when the Duke of Burgundie entred into the realme, he manned the townes well by the which he passed: whereby in short space the Dukes army brake it selfe, and the King neuer endangered his estate: which vndoubtedly proceeded of great wisdom. But all this notwithstanding the Dukes force being so great as it was: if the King of Englands army had also entred in the beginning of sommer, (as assuredly it would, had not the Duke so obstinately lien before Nuz,) vndoubtedly the realme had stood in great danger: for neuer King of England passed at once with so great force, nor so well disposed to fight. All the great Lords of England were there none excepted. Their men of armes were 1500. at the least (which was much for the English men) all well appointed and well accompanied, and 14000. archers on horsebacke, besides a great number of footemen that serued in the armie, and in all their campe was not one Page. Further, the King of England had in a readines three thousand men to land in Britaine, to ioine there with the Duke of Britaines forces. I saw my selfe two letters written with the Lord of Vrfes owne hands,) then seruant to the Duke of Britaine, but afterward Master of the horse to King *Charles*: the one addressed to the King of England, and the other to the Lord *Hastings* Lord great Chamberlaine of England ¹². The contents whereof among diuers other things were, that the Duke of Britaine would do more in Fraunce by intelligence in a moneth, than the King of England and the Duke of Burgundie, (notwithstanding their great forces) in halfe a yeere: which wordes I thinke would haue prooued true, if the matter had come to execution. But God (who hath alwaies loued this realme) disposed of these affaires, as hereafter you shall heare. These letters aboue mentioned, the King bought of one of the King of Englands Secretaries, for threescore markes of siluer.

¹² The Lord *Hastings* was indeede but Chamberlaine of the Kings house.

Chap. 2. How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie, and of other enemies that the King procured to the Duke.



¹ The citie of Couloin tooke part with the Chapter against the Duke of Burgundies Bishop.

He Duke of Burgundie as you haue heard, was now busied before Nuz, & found the enterprise of more difficultie than he supposed. The city of Couloin situate vpon the riuer of Rhene, foure leagues aboue Nuz, spent monthly ¹ in the warres 100004. golde gildons for feare of the Duke. And they and certaine other townes aboue them had already put fiftene or sixteene thousand footemen into the fielde, who encamped on the other side of the riuer, directly ouer against the Duke, and planted great force of artillerie vpon the banke, thinking thereby to cut off his victuals that came vp the streame out of Guelderland, and to sinke the botes by canon shot. Moreouer, the Emperor and the Princes Electors of the Empire assembled together about this busines, and concluded to leuie an armie: whereunto the King sent diuers messengers to sollicite them, to whom also they sent a Chanon of Couloin, of the house of Bauiere, accompanied with another ambassador,

bassador, who brought him a roll of the armie the Emperour was resolved to le-
 uie, if he for his part would ioine in the enterprise. It is not to be doubted but
 that they receiued a good answer with promise of all they demanded: further,
 the King assured by letters as well the Emperour as diuers Princes and townes,
 that so soon as the Emperour with his army should be come to Couloin, he would
 send twenty thousand men to ioine with him, vnder the leading of the Lord of
 Cran and Sallezard. Thus this Dutch army prepared to march, being greater
 than is almost credible: for all the Princes of Almaine as well spirituall as tem-
 porall, all the Bishops, townes, and commonalties had men there; yea, so great
 numbers every one of them, that (as I was informed) the Bishop of Munster,
 who is none of the richest Bishops, had in this armie sixe thousand footemen,
 fourteene hundred horsemen, and twelue hundred waggons all couered with
 greene: true it is that his Bishopricke lieth neere to Nuzi. The Emperour was
 seuen moneths in leuying this armie; which time expired: he came and encam-
 ped within halfe a league of the Duke of Burgundie: by diuers of whose men I
 haue beene aduertised, that though the King of Englands armie and the Dukes
 had beene ioined both together, yet should they not haue beene the third part
 of the Emperours, neither in men nor in tents and pavilions. Besides the Empe-
 rors force, was also this other army aboue mentioned, which lay directly ouer a-
 gainst the Duke on the other side of the riuer, and endamaged greatly his campe,
 and cut off much of his victuals.

When the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire were come before Nuzi,
 they sent to the King a Doctor of great authoritie with them called *Hesegare*, af-
 terward a Cardinall, who came to sollicite the King to performe his promise, and
 send the forces whereof he had assured the Emperour by letters, otherwise to tell
 him that the Almaines would conclude peace.

The King put him in good hope that he would so do, and gaue him a present
 of fower hundred crownes, and sent with him to the Emperour one called *John*
Tiercelin Lord of Brosse: notwithstanding the Doctor departed nothing well
 contented. During this siege maruellous practises were entertained. The King
 trauelled to conclude peace with the D. of Burgundie, at the least to prolong the
 truce, to the end the English men should not passe the seas. The K. of England on
 the other side labored to the vttermost of his power to perswade the D. to de-
 part from Nuzi, and performe his promise by aiding him to make war in Fraunce,
 alleaging that the sommer was far spent. And the L. Scales a courteous Knight,
 nephew to the Constable of Fraunce, with diuers others, was twise sent ambaf-
 sador, to the Duke to sollicite him thereunto: but he was obstinate. Whereby it
 manifestly appeared, that God had troubled his wits and vnderstanding: for all
 his life time he had labored the English men to passe into France, and now when
 they were in a readines, and all things prepared for the wars as well in Britaine as
 elsewhere, he lay obstinately before a place impregnable. With the Emperour
 was a legate sent from the Pope, who rode daily betweene the two camps to
 treate of peace. The King of Denmarke came also thither, and trauelled to
 pacifie this controuersie, being lodged in a little towne hard by both the armies:
 so that the Duke might haue departed to the English men with honorable con-
 ditions. Notwithstanding he would not, but excused himselfe to the King of
 England vpon his honor, which he said should be foyled if he leuied his siege,
 with diuers such like slender excuses. Heere you must note, that these were not
 those English men that in the time of Duke *Philip* his father had made warre so
 long in this Realme, but these were younge soldiers vtterly vnacquainted with

our French affaires. Wherefore the Duke proceeded very fondly if he meant to vse their help: for he should the first sommer haue been continually with them, leading them from place to place, and instructing them what was to be done.

† These townes were Strasbourg, Sleestat, Basil, Colmar, &c.
 ‡ Ferrette in Dutch Pfirt.
 § The townes the Swislers desired passage through were Remteld Loufenberg, Nultat, and Brisac.
 ¶ Others call him Peter Hagenbach, but the variance ariseth because one nameth him by his surname, the other by his seigniorie: for he was called Peter Archambaut of Hagenbach.
 * Others write that he was beheaded at Brisac a town neere to Basil.
 † The Lord of Blasmond led this army, and in this battell the Burgundians lost 2000. men *Annal. Burgund.*

While the Duke lay thus obstinately before Nuz, war arose against him on two or three sides: for the Duke of Lorraine, who hitherto had beene in peace with him, sent to defie him before Nuz, by the Lord of Crans perswasion, who to further the Kings affaires allured the Duke of Lorraine thereunto, assuring him that it would turne greatly to his profit. Incontinent the said Duke of Lorraine put himselfe into the field, and spoiled all the Duchie of Luxembourg, and razed a place there called Pierre-forte, two leagues from Nancy. Further, by the Kings procurement and certaine of his seruants, a league was made for ten yeeres betweene the Swislers and certaine townes vpon the riuer of Rhene † (namely, Basil, Strasbourg, and others) which before had been their enemies. Peace was also concluded betweene Duke *Sigismond* of Austrich and the said Swislers, the conditions whereof were, that Duke *Sigismond* should take againe the countie of Ferette ‡, which he had engaged to the Duke of Burgundie for a 100000. florens. But this one article remained yet in variance betweene Duke *Sigismond* and them: namely, that the Swislers required passage through fower townes of the countie of Ferette § at their pleasure: which controuersie was referred to the Kings arbitrament, who pronunced sentence for the Swislers. Hereby you may perceiue what enemies the King stirred vp couertly against the Duke of Burgundie.

As the matter was concluded, so also was it executed: for in a faire moone shine night Peter Archambaut † gouernor of the countie of Ferette for the Duke of Burgundie, was taken prisoner, accompanied with eight hundred soldiers, who were all dismissed safe and sound saue himselfe alone, whom they led to Basil * and there endited of diuers extortions and outrages committed in the said countie of Ferette, and in the ende strake off his head. Immediately after his death all the countie of Ferette yeelded to Duke *Sigismond*, and the Swislers began to make warre in Burgundie, and tooke Blasmonda a towne being the Marshals of Burgundie, who was of the house of Neuf-chastell, and besieged the castell of Hericourt, belonging also to the said house of Neuf-chastell, whither the Burgundians went to leuie the siege, but were discomfited †, and a great number slaine. The said Swislers maruellously endamaged the countrey, and then returned home for that time.

Chap. 3. How the King wan from the Duke of Burgundie the castell of Tronquay, the townes of Montdidier, Roze, and Corby, and how he sought to perswade the Emperour Fredericke to seize vpon all that the said Duke held of the Empire.



Bout this time the truce ended between the K. and the Duke to the Kings great griefe, who gladly would haue prolonged it, but seeing no remedie, he went and besieged a little castell called Tronquor in the yeere 1475. in the very beginning of sommer, the pleafantest time of the yeere. The castell in short space was taken by assault. The next day the King sent mee to parle with them that were within Montdidier, who yeelded the town, & departed with bag & baggage. Thence I went the third day being accompanied with the Admirall of France bastard of Bourbon, to parle with them that were within Roze, who in like manner yeelded the place because they

were

were vtterly in despaire of succours, which sure if the Duke had been in the countrey they would not haue done. Notwithstanding both these townes were burned contrarie to our promise. Thence the King departed, and laid his campe before Corbie which abode the siege. Goodly approches were made to the towne, and the Kings artillerie bet it three daies: within it was the Lord of Contay¹ and diuers others, who yeelded the place, and departed with bag and baggage: two daies after, this poore towne was also sacked and burned as the two former. Then the King thought to repaire home with his armie, trusting to perswade the Duke of Burgundy to make truce, considering the distresse hee was in. But a certaine Lady whom I know well, yet will not name because she is still liuing, writ him a letter, willing him to leade his armie to Arras, and into those parts: whereunto the King agreed, for she was a woman of honor. I commend her not in this doing: for she was in no respect bound to the King. The King sent thither the Lord Admirall bastard of Bourbon with a great band of men, which burned many townes in those quarters, and spoiled all the countrie betweene Abbeuille and Arras: whereupon the citizens of Arras, who were puffed vp with pride because of their long prosperitie, compelled the garrison of the towne to issue forth. But being too weake to encounter with the Kings forces they were put to flight, and pursued so speedily that many of them were slaine and taken, together with all their captaines, namely, Master *James* of S. Paule² the Constables brother, the L. of Contay, the L. of Carency, & diuers others: some of the which were neere knismen to the Lady her selfe that had caused this enterprise, so that she receiued great dammage by the ouerthrowe: but the King for he sake repaired all in time.

This Contay is successor to him mentioned in the wars against the Liegeois.

This James is named in other histories Lord of Richebourg.

The King sent to the Emperor, (as you haue heard) *John Tiercelin* Lord of Brosse, partly to sollicite him not to make peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and partly to make his excuse for not sending his forces according to his promise: & further, to assure him, that he would shortly send them, and would also continue to spoile and endamage the Dukes dominions, as well in the marches of Burgundie³, as also in Picardie. Lastly he made him a new ouerture, which was, that they should sweare each to other, not to make peace the one without the other, and that the Emperor should seaze into his hands all the seigniories that the D. held, and ought to hold of the Empire. And proclaime them forfeited to him, and he would do the like with all those that were held of the crowne of Fraunce, namely Flaunders, Artois, Burgundie and the rest. The Emperor though all his life time he had made small shew of any valor, yet was he wise and of great experience, because of his ancient yeeres. Further, these practises betweene vs and him had continued so long that he waxed weary of the wars, notwithstanding that they cost him neuer a grote. For all the Princes of Almaine lay there vpon their owne charge, as their manner is when the warre concerneth the state of the empire. The Emperor answered the Kings ambassadors after this sort: There was sometime neere to a certaine city in Germany, a great Beare that much endamaged the country, three good fellowes of the which citie being tauerne haunters, came to a tauerne where they were indebted, desiring their host yet once more to giue them credit, promising him within two daies paiment of the whole debt: for they would take this Beare that did so much harme in the countrey, whose skin was worth a great sum of mony, besides the present that good folkes would giue them, wherunto their host agreed: & when they had dined, foorth they went towards this beasts caue, neere to the which when they approched, they met with the Beare vnlooked for, & being stricken with sudden fear fled, one got vp into a tree, the other fled towards the town, but the third the Beare tooke

For in the marches of Burgundie, the Duke of Bourbon had given the Burgundians a great overthrow, as our author in the next chapter maketh mention.

and ouerthrew, and foiled vnder her feete, holding her mussell hard to his eare. The poore soule lay flat vpon the ground, as though he had been dead. Now you shall vnderstand that the nature of a Beare is such, that whatsoeuer she holdeth in her clawes man or beast, so soone as she seeth it to leaue stirring, she forthwith forsaketh it, supposing it to be dead, as also this Beare left this poore fellow, not doing him any great harme, and returned to her den. Then he seeing the danger past, arose and went towards the towne. But his fellow that stood in the tree hauing beheld all this pageant, came down and ran crying after him to stay: and when he had ouertaken him, desired him to tell him faithfully what counsell the Beare gaue him in his eare, wherto she held her mussell so long: wherunto his fellow answered, that she bad him neuer to sell the Beares skinne till the Beare were slaine. And with this fable paid the Emperour our King, not giuing his ambassadors any further answer, as though he should haue said, come hither according to your promise, and let vs take this Duke if we can, and then make partition of his goods.

* This ouerthrow the Duke of Bourbon gaue the Burgundians neere to a place called Grey or Gy, not far from Chausseau-guon, and in the battell was slain the Lord of Conches, others say but taken, and there were taken prisoners the Earle of Rouffy, being gouernor of Burgundy, the Marshall of Burgundy, the Earle of Ioigny, the Earle of Saint Martins, Monsieur de L'Isle, Monsieur de Longey, the bailife of Ambois, and the bailife of Auxerre. This battell was fought on twelveday the 20. of Iune, 1475, and in it two hundred men of armes Lombards were slaine, Meyer. About this time also the Prince of Orange was taken prisoner, and by meanes thereof reuolted from the D. to the King. *Annal Burgund.*

Chap. 4. How the Constable began to be had in suspicion againe, as well of the King as of the Duke of Burgundie.



Y ou haue heard how Master James of Saint Paule and others were taken prisoners before Arras. Their captiuitie was to the Constables great greife: for the said Master James was a louing and kinde brother to him. But this was not the only misfortune that fell vpon him: for at this very instant was also taken the Earle of Rouffy his sonne, gouernor of Burgundie for the Duke, and likewise his wife died, which was a vertuous Lady, and sister to the Queene of Fraunce, so that for her sake he had found great friendship and fauor in our court. The practise began against him still continued, which as you haue heard was almost concluded at the assembly held thereabout at Bouuines: after the which, the Constable neuer thought himselfe in assurance, but mistrusted both the Princes, especial- the King, who seemed to repent the reuoking of his letters there sealed. Further, the Earle of Dampmartin and others whom the Constable feared as his enemies, lay with his men of armes neere to Saint Quintins: wherefore he held himselfe within the town, and put into it three hundred footemen of his owne tenants, hauing but small assistance in his men of armes. He liued in great trouble, for the King had often sent to him to sollicite him to come forth to do him seruice in the marches of Henault, and to besiege Auennes at the same time that the Admirall with his band went to burne the countrey of Artois as you haue heard, which commandement he obeyed with great feare: for after he had lien a certaine space before the said towne of Auennes with a continuall garde about his person, he retired into his owne places, & sent the K. word by one of his seruants (who did his message to me by the Kings commandement) that he had raised his siege, because hee was certainly enformed, that there were two in the armie purposely hired by the King to kill him: wherof also he told so many apparant tokens, that he seemed indeed to haue some notice thereof, so far forth that one of them was suspected to haue disclosed somewhat to him, that he ought to haue kept secret: but I will name no man, neither speake further therof. The Constable sent often to the D. of Burgundie campe, I suppose to perswade him to relinquish his foolish enterprife, aduertising the K. also visually at his mens returne of some such news as he thought would like him well, and withall what was the cause of his sending thither hoping by this meanes to

to entertaine him with faire words. Sometime also he gaue him to vnderstand, that the D. affaires had good proceeding, thereby to put him in feare. Further, doubting greatly that the King would inuade him, he desired the Duke to send vnto him his brother Master *James* of Saint Paul (being at Nuz before he was taken prisoner) and the Lord of Fiennes, with certaine others of his kinsmen, promising to put them and their bands into Saint Quintins (but without the Saint Andrews crosse²) and to keepe the towne for the Duke, and restore it him shortly after: for performance also whereof he offered to giue him his faith in writing. The Duke did as he required, and when the said Master *James*, the Lord of Fiennes, and the rest of the Constables kinsmen were twise come within a league or two of the towne ready to enter, the Constable thinking the storme past, altered his minde, and sent a countermaunde. This did he thrise: so desirous was he stil to liue in dissimulation, & swim as it were between two streames, fearing maruellously both these Princes. Of this matter I haue beene enformed by diuers, but especially by Master *James* of Saint Paule himselfe, who thus reported the circumstance thereof to the King, when he was brought prisoner before him, where no man was present but my selfe alone. The said Master *James* answered frankely and without dissimulation to all the Kings demands, wherby he wan greatly his fauor. First, the King asked him how many men he had with him to enter the towne: whereunto he answered that the last time he had three thousand. Then the King inquired further, if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, whether he would haue held it for the King or the Constable. Whereunto he likewise answered, that the two first times hee came but to comfort his brother, but the last (seeing his dissimulation to his Master and him) if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, he would haue held it for his Master, not offring his brother any outrage, nor doing any thing to his preiudice, saue onely that he would not haue departed the towne at his commandement. Soone after, the King deliuered the said *James* of Saint Paul out of prison, and gaue him charge of a goodly company of men of armes, and vsed his seruice till his death: of which his preferment his wife answeres were the only cause.

² The Saint Andrews crosse is the Burgundians cognisance, and if they had entred with this crosse vpon their coates, the Constable could haue no longer temporized with the K. of Fraunce, but should forthwith haue beene proclaimed traitor.

Chap. 5. How the Duke of Burgundie leuied his siege before Nuz by composition, and how the King of England his confederate sent to desie King Lewis.



Haue discoursed of diuers affaires since I began with the siege of Nuz, because they all hapned in that time, for the siege indured a whole yeere. There were two causes especially that mooued the Duke to leuie his siege: one the warre the King made in Picardy, where hee had burned two proper townes, and destroyed a goodly champaine cuntry in Artois and Ponthieu. The other, the mighty armie the King of England leuied at his sute and solicitation: whom till now he could neuer perswade to passe into France, notwithstanding that he had labored him thereunto all the daies of his life. The said King of England & all his nobles were maruellously discontented with the D. delaies, & besides intreaties vsed threatnings, and not without cause, considering the great charges they had sustained, and all to no purpose, the sommer being now almost spent. The D. gloried much that this Dutch armie being so great that the like hath not beene seen in our age nor many yeeres before: and in the which were so many Princes, Prelates, and free cities ioyned together, was not able to raise his

¹ Melancthon writeth, that the Emperor would not hazard a battell neither with Matthias King of Hungarie, nor Duke Charles: *Quia sibi fiebat, Martem in genere infelicitur possum esse.* But Berlandus saith, that the Duke fought with the Emperor. Meyer saith, that in a skirmish the Duke overthrew the Marquess Albert of Brandenburg, & slue 120. of his men, and tooke diuers prisoners: and another time overthrew the Bishop of Munster, slue fiftie, tooke fixteene, and chased the Bishop hard to the Emperors campe: and likewise another time the Bishops of Mentz, Treuers, Munster, and Marquess Albert, and slue a great number of their men. And last of all, because the Emperor and the Duke contended whether of them should first depart from before Nuz, their footmen ioined, and the Duke slue 1500.

² Peace was

concluded betweene the Emperor and the Duke 31. Maij. 1475. ³ The Emperor departed from Nuz 29. Iunij, leauing the Duke there, who would not leue his siege before the Emperors departure because of his honor, but soone after departed also the Duke. Meyer. ⁴ The Duke lost before Nuz fiftene thousand men, *Annal. Burgund.* wherefore Meyer hath small reason to reprocue our author for saying, that the Dukes armie was in so poore estate that he durst not let the English men see it.

siege¹. But this glorie cost him full deere: for he that hath the profit of the war, reapeth also the honour thereof. Notwithstanding the Legate aboue mentioned (who rode continually betweene the two camps) made peace in the end betweene the Emperor and the Duke²: and the towne of Nuz was put into the said Legats hands to do therewith according to the determination of the Sea Apostolike. Now consider in how great distresse the Duke of Burgundy was, being on the one side vexed with war by the King, and threatned on the other by the King of England his friend, so that notwithstanding he knew the towne of Nuz to be brought to such extremitie, that within lesse than fiftene daies famine would haue constrained them to yeeld to his mercy, yea within ten daies (as one of the captaines within the towne, who afterward serued the King aduertised me:) yet for the reasons aboue alleaged, he was forced to leaue his siege³ in the yeere 1475.

Let vs now returne to the King of England, who led his army to Douer, there to embarke to crosse the seas to Calais. The force that passed with him at this present was the greatest that euer came into France, all of them being on horsebacke in very good order and well armed. All the nobles of the realme were there, a few excepted: they were 1500. men of armes very well mounted, and the most of them barded, and richly trapped after the manner of our warres, and well accompanied with horsemen of their retinue. They were at the least 15000. archers all mounted, and a great number of footemen and others, as well to pitch their tents, (whereof they were well furnished) as also to attend vpon their artillerie and enclose their campe, and in all their armie they had not one Page: besides these there were three thousand Englishmen appointed to land in Britaine. This I haue written before, but rehearse it here againe, to the end you may perceiue that God was purposed to trouble the Duke of Burgundies wits and pre-serue this realme which he hath euer, more fauored than any other: otherwise is it to be thought that the Duke would so obstinately haue lien before Nuz, a place so strong and so well defended, seeing all his life time till now he could neuer find the English men disposed to inuade the realme of Fraunce, and knew them to be vtterly vnacquainted with our French wars till they be trained therein: for if he would haue done any good with them, he should neuer haue left them the first sommer, but helped them and taught them to order and leade their battels after the manner of our wars: for there is no nation so ignorant and rude as the English men at their first landing in Fraunce, but in very short space they become excellent good soldiers, hardie and wise. But the Duke did cleane contrarie: for besides these other his ouersights, hee made them lose the sommer: and as touching himselfe, his armie was so broken, so poore, and in so euill order, that he durst not present it before them: for he lost before Nuz fower thousand soldiers taking pay: some of the which were the best men he had⁴. Thus you see how God disposed him in all points to do contrarie both to that his affaires required, and also to the arte of war, wherein himselfe had beene exercised by the space of ten yeeres more than any man liuing.

When King Edward came to Douer, the D. of Burgundie to further his passage sent fise hundred botes of Holland & Zeland called Scuts, which are flat & low, built very comodiously for transporting of horses. But notwithstanding all this

helpe they had from the Duke, and all the King of England could command himfelfe, he was aboute three weekes in paffing between Calice and Douer, yet are they but feuen leagues diftant: whereby you may perceiue with how great difficultie a King of England inuaderth Fraunce. And if the King our Master had been as well acquainted with the wars by fea as by land: King *Edward* had neuer paffed ouer, at the leaft not that fommer. But the King vnderftood them not, and thofe that had charge of them much leffe. The King of England as I haue faid, was three weekes in paffing: one fhip of Eu tooke two or three of his fmall paffengers.

Before King *Edward* embarked, he fent from Douer to the King one herault alone called *Garter* a Norman borne, who brought a letter of defiance from the King of England in very good language, and fo excellently well penned, that I am verily perfwaded it was neuer of Englifh mans doing. The contents of the letter were, that the King fhould yeeld vnto him the realme of Fraunce being his inheritance, to the end he might reftore the cleargie and nobilitie to their ancient libertie, eafe them of the great charges they fufained, and deliuer them from the miferies they liued in: which if he refused to do, he protefted what great mifchiefes fhould infue thereof, in manner and forme as in fuch cafes is accuftomed. The King read the letter foftly to himfelfe, and afterward all alone withdrew himfelfe into a wardrob, and commanded the herault to be brought to his prefence, to whom he made this answer: Firft, that he knew well the King of England was not paffed the fea of his owne difpofition, but by the perfuafion of the Duke of Burgundie and the commonaltie of England: fecondarily, that the fommer was now almoft fpent, and that the Duke of Burgundie returned from Nuz, as a man difcomfited and vtterly vnfurnifhed of all things: thirdly, as touching the Conftable he knew well (he faid) that he had intelligence with the King of England, becaufe he had married his neece, but that he would deceiue the King his Master, as he had deceiued him, notwithstanding all the great benefits he had receiued of him, which he there rehearfed, adding thereunto, that the faid Conftable meant to liue in continuall diffimulation and entertaine euery man to make his profit of him: laft of all, he alleaged to the herault diuers other reasons to perfwade the King his Master to peace, and gaue him with his owne hands three hundred crownes, promifing him a thoufand more if peace were concluded: further, openly he gaue him for a prefent a goodly peece of crimfon veluet of thirty ells.

The herault answered, that he would trauell the beft he could for peace, and thought the King his Master would eafily be woon thereunto, but that no mention muft be made thereof till he were on this fide the fea: and then he willed the King our Master to fend a herault to the Englifh campe, to demand a fafe conduct for certaine ambaffadors that he would fend to the King of England, and to addrefse his letters to the Lord *Howard*, or the Lord *Stanley*, and to himfelfe alfo to helpe to conuay his herault.

A great number there were without in the hall while the King talked with the herault, very defirous to heare the Kings answer, and to fee his countenance at his comming forth. When he had made an end, he called me to him, bidding me continually to entertaine the herault, till fome were appointed to beare him companie, to the end no man might commune with him: and further to giue him a peece of crimfin veluet of thirty ells, which I did accordingly. Then the King began to talke with diuers, rehearfing vnto them the contents of thefe letters of defiance: and feuen or eight he called apart caufing the faid letters to be read,

5 Hall in his Chronicle reprooueth our author for reporting this *Garter* to be a Norman, faying that neuer Norman was King of heraults: which notwithstanding I know not why we fhould beleeue for himfelfe confeffeth, that King *Edward* the fourth made a *Gascoigne*, namely *Vauciler*, Deputie of Calice: a much higher & more dangerous office to be in a ftrangers hand than this.

6 How the Queene of England was the Conftables neece, the pedegree in the end of this booke will declare.

read, and shewing a good and assured countenance void of all feare: for he was glad of the comfort the herault had put him in.

Chap. 6. Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters of credit to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundie, which after were in part cause of his death.



Must yet speake a word or two more heere of the Constable, who was not a little troubled, as well for the lewd touch he had plaid the Duke of Burgundie about the restitution of Saint Quintins, as also because he saw himselfe vtterly disfa- uoured of the King, so far forth that his principall seruants, namely the Lords of Genly and Mouy had already relinqui- shed him, and were in the Kings seruice: notwithstanding the said *de Mouy* resorted still to him sometime. Further, the King pressed the Con- stable earnestly to come to him, offering to make him such recompence for the countie of Guise as he required, and the King had often promised him. The Constable was willing to goe, so that the King would swear by the crosse of S. Lou of Angiers to doe him no harme, nor consent that any other should: allea- ging that he might as well swear therby now as in times past he did to the Lord of Lescut: whereunto the King answered, that he would neuer giue that oath to any man¹, but any other he would not refuse to swear. You may easily ghesse how much both the King and the Constable were troubled: for that no day es- caped for a certaine space but one or other passed betwee them about this oath. Wherefore if we will weigh our estate, mans life is very misery: for we toyle and trauell our selues to shorten our owne daies, saying and writing a number of things cleane contrary to our thought. To conclude, if these two were troubled on the one side, I warrant you the King of England and the Duke of Burgundie were no lesse troubled on the other.

¹ The King would not swear by the crosse of Saint Lou of Angiers, because who so touched that crosse and forswore him- selfe, died mi- serably within a yeere after.

² The King of England lan- ded at Calice the 4. of Iuly. Meyer.

At one time in a manner, both the King of England landed at Calais² and the Duke of Burgundie departed from before Nuz, who in great haste rode straight to Calais to the said King with a very small traine: for he had sent his army in such poore estate, as you haue heard, to spoile the countrey of Barrois and Lor- raine, to the end they might there make merry and refresh themselues: which he did, because the Duke of Lorraine had begun war vpon him, and defied him be- fore Nuz. But this sending of his forces into Lorraine, among diuers other his ouersights in his actions with the Englishmen was not the least: for they thought at their landing to haue found him with 2500. men of armes well appointed, and great force of other horsemen and footmen (for so he had promised, thereby to allure them to passe the seas:) and further, that he would haue made warre in Fraunce three months before their arriual, to the end they might finde the King the wearier and the weaker: but God (as you haue heard) disposed otherwise of this matter. The King of England departed from Calais in company of the Duke of Burgundie, and passed through Boloine, and from thence to Peronne, where the Duke gaue the Englishmen but cold entertainment: for he caused the gates to be straightly garded, and would suffer but few to enter, so that the grea- test part of them lodged in the fields, as they might well doe: for they were well prouided of all things necessary for that purpose.

After they were come to Peronne, the Constable sent to the D. of Burgundie one of his seruants called *Lewis* of Creuille, by whom he excused himselfe: for the withhol-

withholding of Saint Quintins, alleaging that if he had restored it, he could haue stood him in no stead in the Realme of Fraunce: for he should vtterly haue lost his credit and intelligence there, but now seeing the King of England was come ouer in person, he promised to doe hereafter all that the Duke should command him, whereof the better to assure him, he sent him a letter of credit directed to the K. of England, but referring the matter of credit to the declaration of the Duke. Further, he gaue the D. his faith in writing, to serue and succour him, his friends and confederates, as well the King of England as others, against all men none excepted. The D. deliuered the K. of England his letter, and withall the matter of credit, adding somewhat thereto of his owne deuise: for he assured the King that the Constable would deliuer into his hands both Saint Quintins and all his other places: which the K. easily beleueed, partly because he had married the Constables neece, and partly because he saw him in so great feare of the King our Master, that he thought he durst not faile of his promise made to the Duke and him, and the Duke beleueed it also. But the Constable meant nothing lesse, for the feare he stood in of the King our Master was not so great that it could force him so far. But he vsed still his wonted dissimulation, hoping by these faire messages to content them, and shew them so apparant reasons of his doings, that they would not as yet constraîne him to declare himselfe. Now you shall vnderstand that K. Edward and his men were nothing acquainted with our affaires, but went bluntly to worke, so that they could not as yet smell out the cunning vsed heere on this side the sea: for naturally the English men that neuer trauelled abroad are very colericke, as are also all people of cold countries ³. The Realme of France

³ The reason is, Propter crassos humores quibus abundant eorum corpora, qui vehementiores excitant affectus, & innatam caloris vim quae etiam augeatur per antiperistasin.

as you see is situate between both: for it is inuironed with Italie, Spaine and Catalonia towards the East ⁴, and with England, Flaunders and Holland towards the west ⁵, and all along, the countrey of Champagne, Almaine bordereth vpon it: so that our countrey taketh part both of heat and cold, wherefore the French are of two complexions: but in mine opinion I neuer saw countrey in my life better seated than the Realme of Fraunce.

The King of England who reioyced maruellously at this message sent by the Constable (although happily he had receiued some such promise before, but not so large) departed from Peronne with the Duke of Burgundie (who had no force there, for his army was in Barrois and Lorraine) towards Saint Quintins, whereunto when they approched, a great band of Englishmen ran before, thinking (as I heard it reported a few daies after) that the bells should haue rung at their comming, and that the citizens would haue receiued them with crosse and holy water. But when they drew neere the towne, the artillerie shot, and the soldiers issued forth to the skirmish, both on horsebacke and foot, so that two or three English men were slaine, and some taken. Further, it rained terribly, and in this estate returned they in great rage to their campe, murmuring against the Constable, and calling him traitor.

⁴ By the East he meaneth all seas to the great Ocean.

⁵ By the West he meaneth all west and north seas.

The next morning the D. of Burgundy would haue taken his leaue of the K. of England to depart to his army into Barrois promising to do maruels in his fauor. But the Englishmen who naturally are suspicious, & were strangers in these countries, maruelled much at his so sudden departure, (seeing they had passed the seas at his request) and were greatly discontented therewith, neither would they be lieue that his army was in a readines. Besides that, the D. could by no meanes re-paire the Constables former credit with them: notwithstanding that he affirmed all his doings to be to a good end. The winter also which drew neere dismayed them, so that they seemed by their words desirous rather of peace than war.

Chap. 7. *How the King clothed a poore seruant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the King of England in his Campe, where he received a very good answer.*



IN the meane time, euen at the very instant that the Duke of Burgundie was taking his leaue, the English men tooke prisoner a gentlemans seruant of the Kings house named *James of Grasse*, whom forthwith they led to the King of England and the D. being together, and from them into a tent: where when they had examined him, the D. tooke his leaue to go into Brabant, and from thence to Maziers, where part of his army lay. The King of England commanded the said seruant to be dismissed, because he was their first prisoner. And at his departure the Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley* gaue him a noble saying: Doe our humble commendations to the K. your Master if you can come to his presence. The fellow came in great haste to the King being at Compeigne with these newes, who forthwith began to suspect him as a spie, because *Gilbert of Grasse* his Masters brother, was then very well entertained in the D. of Britaines court, wherfore he was committed to warde, and straightly kept that night. Notwithstanding the K. commanded diuers to commune with him, by whose report his tale seemed voide of all suspicion and feare. Wherfore they desired the K. to vouchsafe to heare him, and according to their request the next morning himselfe spake with him, and when he had heard him, his irons were knocked off, but he remained still in warde. Then the K. went to dinner debating with himselfe whether he should send to the English men or not. And before he sat downe talked three or fower words thereof with me. For you know (my Lord of Vienna) that oftentimes he communed very familiarly with those that were neere about him, as I was then, and others after, and loued to talke in a mans eare: hee called then to minde the herault of Englands aduise, which was, that he should not faile to send to the K. of England so soon as he was landed, to demand a safe conduct for certaine ambassadors that he would send to him: and further, to adresse his herault to the aboue named L. *Howard* and the L. *Stanley*. After the K. was set to dinner, and had mused a while, as you know his manner was (which seemed strange to those that knew him not: for vnlesse a man had been well acquainted with his behauiour, he would haue iudged him of no great wisdome, notwithstanding that his doings sufficiently declared the contrary) he bad me in mine eare to arise and dine in my chamber, and send for a certaine seruant of the Lord of Halles, son to *Merichon* of Rochell, and to commune with him, to know whither he durst aduenture to go to the K. of Englands campe in a heraults cote: which his commandement I executed forthwith, maruelling much when I saw the said seruant: for he seemed to me neither of personage nor behauiour fit for such an enterprife: notwithstanding he had a good wit and a very pleasant tongue, as I afterward perceiued: the King had neuer spoken with him before but once. The said seruant was maruellously astonished with my message, and fell downe before me on his knees, as one accounting himselfe a dead man, but I comforted and confirmed him the best I could, promising him an office in the Ile of Ré, and a summe of money, and to cheere him the better, told him that this proceeded of the English men themselues. Then I made him dine with me, none being present but we two, and one of my seruants, and by little and little perswaded

ded him to do as he was required. After I had been at dinner a while, the King sent for me, and I told him how I had wrought with this good fellow, naming diuers others, who in mine opinion seemed fitter for this purpose than he, but the King would none but him. Wherefore he came and talked with him himselte, and confirmed him more with one word, than I had with an hundred. None entered into the chamber with the K. saue onely the Lord of Villiers, then Master of the horse, and now bailife of Caen. When the King perceiued this good fellow to be well perswaded to go: he sent the said Master of the horse to fetch a trumpet banner, thereof to make this counterfet herault a cote armour: for the King because he was not pompous as other Princes are, had neither herault nor trumpeter with him. Thus the Master of the Horse and one of my men made his cote armour as well as they could: which being finished, the said Master of the Horse fetched a scutchin of a little herault of the Lord Admiralls called *Pleinchemin*, which was fastened to our counterfet herault: his bootes also and his cloke were brought priuily to him, and likewise his horse: whereupon he mounted no man vnderstanding any thing of his iourney. Further, a goodly budget was tied to his saddle bow, into the which he put his cote armour. Thus being well instructed what to say, he rode straight to the English campe: where when he arriued with his cote armour on his backe, he was staied incontinent, and brought to the King of Englands pauillion. Where being demanded the cause of his coming, he said that he came from the King to speake with the King of England, and had commandement to addresse himselfe to the Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley*, wherupon they led him into a tent to dinner, and made him good cheere. After the K. of England was risen from the table (for he was at dinner when the herault arriued) the said herault was brought before him, and the K. gaue him audience. His message was chiefly grounded vpon the great desire the K. had of long time to be in perfect amitie with the K. of England, to the end both the realmes might liue together in peace and quietnesse: adding further, that since the time he was first crowned K. of Fraunce, he neuer had attempted any thing against the K. of England or his Realme: secondarily, he excused himselfe for receiuing in times past the Earle of Warwicke into his dominions, saying, that he did it only against the D. of Burgundie and not against him. Further, he declared vnto him that the said D. of Burgundie had for none other cause called him into Fraunce, but that by the occasion of his comming he might conclude a better peace for himselfe with the King. And if happily any others were furtherers thereof, it was only to amend the broken state of their owne affaires, and for their owne priuate commoditie: but as touching the K. of Englands good successe, they were altogether carelesse thereof: he put him also in minde of the time of the yeere, alleaging that winter approched, and likewise of the great charges he sustained: Lastly he said, that notwithstanding a great number in England, as well gentlemen as merchants desired war with Fraunce: yet if the K. of England would incline to peace, the K. for his part would condescend to such conditions, as he doubted not but he and his realme would allow of: lastly, to the end hee might the better be informed of all these matters, he said: that if the King of England would grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King his Master would send ambassadors to him well informed of their Masters pleasure, or if the said King of England should like better to assigne the place of treatie in some village betweene both the armies, and to send commissioners thither on both sides, the King his Master would willingly agree thereunto: and send the like safe conduct for his part.

The

1 King Lewis
had forgotten
that before
this time he
had attempted
to restore
Queene Mar-
garet daughter
to King Rene.
Annal. burg.

The King of England and part of his nobles liked these ouertures very well, and granted our herault as large a safe conduct as he demanded, and gaue him fower nobles of gold ² in reward. Further, an English herault was sent backe with him to the King, to bring the like safe conduct from him as the King of England had granted. And the next morning in a village neere to Amiens the Commissioners of both Princes met, being these: for the King, the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lord of Saint Pierre, and the Bishop of Euxreux called *Heberge*, and for the King of England, the Lord *Howard*, one called *Chalenger* ³, and a Doctor named *Morton*, at this present Chancellor of England and Archbilhop of Canterbury.

² Hall reporteth, that the French herault had giuen him a gilt cup and an hundred angels.

³ This *Chalenger* our chronicles name *Sent-liger*.

Some may thinke peraduenture that the King humbled himselfe too much, but those that be wise will easily perceiue by that I haue aboue rehearsed, in how great danger the realme stood, had not God put to his helping hand, as well in causing the King to take this wise course, as also by troubling the Duke of Burgundies wits, who committed so many errors as you haue heard in this action, and lost now through his owne folly that which so long he had wished for and desired. Many secret practises lay hidden at that time among our selues, as well in Britaine as elsewhere, which would soone haue broken forth into great inconueniences, had not this peace been speedily concluded. Wherefore I assure my selfe by that I haue seen in my time, that God had then, and yet hath a speciall regard of this realme.

Chap. 8. How truce for nine yeeres was treated of between the Kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made.



¹ Meyer saith thus: *Quinquaginta milia aureorum pro tributo Aquitanie, Septuaginta quinquemilia preterea soluta pro manibus Edwardo a Gallis Rege. Annal. Aquit. say 65000. Our chronicles and Gaguin 75000. But the truce saith Gaguin was concluded but for seven yeeres. Introduction de la Marche sai h 60000. crownes the yearly tribute, but in the second booke ca. 1 the same author saith but 36000.*

He Commissioners of both the Princes met (as you haue heard) the next day after our heraults returne, for we lay within fower leagues or lesse together. The said herault was well cheered, and had his office in the Ile of Ré where he was borne, and the sum of money that was promised him. Many conditions of peace were treated of: between our Commissioners. The English men after their wonted manner, first demanded the Crowne, at the least Normandie and Guienne, but they were no more earnestly demanded, than stoutly denied. Notwithstanding euen at this first meeting the treatie was brought to a reasonable point: for both the parties desired peace: whereupon our ambassadors returned to the King, and the others to their campe. The King heard the English mens demands and last resolutions, which were these: That he should pay to the King of England presently before his departure out of Fraunce 72000. crowns. That the King that now is, then *Daulphin*, should marry King *Edwards* eldest daughter at this day *Queene* of England, and that she should haue the Duchie of Guienne for her maintenance, or 50000. crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of London by the space of nine yeeres: which terme expired, the King that now is and his wife should peceably enioy the reuenues of the whole Duchie of Guienne, and then the King our Master to be clearly discharged of all payments to the King of England. Diuers other trifling articles there were, touching matter of entercourse, which I ouerpasse. Lastly, this truce was to endure nine yeeres between the two realmes: all the confederates of both parties being comprehended therein, and namely on the King of Englands behalfe, the Dukes of Burgundie and Britaine if themselves would. Further, the King of England

England made a marvellous strange offer, which was, to name in writing certaine noble men, who he said were traitors to the K. and his crowne. The King reioyced maruellously at the report that his Commissioners made at their returne; and sat in Counsell about these ouertures of peace: where among others my selfe was present. Some supposed all this treatie to be meere deceit and cunning of the English men, but the King was of a contrary opinion: for he alleaged first the time of the yeere, saying, that winter now approched; and that they had not one place to lodge in: secondarily, he declared the euill turnes the Duke of Burgundie had done them, who was also departed from them. And as touching the Constable he did in manner assure himselfe, that he would put no places into their hands, because he sent howerly to him to entertaine him, to assuage his malice, and to keep him from doing harme: lastly, hee alleaged the King of Englands disposition, whom he knew well to bee a Prince wholly given to his pleasures and delights. Wherefore he seemed to discourse wiselier than any man of the company; and better to vnderstand than any other the matters there debated. He concluded therefore with all speed to pay this summe of money; and deuised order how to leuie it, and in the end commanded that euery man should lend a portion the sooner to furnish it: for the King cared not what he did to rid the King of England out of his Realme, saue only that he would in no wise consent to put any places into the English mens hands: for rather then he would suffer that, he was fully determined to hazard all.

The Constable who began to smell these practises, was stricken with sudden feare, because he had offended all the three Princes. Further, he doubted much the treatie almost concluded against him at Bouuines. Wherefore he sent often to the K. and euen at this present arriued at the Court one of his gentlemen named *Lewis* of Creuille, with one of his Secretaries called *Iohn Richer*, who are both yet liuing. They deliuered their message to the Lord of Bouchage and me before they spake with the King, as his pleasure was they should. The newes they brought liked the King well, because he meant to vse them to good purpose as you shall heare. The Lord of Contay (seruant to the Duke of Burgundie) lately taken prisoner before Arras, as you haue heard, went to and fro vpon his word between the Duke and the King: and the King had promised to release him his ransom, and to giue him a great summe of money if he could perswade his Master to peace. By chance he returned to the King the selfesame day that these two seruants of the Constables arriued. Wherefore the King made him and me to stand in a great old presse in his chamber, to the end he might heere and make report to his Master, of the language the Constable and his seruants vsed of him. We being there placed, the King sate downe on a forme hard by the presse, to the end we might the better heare *Lewis* of Creuilles and his companions message, who began thus. That of late being by their Masters commandement with the Duke of Burgundie, to perswade him to depart from the English mens friendship: they found him in such a rage against the King of England, that they had almost wonn him not onely to abandon the English men, but also to helpe to spoile and destroy them in their returne home. And in vttering these words (the better to please the King) the said *Lewis* of Creuille counterfetting the Duke of Burgundies gesture by stamping vpon the ground and swearing *Saint George*, rehearsed many reprochfull speeches that (as they said) the Duke vsed of the King of England. To be short, they vttered as many scoffs and mocks of the Duke as was possible. The King made great sport with this matter, and bad the said *Lewis* of Creuille to speake aloud, faining himselfe to be growen somewhat deafe, and to tell him

this tale againe: which the other making no bones thereat, did with a good will.

The said *Contay* (who stood with me in the presse) was maruellously astonished at this talke, neither would haue beleued it vnlesse himselfe had heard it. The Constables mens conclusion was this: They counsell'd the King, for auoiding of all these great dangers he saw hang ouer his head, to conclude a truce (for the which the said Constable offered to trauell to the vttermost of his power:) and to put into the English mens hands (the better to content them) some small towne or two to lodge them in this winter, saying, that were they neuer so bad, yet the English men would hold themselues contented with them. And it seemed by their talke, though they named no place, that they ment Eu and S. Valery. By this meanes the Constable trusted to recouer the King of Englands fauor, which he had lost because of the refusall made him of his places. But the King who thought it sufficient to haue plaied his part by bringing the Lord of Contay to heare what language the Constable and his men vsed of the Duke his Master, gaue them no euill answer, but said that he would send to his brother², to aduertise him of such newes as he knew, and so licenced them to depart. Notwithstanding, one of them before his departure sware to reueale vnto him whatsoever he could learne touching him or his estate. The King had much adoo to dissemble any longer when he heard them counsell him to put townes into the English mens hands. Notwithstanding he gaue them no such answer, whereby they might gather their counsell to be taken in very euill part (because he feared, that would the more increase the Constables malice:) but sent one backe with them to their Master: it was not far between him and vs, for a man might go and come in very short space. When the others were departed, the Lord of Contay and I came out of the presse: the King laughed maruellously, and was very merry with this pageant. But the said *Contay* was so far out of patience to heare such petit companions thus flout and scoffe his Master (especially the Constable) pretending so great friendship to his Master, and treating with him of so many matters) that he thought euery hower ten till he were on horsebacke to aduertise the Duke his Master thereof. Wherefore he was dispatched with all speed, and wrote his instructions himselfe: he caried also with him a letter of credit, written with the Kings owne hand, and so departed.

The peace with the English men was already concluded as aboue is mentioned, & all these practises were entertained in one instant. The K. Commissioners had made report of their negotiation as you haue heard, and the K. of Englands were also returned to him. Further, it was concluded and agreed on both sides by the ambassadors that passed between them, that the two Princes should meet together, and after they had seen one another and sworne the treatie, the King of England should returne home into his country, hauing first receiued the summe aboue mentioned of 72000. crownes, and leauing in hostage behind him, till hee were passed the seas, the *L. Howard*, and the Master of his horse called sir *John Cheynie*. Lastly, a pension of 16000. crownes was promised to be diuided among the K. of Englands principall seruants, of the which sum the Lord *Hastings* had two thousand. The rest had the *L. Howard*, the Master of the horse, Master *Chalanger*, Master *Montgomerie* and others: besides this, great summes of money and goodly presents of siluer plate were giuen to King *Edwards* seruants.

The D. of Burgundy hearing these newes, came in great haste from Luxembourgh where he lay, to the King of England, accompanied onely with sixteen horse. The King being much astonished at this his so sudden arriual, asked him what winde draue him thither, perceiuing by his countenance that he was displea-

² The King calleth the Constable brother, because the King and he had married two sisters, as our author maketh mention in this booke cap. 4.

displeased. The Duke answered that he was come to talke with him. The King demanded whether he would speake with him priuately or publikely. Then said the Duke, haue you concluded peace? I haue quoth the King made truce for nine yeeres, wherein both you and the Duke of Britaine are comprehended, and I pray you agree thereunto. But the Duke grew maruellous hot, and spake in English (for he could the language) rehearsing what noble acts diuers Kings of England had done in Fraunce, and what great trauell they had sustained to purchase honor and renowme. Afterward he inueighed vehemently against this truce, saying, that he had not desired the Englishmen to passe the seas for any need he had of their helpe, but to the end they might recouer their owne right. And to the intent they might perceiue that he stood in no need of their coming: he protested that he would not make truce with the King, till the King of England had been three moneths at home in his realme: which talke ended, he departed, and returned from whence he came. The King of England and his Councell tooke these words in euill part: but they that misliked the peace commended much the Dukes speech.

Chap. 9. How the King feasted the English men in Amiens, and how there was a place assigned for the enteruiew of the two Kings.



THE King of England to the end the peace might be fully concluded, came and encamped within halfe a league of Amiens. The K. was at the gate, from whence he might behold the English men a far off as they came. To say the truth they seemed but yoong soldiers: for they rode in very euill order. The King sent to the King of England 300. carts laden with the best wines that might be gotten: the which cariage seemed a far off almost as great as the K. of Englands army. Many English men because of the truce repaired to the town, where they behaued themselues very vndiscreetly, and without all regard of their Princes honour. They came all in armes, and in great troupes: and if the K. our Master would haue dealt fallly with them, so great a number might neuer so easily haue been destroyed. Notwithstanding he meant nothing lesse, but studied to make them good cheere, and to conclude a sure peace with them for his time. He had caused to be set at the entry of the towne gate two long tables, on each side of the street one, furnished with all kinds of delicate meates that prouoke drinke, and with the best wines that might be gotten, and men to wait vpon them: of water there was no mention. At each of these tables he had placed five or six great fat gentlemen of good houses, therby the better to content those that desired to drinke. The gentlemens names were these: Monsieur de Cran, de Briqueber, de Bresmes, de Villiers, and others. So soon as the Englishmen drew neere the gate, they might behold this good cheere. Besides this, men purposely appointed tooke their horses by the bridles, saying, that they would breake a staffe with them, and so led them to the table, where they were feasted according to the varietie of the meats: which they tooke in very good part. After they were within the towne, what house soeuer they entred into they paid nothing. Further, nine or ten tauernes were well furnished at the Kings charge of all things necessarie: whither they went to eat and drinke, and called for what they would, but the King defraied all: and this cheere endured three or fower daies.

You haue heard how the D. of Burgundie misliked the peace, which howsoeuer it displeased him, troubled the Constable much more, because he saw he had failed of his enterprise; and purchased him selfe hatred on all sides: wherefore he

sent his Confessor to the King of England with a letter of credit, desiring him for Gods loue to haue no affiance in the Kings words and promises, but to accept the townes of Eu and S. Valerie, and there to lodge him selfe part of the winter: adding, that within two moneths hee would finde meanes to lodge him more commodiously. Other assurance hereof gaue he him none: for his only meaning was to foade him forth with these faire words. Last of al, to the end he should not conclude a dishonorable treatie for greedinesse of a little money, he promised to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with diuers other large offers. But the King had already caused the two places aboue mentioned to be burned, because he knew the King of England had intelligence that the Constable had perswaded him to put them into the English mens hands. King *Edwards* answer was, that the truce was already concluded, and that he would alter nothing therein, but if he had performed his promise, he would haue made no such appointment: which answer draue the Constable into vtter despaire.

i The King
vpon a super-
stition kept
holy twelue
daies in the
yeere, viz.
euery moneth
one, in reme-
brance of the
Innocents
day: and the
day heere
mentioned
was one of
them.

You haue heard of the English mens great cheere in Amiens, but one euening Monsieur de Torcy came to the K. and told him, that so great a number of them were in the town, that it stood in some danger. But the K. was displeased with his message: wherefore euery man forbore to bring him any more such newes. The next morrow was one of the daies that represented Childermas day that ⁱ yeere, on the which the King vsed not to debate any matter, but accounted it a signe of some great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affaires, and would be maruellously displeased with those that were neere about him and acquainted with his humor, if they troubled him with any matter whatsoever. Notwithstanding the same morning I now speake of, as he (being but newly risen) was saying his prayers, one brought me word that there were at the least nine thousand English men within the towne: which newes I hearing, determined to aduertise him thereof. Wherefore I entred againe into his closet, and said vnto him: Sir, though this day represent vnto you Childermas day, yet necessitie enforceth me to informe you of that I heare. Then I aduertised him at large of the great number of Englishmen that were within the towne, adding that they entred continually all armed, and that no man durst refuse them the gate for feare of displeasing them. The King was content to heare me speake, and forthwith arose from his prayers, saying, that he would not obserue the ceremonie of Innocents that day, and bad me mount on horsebacke to see if I could speake with the English mens captaines, to cause them to depart the towne: further, he commanded me if I met any of his owne captaines, to bid them repaire vnto him, saying also, that him selfe would come to the gate immediately after me. I did as I was commanded, and spake to three or fower English captains with whom I was acquainted, aduertising them what I thought good to be done in this case: but for one they put forth of the towne, twenty came in. The King sent immediately after me the Lord of Gié now Marshall of Fraunce, to take order for this inconuenience: we two entred together into a tauerne, where were spent that morning *cxix.* shots, yet was it but nine of the clocke. The house was full, some sang, some slept, and some were drunke: which when I saw, I perceived no danger to be of such men, and sent word therof to the King: who came incontinent with a goodly traine to the gate, and caused two or three hundred souldiers to arme themselves secretly in their captaines houses, and placed some also vpon the gate where the English men entred. Further, he commanded his dinner to bee brought into the porters lodge, where hee caused diuers English gentlemen to dine with him. The King of England being

being aduertised of this disorder, was ashamed thereof, and sent to the K. desiring him to giue commandement, that no English man should be suffered to enter the towne: whereunto the K. answered, that he would neuer so do: but desired him if it so pleased him, to send certain of the yeomen of his crowne to keep the gate, and let in such as they should thinke good: and so the K. of England did, whereupon a great number of English men departed the town by his commandement

It was then determined that for perfect conclusion of peace, Commissioners should be appointed on both sides to assigne a place for the enteruiew of the two Kings. For our King, the L. of Bouchage and my selfe were named: and for the K. of England, the L. Howard, one called *Chalenger*, & a herault. After we had ridden vp and down and viewed all the riuer, we agreed in the end the pleasantest, safest, and most commodious place to be Picquigny, a towne three leagues from Amiens, with a strong castell, belonging to the Vidame of Amiens. Notwithstanding that it were once burned by the D. of Burgundie. The towne standeth in a bottom, and the riuer of Somme passeth through it, which is deeper there than a mans height, but very narrow. The countrey on both sides of the riuer through the which the two Kings should passe was very open & pleasant, saue that when the K. of England drew neere to the riuer side, there was a causey at the least two bowe shot long enuironed with a marish (a very dangerous passage if we had not meant good faith.) Wherefore without doubt, the English men (as before I haue said) are not so subtile and circumspect in these treaties and assemblies as the French. For (whatsoeuer men say of them) they go bluntly to worke, but a man must haue patience with them and giue them no crosse language.

After the place was assigned, we determined to build a strong large bridge ouer the riuer, the worke men and stufte we furnished. In the midt of this bridge a wooden grate was made like to a lions cage, the space between each barre being no greater than that a man with ease might thrust in his arme: ouer the head it was borded to keep off the raine, so broad that ten or twelue might stand couered vnder it on each side: ouer the bridge no man could passe, for the grate was framed cleane ouerthwart it, and vpon the riuer was but one boat with two men in it, to ferry ouer such as passed from the one side to the other.

I will tell you what mooued the King to make this grate in such sort that no man could passe through it, because it may peraduenture stand some man in stead that shall haue occasion to make the like. In King *Charles* the seuenths youth, this realme was greuously plagued by the English men. For King *Henry* the 5. held the siege before Roan, and had brought the towne to great extremitie: the most part of the inhabitants being either subiects to *John* Duke of Burgundie then liuing, or of his faction.

Between the said Duke *John* of Burgundy and the D. of Orleans great variance had been of long time, so far forth, that the whole realme or the greatest part was rent into two factions, whereby the Kings estate was much weakened: for partialitie neuer ariseth in any realme, but in the end the fire thereof is dangerous and hard to be quenched. This variance grew so hot, that the Duke of Orleans was slaine at Paris about eleuen yeeres before². The Duke of Burgundie led a great armie, with the which he marched towards Normandy, minding to leuy the siege before Roan³, but to the end he might be the stronger, and the better assured of the King, it was agreed that the King and he should meet at Montereau

but *Commynes* meaneth (as himselfe writeth) is not to stand so exactly vpon times, Further, authors agree not among themselves about this matter. Lastly, this place may be vnderstood, that when Duke *John* leuied his armie, his meaning was to raise the siege before Roan, though he could not come time enough to execute his enterprife. Of the Dukes death read *Meyer* lib. 15. fol. 255. *Chron. Fland.* fol. 281. *Annal. Burgund.*

² These cleuen yeeres was in the text but one yeere: the Printer for *onze ans auant* having printed *un an auoit*. For the Duke of Orleans was slaine an. 1407. the 22. of Nouember, and the King of England laid his siege before Roan 1418. the last of Iuly. But *Meyer* saith in June, and it was yeelded to him the 19. or 16. as some writte of Ianuarie 1419. which was cleuen yeeres and somewhat more after the Duke of Orleans death.

³ All authors report, that not onely Roan, but all Normandie was taken before D. *John* of Burgundie was slaine: for Roan was yeelded to the English 1419. the 19. of Ianuarie, and the Duke slaine the same yeere in Nouember, September, or August (for authors so diuersly report the time)

4 Note that this notwithstanding, he was not K. yet but Dauphin.

5 The French writers say each of them having ten Knights.

6 The French to excuse the Dauphin say, that *Tanneguy du Chastell*

(sometime servant to the Duke of Orleans that was slaine) slue

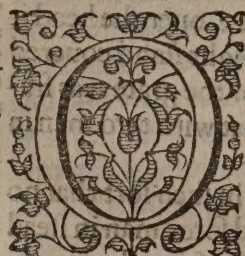
D. John with one blow of a battell axe, because of certaine arrogant words vsed at that time to the Dauphin: whereas *Commynes* and *Meyer* report that too great humilitie was cause of his death. *Tanneguy du Chastell*, *Oliver Layet*, *Peter Froitier*, and *William Batilier* slue Duke John and the Lord of No-

uaille with him, who drey his sword in the Dukes defence. *Annal. Burgund. Inroduct. de la Marche. Meyer.* 7 For Duke Philip of Burgundie to reuenge his fathers death, entred into league with the English men.

faut Yonne, where a bridge was made and a grate ouerthwart it, with a little wicket in the middest boulded on both sides, so that a man might passe through with consent of both parties. The K. came on the one side of the bridge, and the D. on the other: being both accompanied with a great number of men of armes, especially the Duke. They fell in communication together vpon the bridge: at the which were present on the D. side only three or fower. But after they had talked a while, the D. either through earnest sollicitation of those that were with the K, or of a desire he had to humble himselfe before him, vnoulded the wicket on his side, and the others on theirs. Three of the D. men went through before him, and then himselfe passed being the fourth and was immediately slaine, and they also that accompanied him: wherof ensued great miseries and calamities to this realme, as all the world can witnesse. This historie was before my time, wherfore I forbear further to speake thereof: but thus the K. rehearsed it to me word for word at the same time that this enteruiew with K. Edward was appointed: saying, that if there had been no wicket, no occasion had been to desire the Duke to passe through the grate, and then that great misfortune had not hapned. The authors whereof were certaine of the Duke of Orleans seruants that was slaine, who were then in great credit with King Charles.

Chap. 10. How the two Kings met and sware the treatie before concluded, And how some supposed that the holy Ghost came downe vpon the King of Englands pavilion in the likenesse of a white pigeon.

1 The old copie saith the 19. day, *Meyer* the 31. day, *Gaguin* the 28. of October.



VR grate being finished as you haue heard, the next day the two Kings came thither in the yeere 1475. the 29. of August. The K. had with him about eight hundred men of armes, and arriued first at the grate: on the King of Englands side stood all his army in order of battell, which vndoubtedly was great both of horsemen and footmen, yet could we not discouer his whole force. We on our side seemed but a handfull to them, and no maruell: for the fourth part of the Kings army was not there. It was appointed that each of the Kings should be accompanied at the grate with twelue persons, which were already named, of the noblest personages and such as were neereft about them. Moreouer, on our side were fower of the King of Englands seruants to view what we did, and as many of ours on their side. The King as I told you, arriued first at the grate, and twelue of vs waited vpon him, among whom were the late Duke John of Bourbon and the Cardinall his brother. It pleased him that I should weare that day a sute of apparell like his owne: for he had vsed of long time, and that very often, to command one or other to be apparelled like himselfe. The King of England came along vpon the causey aboue mentioned with a maruellous goodly traine, as was conuenient for the maiestie of a Prince. He was accompanied with the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, and diuers other noble men, namely the Lord Hastings his Chamberlaine, his Chauncellor, and others. But there were not past three or fower besides himselfe apparelled in cloth of golde. Further hee ware on his head a blacke veluet cap with a maruellous rich iewell, being a Flower de luce set with stones. He was a goodly tall Prince, but inclined now to be somewhat

what grosse, and I had seene him before much beautifuller than at this present for sure when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of England, hee was the goodliest gentleman that euer I set mine eye on. When he came within fise foote of the grate, he tooke off his cap, and bowed downe within halfe a foote of the ground: the King in like manner who was leaning vpon the grate, vsed great reuerence towards him: and when they came to embrace each other through the grate, the King of England againe made low obeisance. Then the King began the talke and said: Cofin, you are most heartily welcom, there is no man in the world whom I haue so much desired to see as you, and praised be God that we are met heere to so good a purpose: hereunto the King of England answered in good French. This talke ended, the Chancellor of England, who was a Prelate and Bishop of Elie, began his oration with a prophesie (whereof the English men are neuer vnfurnished²;) which said that in this place of Picquigny an honorable peace should be concluded betweene the Realmes of Fraunce and England. The Bishops oration being ended, the letters were opened that the King had deliuered to the King of England touching the conclusion of the treatie: and the said Chancellor asked the King whether they were written by his commandement, and whether he auowed them: whereunto the King answered yea. Then the Bishop asked him againe, if he held himselfe contented in like manner with those letters and writings that were deliuered him on the King of Englands behalfe: whereunto the King answered as before. Then was the missall brought forth and opened: vpon the which each of the Kings laide one of their hands, and the other vpon the true holy crosse, and sware both of them to keepe and obserue the articles concluded betweene them, namely the truce for nine yeeres, wherein the confederates of both parties were comprehended, and the mariage of their children to be accomplished in maner and forme as was comprehended in the treatie. After they had both sworne, the King (who had his words at commandement) began to enter into pleasant talke with the King of England: saying that he should come to Paris to solace himselfe there with the Ladies, and that he would giue him the Cardinall of Bourbon for his confessor, who would easily assoile him of that sinne, if any were committed. The King of England tooke great pleasure in this talke, and answered with a merry countenance: for hee knew the Cardinall to be a good fellow. After some such like speeches passed betweene them, the King to shew that he had authoritie among his men, commanded those that were with him to withdraw themselues, saying that he would commune with the King of England in secret: which they that accompanied the King of England seeing, retired without commandement. After the two Kings had communed a while together, the King called me to him, and asked the King of England if he knew me, who answered, that he knew me well, and named the places where he had seene me, adding, that in times past I had taken paines to doe him seruice in Calais during the time I was with the Duke of Burgundie. Then the King inquired of him, if the Duke of Burgundy would not be comprehended in the truce (as it was to be presumed because of his froward answere, that he would not) what it would please him that he should do? The King of England said, that he would offer it him yet once more, and if he refused to accept it, that then they two should do as they thought good. Afterward the King fell in talke of the Duke of Britaine (which was the only end why he mooued this question) & asked him in like maner of him. The King of England desired him earnestly to attempt nothing against the D. of Britaine, saying that in his necessity he neuer found so faithfull a friend: whereupon the King ended this communication: and then calling the company together againe,

^a The like reporteth Iouius of the French.

again, with the most courteous and gracious language that might be, tooke his leaue of the King of England, giuing very good words in like manner to euery one of his seruants. And so the two Princes in a manner both at one instant departed from the grate and tooke horse. The King returned to Amiens, and the King of England to his campe, whither we sent from the court all kinde of prouision necessarie for him, so far forth, that torches and lights were not forgotten. At this enteruiew the Duke of Glocester King *Edwards* brother, and certaine others were not present, because they misliked the peace. Notwithstanding afterward they were well ynough perswaded to allow of it, so far forth that the said Duke of Glocester came to Amiens to the King, who gaue him many goodly presents of siluer plate, and horses with all kinde of furniture.

After the King was returned from this meeting, vpon the way he debated two points with me: the one, he found the King of England so willing to come to Paris that it liked him neuer a whit. For he is, quoth he, a goodly Prince, and much giuen to loue: he may peradventure meete with some daintie dame at Paris, that will entertaine him with so many sugred words, that she may happily make him desirous to returne thither againe. But his predecessors haue sojourned too long both at Paris and in Normandie. I like not his company on this side the sea, but so long as he keepeth home, I wish to haue him my good friend and louing brother. The other point was this, he was sorie that he found the King of England somewhat hard when he made mention of the D. of Britaine: for the King was so desirous to perswade him to suffer warre to be made in Britaine, that afterward he solicited this matter anew by the Lords of Bouchage and Saint Pierre. But the King of England seeing himselfe thus earnestly pressed, answered in few words, that who so should make warre against the Duke of Britaine, he would passe the seas yet once againe in his defence: which answer being heard, the matter was no further mentioned. After the King was returned to Amiens, euen as he was going to supper, arriued three or fower noble men of England such as had furthered the peace, and the Lord *Howard* (who was one of them) began to talke with the King in his care, saying, that if it pleased him, he woud finde meanes to bring his Master to Amiens, and peradventure to Paris, to make merrie with him, which offer though the King liked neuer a whit, yet made he shew of great good liking therof, and began to wash, not answering much to that point, but told me softly in mine eare, that the thing he most feared was hapned, meaning this offer. After supper they fell againe in communication of the selfe same matter, but with wise words the enterprise was broken off: for the King said, that with all speede he must depart to go against the Duke of Burgundie. Although these affaires were of great importance and sagely ordered on both sides: yet you see merry toies hapned also among them which are not to be forgotten. But as touching the King who will maruell (considering the great harmes the English men haue done in Fraunce but of late yeeres) if he trauelled his body, and spent his money to rid them friendly out of the Realme, to the intent heereafter he might keepe them his friends at the least not haue them his foes.

The next day after this meeting, a great number of English men repaired to Amiens, some of them affirming that the holy Ghost had made this peace (for they grounded all on propheties.) The reason that mooued them so to say was, for that a white pigeon sat vpon the K. of Englands pavilion that day of the enteruiew, and would not remooue thence notwithstanding any noyse made in the campe. The cause whereof as some men iudged, was, for that it had rained a little, and afterward the sunne shining very hot, the pigeon lighted vpon this pavilion

lion (being higher than the rest) to drie her selfe : which reason was ginen by a gentleman of Gascoine seruant to the King of England, named *Lewis* of Bre-tailles, who was not a little offended with the peace. And because he and I were of old acquaintance, he talked familiarly with me : saying that we would deride the King of England for this treatie. I asked him how many battels the said King had woon : he told me nine, in the which himselfe had been in person. Then I demanded of him againe, how many he had lost : and he answered neuer but one, which was this we now bereaued him of : adding, that he receiued greater dishonor by returning home after this sort, than he had obtained honor in winning the other nine. Of this communication I aduertised the King, who said he was a dangerous knaue, and that some meanes must be found to stop his mouth : whereupon he sent for him, and made him dine at his owne table, offering him very large offers and goodly offices if he would tarry in Fraunce. But seeing hee would by no meanes be woon thereunto, he gaue him a thousand crownes in mony, promising also a good turne to his brethren that were on this side the sea, and I gaue him a watchword in his eare, to employ his credite to continue the friendship and amitie begun betweene the two Princes.

The King feared especially aboue all things least some word should escape him at vnawares, whereby the English men might gather that he derided them. And by chaunce the next morning after this meetiug, as he was in his closet, and not past three or fower of vs with him, he spake a merry word touching the wines and presents sent to the English campe : as he turned about espied a merchant of Gascoine that dwelt in England, who was come to mooue a sute to him for a licence to ship certaine Gascoine wines into England without impost, which was a sute that might much benefit the said merchant if he could obtaine it. The King wondered when he saw him how he was gotten in thither, and asked him of what towne he was in Guienne, and whether he were a merchant and married in England. The merchant answered yea, but that his wealth was not great. Incontinent before his departure thence, the King appointed one to accompanie him to Bordeaux, and I communed with him by his commandement. Further, a good office in the towne where he was borne was giuen him : the licence for the wines which he demanded was graunted him, and besides this 1000. frankes were deliuered him for his wiues charges vpon the way, and he sent a brother of his into England for her, but went not himselfe. Thus the King imposed this penaltie vpon himselfe for his ouer large speech.

Chap. II. How the Constable after the truce made with the English men, sought to excuse himselfe to the King : and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.



He selfesame day aboue mentioned, being the next day after the enteruiew, the Constable sent letters to the King by a seruant of his named *Rapine* (who was a trustie seruant to his Master, and whom also the King preferred afterward) Monsieur de Lude and my selfe were commanded to heare his message. Now you shall vnderstand that Monsieur de Contay was already returned from the Duke of Burgundie to the Court, about the practise aboue mentioned deuised against the Constable : so that the said Constable knew not to what Saint he should vow himselfe, but remained in vtter despaire. *Rapines* message was very humble, tending to excuse his

his Master of the sundrie euill reports that he knew had been made of him to the King, for that the end sufficiently declared, that hee neuer meant to doe otherwise than dutie required. And to the intent he might the better assure the King of his true dealing, he promised so to practise with the Duke of Burgundie, that he would perswade him to helpe to destroy the King of England and his whole army, if it so pleased the King. And it seemed by his speech that his Master was in vtter despaire. We told him that we were in perfect amity with the English men, and would no war. But Monsieur de Lude who was with me, aduentured to aske him if he knew where his Masters treasure lay. I maruelled to heare such a word scape him: for seeing this *Rapine* was a very trustie seruant to his Master, this speech was sufficient to haue caused the Constable to flie, and to vnderstand in what estate he was, and what was a brewing for him, especially seeing the danger he had been in, not past a yeere before. But I neuer knew man in my life neither heere nor elsewhere, that could dislodge in time and shun the danger hanging ouer his head: some because they thinke they shall not be receiued nor bee in safetie in strange countries, and other some because they are too much affectionate to their goods, wiues and children: which two reasons haue bene the cause of many a good mans vndoing.

After we had made report to the King of *Rapines* message, he called for one of his Secretaries, none being with him but the Lord *Howard* the King of Englands seruant, (who vnderstood nothing of this practise against the Constable,) the Lord of Contay who was returned from the Duke of Burgundie, and we two that had talked with the said *Rapine*. Then he indited a letter to the Constable, wherein he aduertised him of all that was done the day before, namely, the treatie of peace. Further, he sent him word that he was busied with diuers affaires of great importance, and had neede of such a head as his: which word was no sooner vttered, but he turned to the Englishmen, and the Lord of Contay, saying softly to them, I meane not that we should haue the body, but the head without the body. This letter was deliuered to *Rapine*, who liked it maruellous well, especially those words that the King had neede of such a head as his Masters, but he vnderstood not the mysterie thereof. The King of England also sent the King the two letters of credit that the Constable had written to him, and disclosed all the messages that he had sent him, whereby you may perceiue how the Constable had behaued himselfe towards these three great Princes, and in what estate he was: euery one of the three desiring his death.

The King of England vpon the receit of his money departed, and marched in great hast towards Callice, fearing the Duke of Burgundies malice and his subjects, and not without cause: for whensoever his men scattered and singled themselves, some of them came short home. At his departure he left for hostages with the King, till his returne into England according to his promise, the Lord *Howard*, and the Master of his horse called Sir *Iohn Cheiny*.

You haue heard before at the entrance into these English affaires, that King *Edward* had no great deuotion to this voyage into Fraunce: for being come to Douer, before he embarked he began to practise with vs. But there were two causes that mooued him to passe the seas: one, the desire his whole realme had, according to their naturall inclination, to make warre in Fraunce, and the rather at this present, because the Duke of Burgundie pressed the war so earnestly: the other, the hope he had to reserue to himselfe a great part of the subsidie leuiued in England for this voyage: for as before I haue said, the Kings of England receiue only the bare reuenues of their lands, saue when they leuie money to make

war in France. Further, King *Edward* had deuised this subtiltie to appease his subiects: he had brought with him ten or twelue great fat paunches, as well of the citie of London, as of other townes in England, who were the wealthiest men of the commonaltie, and had beene the chiefest instruments both in perswading the King to passe into Fraunce, and also in leuying this mightie armie. The King caused them to be lodged in good tents, but that was not the life they were accustomed to lead: wherefore they soon waxed wearie of it. At their first arriual they looked for the battell within three daies after their landing. But the K. of England alleaged many doubts vnto them, and endeouored to put them in feare of the battell, and to perswade them to allow of the peace, to the end they might aide him at their returne into England to pacifie the murmuring & grudging of the people that happily might arise because of his returne: for neuer K. of England since K. *Arthur*, passed at one time with so great force, and so many noble personages into France. But after the peace was concluded, the K. of England repaired homeward with speed, reseruing to himselfe a great summe of mony leuied in England for the paiment of his soldiers; so that he obtained in effect all his purposes. His body could not away with such labor as a K. of England must endure that mindeth to atchieue any great enterprise in France. Further, the K. our Master had made great preparation for resistance, though to say the truth he could not well haue provided defence sufficient against all his enemies: for he had too many. Lastly, the King of England had a maruellous great desire to accomplish the marriage of his daughter with King *Charles* the 8. now raigning, which caused him to winke at a number of inconueniences, that turned after to the King our Masters profit.

After all the English men were returned home sauing the Hostages: the King tooke his iourney towards Laon, and lodged in a little towne vpon the marches of Henault called Veruins, and to Auennes in Henault came the Chauncellor of Burgundie with the L. of Contay and other ambassadors from the Duke. The K. was very desirous at this time to conclude a finall peace: for this mighty English armie had put him in feare, & no maruell: for he had seen in his time of their doings in this Realme, & would in no wise their returne. The said Chauncellor writ to the King, desiring that it would please him to send his Commissioners for the peace to a certaine bridge in the midway betweene Auennes and Vernins, saying, that he and his colleagues would meete them there. The King sent him answer, that he would come thither himselfe, and notwithstanding that diuers, whose aduise he asked in this matter, perswaded him to the contrarie: yet thither he went, leading also with him the English hostages, who were present when he receiued the D. ambassadors, the which came very well accompanied with archers and men of war. At this first meeting they did but salute the King, & then went to dinner. One of the English men began to repent him that the treaty was concluded, and said to mee at a window, that if they had seene many such men with the Duke of Burgundie, peraduenture they would not haue made peace. Which words the Vicount of Narbonne? (now L. of Fouez) hearing said: Were you so simple to thinke, that the Duke of Burgundie had not great force of such men? he had sent them only to refresh themselves: but you were so desirous to returne home, that six hundred pipes of wine, and a pension the King giueth you, blew you quickly backe into England. The English man in a great fury answered; I perceiue now their sayings to proue true, that told vs you would decide vs for making peace. Call you the money the King giueth vs, a pension? It is tribute, and by Saint George you may babble so much, that you may soon make

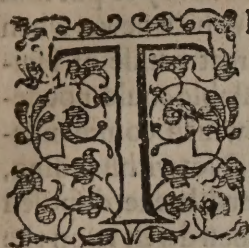
* The French having onely Monsieur de Narbonne, made Sleidan translate it the Bishop of Narbonne, whereas in deede he was Vicount of Narbonne, not Bishop, as other authors affirme: and as these words, *Qui au iourd'huy s'appelle Monsieur de Fouez* plainly prooue: wherefore for auoiding of Sleidan error, I haue put this word (*Vicount*) into the text, though it be not in the French.

vs to returne. But I brake off their talke and turned it to a iest: notwithstanding the Englishman was discontented and cast out a word thereof to the King, who was maruellously offended with the Lord of Narbonne for his speech.

The King communed not long at this first meeting with the Chancellor & the other ambassadors: for it was agreed that they should go with him to Veruines, where when they arriued he commanded Master *Tannequy du Chastell*, & Master *Peter Doriole* Chancellor of Fraunce, and others to negotiate with them: much ado there was betweene them, many reasons alleaged, and many demands made on each side. The Kings commissioners made report to him that the Burgundians vsed fierce and stoute language, but that they had paid them with the like, and withall told him what their answers were. Which he much misliked, saying, that the like answers had been made diuers times before, and that they treated not of a finall peace, but only of truce: whereof he would haue no more such language vsed, but would himselfe commune with them: and therupon caused the said Chauncellor and the other ambassadors to come into his chamber, out of the which all men were commanded to auoide, saue the late L. Admirall called the bastard of Burbon, Monsieur de Bouchage, and my selfe. There the King concluded truce for nine yeeres, wherein it was agreed, that euery man should be restored to his former estate. But the ambassadors besought the King that the truce might not yet be proclaimed, to saue the Duke their Masters oath, who had sworne not to make truce before the King of England had beene a certaine space in his Realme, least he should thinke their Master had accepted this truce.

But the King of England (who thought great scorne that the D. would not be comprehended in his truce) being aduertised that he treated with the King of an other, sent ouer into Fraunce a knight neere about him called Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, who came to Veruins at the very same instant that the King treated with the Duke of Burgundies ambassadors of this truce aboue mentioned. The said Sir *Thomas* required the King in the King his Masters name, to make no other truce with the Duke of Burgundy, than that which was already concluded betweene them two. Further desiring him not to deliuer Saint Quintins into the Dukes hands, and offering that if he would continue war with the Duke, his Master would be content the next sommer to passe the seas againe for him, and in his aide, with these conditions. First, that the King should recompence the losse the King of England should sustaine by the wooll custome of Calais, amounting yeerely to 50000. crownes: which if the war opened with Flaunders were cleerly lost. And secondarily, that the K. should pay the one halfe of the English army, and the King of England the other. The King yeelded great thanks to the King of England for this curteous message, and gaue a goodly present of siluer plate to the said Sir *Thomas*. Notwithstanding, as touching the war he excused himselfe, saying, that the truce was already concluded, being the very same that the King of England and he had made for the terme of nine yeeres, saue that the D. would haue his letters apart. Thus to content the ambassador hee excused the matter the best he could, and the said Sir *Thomas* returned into England, and the hostages with him. The King maruelled much at the King of Englands offers, at the report whereof my selfe only was present. But it seemed to him a dangerous thing, to cause the King of England to passe the seas againe, both because euery trifle would breed quarrels betweene the French and the English being in campe together; and also because it was to bee feared that the Burgundians and they would easily reconcile themselves: wherefore he was so much the more desirous to conclude the truce with the Duke of Burgundie.

Chap. 12. How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundy, and how he went into the Dukes dominions, where by his commandment he was staied & deliuered to the King and after put to death.



He truce being concluded, the old practise against the Constable was reuiued: and to the end the processe therof should be short; they ratified all that was done before at Bouuines, and the writings there made (as before you haue hard) were againe interchangeably deliuered. In the said writings the King promised the Duke Saint Quintins, Han, Bohaine, and all the lands that the Constable held of the Duke, and all his

moueables wheresoeuer they were found. Further, the maner how to besiege him in Han, (where he lay) was deuised. It was also agreed that whether of the two Princes could first take him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliuer him to the other. All men incontinent began to feare this confederacie, so far forth that the Constables principall seruants forsooke him, namely Monsieur de Genly and diuers others. Further, he being aduertised that King Edward had deliuered his letters to the King & discovered all that he knew of him; and seeing also that his enemies had made truce, fell into great feare, and sent to the Duke of Burgundie, humbly beseeching him to giue him a safe conduct to come and speake with him about certaine affaires that greatly imported him. The Duke at the first made daintie to grant a safe conduct, but in the end sent him one. This mightie noble man had oft debated, whither he should flie to saue himselfe: for he was informed of all that was done, and had seene the writings deuised against him at Bouuines. Sometime he consulted with certaine of his seruants, being Lorrains, determining to flie with them into Almaine, carying a great sum of money with him (for the way was very safe) therewith to buy some place vpon the riuer of Rhene to remaine in, till he were reconciled to one of the two Princes. Sometime he resolved to put himselfe into his strong castell of Han, which had cost him so much money, and which he had fortified to serue him at such a pinch, and furnished of all things as well as any castell that euer I knew. But he could not finde men to his minde to put into the place, because all his seruants were borne vnder the Dominions of one of the two Princes. And peradventure his feare was so great, that he durst not wholly discouer himselfe and his estate to them: for I thinke a great many of them would not haue forsaken him: neither was it so dangerous for him to bee besieged of both the Princes as of one, for it had beene impossible for the two armies to agree.

• Vnderstand this as well of the moouables he had in the Kings dominions, as vnder the Duke.

But in the end he concluded to go to the Duke of Burgundie vnder this safe conduct, being accompanied onely with fiftene or twenty horse, and rode to Montz in Hainault, where the Lord Desmeriez great bailife of Hainault and his especiall friend lay. With him he sojourned a certaine space, attending newes from the Duke of Burgundy, who had lately begun war vpon the Duke of Lorraine, because he had defied him when he lay at the siege before Nuz, and done much harme in the countrey of Luxembourg.

The King being aduertised of the Constables departure, purposed so to order the matter, that he should neuer recover the Duke of Burgundies fauor: for he leuied seuen or eight hundred men of armes, and rode with them in all hast to Saint Quintins, knowing well what force was within the town, neere to the which

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when heapproched, certaine of the Citizens came foorth to receiue him. The Kings commanded me to enter the towne, and appoint euery captaine to his quarter, and so I did. First the soldiers entred, and then the King, who was very honorably receiued of the townes men: whereupon certaine of the Constables seruants retired into Hainault. The King immediately aduertised the Duke by a letter of his owne hand, of the taking of Saint Quintins; thereby to put him vtterly out of hope to recouer it by the Constables meanes. Which newes when the Duke vnderstood, he sent word to the Lord *Desmeriez* great bailife of Hainault, to gard the towne of Montz in such sort, that the Constable could not depart, and farther to command him to keepe his lodging: which commandement the bailife executed accordingly, for he durst do no lesse. Notwithstanding, the garde was not strong enough for such a personage, if he had beene disposed to escape. What shall we say heere of fortune? This noble man dwelt vpon the frontiers of both these Princes dominions being enimies, hauing strong townes in his hands, and fower hundred men of armes well payde, of the which he was Comptroller himselfe, and placed whom it pleased him, & had been their Capitaine the space of twelue yeeres. He was a wise and a valiant knight, and of great experience, and had great treasure in ready coine: yet notwithstanding at this last pinch his courage so failed him, that he wist not what shift to make. We may well say, that fickle Fortune beheld him with a frowning countenance: or rather (if we will speake like good Christians) we must say, that such great miseries depend not vpon Fortune: for Fortune is but a phantasticall fiction of Poetrie. Wherefore we must thinke if we well weigh both the reasons aboue alleaged, and diuers other heere vnrehearsed, that God had vtterly forsaken him & giuen him ouer. And if it were lawfull for man to iudge, as I know it is not (especially for me) I would say that in mine opinion all this misery fell vpon him, because hee trauelled continually to the vttermost of his power to nourish the war betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundy, knowing his great authoritie and estate to depend thereupon: although to say the truth, the matter needed no great labor, for there was a naturall antipathy betweene them. Who is so rude or ignorant to thinke that Fortune or any other like chance was able to cast so wise a man into the disgrace of both these Princes at once, (who in their liues neuer agreed in any thing saue onely this,) especially into the King of Englands disgrace, who had married his neece, and loued entirely all his wiues kinsmen, especially those of this house of Saint Paul. It is like therefore, yea it is most certaine, that God had withdrawne his grace from him, in that he had purchased himselfe such hatred of all these three Princes, and had not one friend in the world that durst giue him a nights lodging. Neither was it fained Fortune strake this stroke, but God alone. The like whereof hath hapned, and shall happen to diuers others, who after great and long prosperitie fall into great aduersitie and trouble. After the Constable was arrested in Hainault by the Duke of Burgundies commandement, the King sent word to the Duke either to deliuer him into his hands, or execute him according to the tenure of the writings aboue mentioned. The Duke answered that he would so doe, and commanded the Constable to be led to Peronne, and there straightly kept. Further you shall vnderstand that the Duke had already taken diuers places in Lorraine and Barrois, and at this present held the siege before Nancy, which was valiantly defended. The King had great force of men of armes in Champaigne, which held the Duke in feare: for the King was not bound by the truce to suffer him to destroy the Duke of Lorraine, who was retired into Fraunce. The Lord of Bouchage and diuers other ambassadors
sent

sent by the King, pressed the Duke earnestly to performe his promise and oath; and he answered euer that he would so do; but yet delaied it more than a month ouer and aboue the eight daies, wherein he should either haue deliuered the Constable, or put him to death. Notwithstanding in the end seeing the matter so earnestly pressed, and fearing that the King would hinder his enterprize in Lorraine which he so much desired to atchieue, to the end he might haue the passage open from Luxembourg into Burgundy, and ioine all these Seniories together: for this little Duchy of Lorraine being his, he might come vpon his owne dominions from Holland, almost as far as Lions.² For these considerations I say, he wrote to his Chancellor and the Lord of Himbercourt so often already mentioned, (which two had absolute authority in his absence, and were both of them the Constables enemies and euill-willers) to goe to Peronne and deliuer the Constable at a day by him prefixed, to those that the King should there appoint to receiue him, sending word withall to the L. Desmiriez to deliuer him to the saide Chancellor and Himbercourt.

² The Duke desired Lorraine, not onely for the cause here alleged by our author, but also to proclaim himself vnder that colour King of Sicily and Hierusalem.

³ This Campobache (as some report) wrought this treason, for that the Duke had once in his rage giuen him a blow.

⁴ He tooke Nancy about the 19. of November, but la Marche sayth in the end of Nouember, Meyer 28.

⁵ The Chancellor & Himbercourt deliuered him with such speed through euill will, whereas they ought to haue staide till the second message had come from the Duke, for as sayth Meyer

Perebas consuetudo ex iure militari civilique desumpta, ut in talibus gravibus rebus secundum semper praeceptis ministerique expectarent iussione

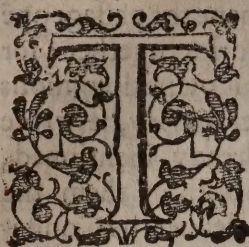
The Duke of Burgundy in the meane time beat continually the town of Nancy: but there were good soldiers within it which valiantly defended it. Further one of the D. own captains, called the Earle of Campobache, a Neapolitane born but banished thence for the house of Anious faction, was lately entred into intelligence with the D. of Lorraine, heire apparant to the house of Aniou, after the death of King Rene his mothers father. The Earle of Campobache promised to prolong the siege, and find meanes that such things should be lacking as were necessary for the taking of the town.³ Which his promise, he was very well able to performe, being then the greatest man in the Dukes army: but a false traitor to his Master, as hereafter you shall heare more at large. This was a preparatiue as it were of all those euils and miseries that fell afterward vpon the Duke of Burgundy. The said Duke meant, as I suppose, if he had taken the town before the day appointed for the Constables deliuey, not to deliuer him at all. And on the other side I thinke, if the King had had him, he would haue done more in the D. of Lorraines fauour than he did: for he was aduertised of the Earle of Campobaches traitorous practises, but medled not in them; yet was he not bound to let the Duke of Burgundy doe what him listed in Lorraine, (notwithstanding for diuers respects he thought it best so to do:) besides this he had great forces vpon the frontiers of the said country of Lorraine.

The D. could not take Nancy before the day appointed for the Constables deliuey⁴ which being com, the two aboue mentioned executed willingly their Masters commandement⁵, and deliuered him at the gate of Peronne to the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, and to Monsieur de Saint Pierre, who led him to Paris: diuers haue tolde me, that within three houres after his deparure messengers came in Polte from the Duke with a countermaund, to wit. that hee should not be deliuered before Nancy were taken, but it was too late. At Paris the Constables proces was made, and the Duke deliuered all his letters that were in his hands, and all such euidence as serued for the proces. The King pressed the court earnestly, and Iustices were appointed for the hearing of his cause, who seeing the euidence that both the King of England and the Duke gaue against him, condemned him to die⁶, and confiscated all his goods.

nem at hoc isti duo odio grauissimo deflagrantes in comitem stabuli, gratumque volentes facere regi mirum in modum sanguinem illius sitientem non obseruauerunt. Si obseruassent, ut debant, fort. esset eorum ipsum, & Ducem Dominum suum seque ipsos plane seruassent. Signidem statim post Caroli interitum ambo apud Gandanum accipere rationem.

⁶ The Constable died the 19. of December, 1475. *Annals Franc. Gauguin. Meyer* in whom read the causes of his death, fol. 368.

Chap. 13. *A discourse of the faults of the Duke of Burgundie committed in deliuering the Constable to the King contrary to his safe conduct, and what ensued thereof.*

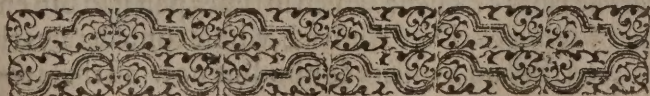


His deliery of the Constable was maruellous strange; nor, withstanding I speake it not to excuse his faults, neither to accuse the Duke, for sure he had iust cause to seeke his death. But me thinke that he being so great a Prince, and of so noble and honorable an house; should not haue giuen him a safe conduct, and then arrested him. And vndoubtedly it was great cruelty to deliuer him where he was sure to die, especially for couetousnes. But soone after hee had thus dishonoured himselfe by this deed, he receiued great losses, and began to fall to ruine. So that if we wel consider the workes that God hath done in these our dayes, and dayly doth, we shall easily perceiue that he will leaue no fault vnpunished, and that these strange punishments are inflicted onely by him, because they surmount farre the works of nature. For his punishments are sudden, especially vpon those that vse violence and cruelty: who cannot be meane persons, but mighty men, eyther in seniorities or authoriry. This house of Burgundie had long flourished, for by the space of a hundred yeares or there about, during the which time raigned fowre of this house) it was more esteemed then any other house in Christendome. For all those that were mightier then it, had suffered great afflictions and aduersities, but it liued continually in perpetuall felicity and honour. The first great Prince of this house was *Philip* surnamed the *Hardy*, brother to *Charles* the fift King of Fraunce, who married the daughter and heire of the Earle of Flaunders, being Countesse not onely of that Country, but also of Artois, Burgundy, ¹Neuers & Rethell. The 2. was *John*, the 3. was the good D. *Philip*, who ioyned to his house the Duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Lambourg, and the counties of Holland, Zeland, Hainault and Namur. The fourth was the Duke *Charles*, who after his fathers death, was one of the richest and most redoubted Princes of Christendome, and had in moueables, namely, iewels, plate, rapestrie, books, and napry more than three of the greatest Princes in Christendome. Of treasure, in coine I haue seene greater abundance in other Princes Courts: For *Duke Philip* by the space of many yeares leuiued neither subsidies nor taskes: yet notwithstanding at his death, he left his sonne aboue three hundred thousand crownes in ready money, and in peace with all his neighbours, which long endured not: notwithstanding I will not impute the whole occasion of the wars to him, for others were as busie as he. His subiects immediately after his fathers death, vpon a small request graunted him very willingly a subsidie (euery country a part) for the terme of ten yeeres, amounting yearly to the summe of 350000. crowns: Burgundy being not comprehended therein. Yea, and at the time he deliuered the Constable he leuiued yearly ouer and aboue the former summe, more than 300000. crowns, and had aboue 300000. crownes in coine; and all the Constables goods that came to his hands, amounted hardly to the value of 80000. crowns, for hee had but 76000. in coine. So that the Duke committed this foule fault for small gaine, yet was the punishment thereof great: for God raised vp an enemy against him of small force, of young yeares, and of little experience in all things, and caused his seruant whom he then most trusted, to become false and traiterous. He made also the Duke himselfe to mistrust his owne subiects and faithfull seruants. Are
not

3 Vnderstand
this of the
County of
Burgundy,
not of the
Duchy.

not these such manifest tokens and preparatiues as God vsed in the olde Testament, against those whose good fortune and prosperity he meant to change into misery and aduersity? Yet he neuer humbled himselfe before God, but euen till the howre of death attributed al his good successe to his own wisdom & prowes: before his death he was mightier then any of his predecessors, & more esteemed through the whole world.

Before the Constables deliuery, he was fallen into a maruellous mistrust, or great disdaine of his owne subiects, for he had sent into Italy for a thousand men of armes, Italians. Before Nuz also he had great force of Italians in his campe: for the Earle of Campobache had vnder his charge fowre hundred men of arms, & better. This Earle had no possessions for his maintenance, for because of the wars the house of Aniou had made in the Realme of Naples (which house he serued) hee was banished his country, and lost all his lands, and serued euer since his departure out of Italy, in Prouence or Lorraine vnder King *Rene* of Cicile, or Duke *Nicholas* sonne to Duke *John* of Calabria. After whose death the Duke of Burgundy gaue entertainment to most of his seruants, especially all his Italians: namely, this Earle of Campobache, *James Galeot* a valiant, honourable and faithfull gentleman and diuers others. The said Earle of Campobache, when he went into Italy to leuie his men, receiued of the Duke of Burgundie 40000. duckets in prest for his company. But as he passed through Lions, he fell in acquaintance with a Phisition, named Master *Simon* of Pauye, by whom he aduertised the King, that if hee would grant him certaine demands, he would promise him at his returne to deliuer the Duke of Burgundy into his hands: the like offer made he also to Monsieur de Saint Pray, then Ambassador in Piemont for the King. Again, at his return hauing his men of armes lying in the county of Marle, hee offered the king that so soon as he should be in the campe with his master, he would not faile either to kill him, or take him prisoner; shewing with all the maner how he would do it, which was this. The Duke rode often about his campe to view it, mounted vpon a little nagge, and very slenderly accompanied, at some such time this Earle sayde hee would assault him, and execute his enterprife. He made yet also an other offer to the King, namely, if the King and the Duke met together in battel, to turne with his men of armes on the kings side, vnder condition that the King would grant him certaine demands. The King detested much the treason of this man, and of a noble courage aduertised the Duke of his practises by the L. of Contay aboue mentioned. Notwithstanding the Duke would not credite the message, (supposing that the King sent him this aduertisement to some other end) but loued the Earle all the better. Wherefore you may see how God had troubled his wits, in that he would giue no credite to those manifest demonstrations the king shewed him. Well, this Earle of Campobache was not so false and traiterous, but *James Galeot* was true and trusty, who liued many yeeres, and died with great honour and renowne.



THE FIFTH BOOKE,

*Chap. I How the Duke of Burgundie making warre vpon the Swissers,
was ouerthrowne at the straights of the moun-
taines neere to Granfon.*



He Duke of Burgundy hauing conquered the Duchy of Lorraine, and receiued Saint Quintins, Han & Bohain, with all the Constables goods of the king, treated with him of a finall peace: for accomplishment wherof they two resolu'd to meet vpon a bridge built ouer a riuer, like to that made at Piquigny, at the enteruiewe of the King of England and France. About the which meeting, messengers passed to and fro, so far forth that the Duke was once purposed to dismisse the greatest part of his armie, to the end his men (being in very euill order, as well because of the siege of Nuz, as also of this small warre in Lorraine) might refresh themselves: and the rest to put in garrison into certaine of the Earle of Romonts places, neere to the towns of Berne and Fribourg, vpon the which hee was fully resolu'd to make war, because they had inuaded his dominions, while he was before Nuz, had holpen to take the county of Ferrette from him (as you haue heard) and had also conquered from the Earle of Romont part of his Countrey. The King earnestly pressed him to come to the meeting appointed, to leaue these poore Swissers in peace, and to refresh his army. The Swissers also seeing him approach so neere them, sent their Ambassadors to him, offering to restore al that they had taken from the Earle of Romont, who on the other side pressed him earnestly to succour him in person: whereupon the Duke altered his mind, and determined to march against them, leauing that course which in all mens opinions seemed best, considering both the time of the year, and the state of his army. Further, it was agreede between the king and him, that for the Duchy of Lorraine they should not fall at variance.

The Duke departed out of Lorraine with this poore, weary and defeated army, and entred into Burgundy, where the Ambassadors of these ancient confederates of Almaine, commonly called Swissers, repaired againe to him, making larger offers than before: for besides the restitution of the Earle of Romonts places, they offered to depart from all leagues that he should not allow of, especially, their league with the K. and to enter into confederacy with him, & to serue him against the king, with sixe thousand men wel armed (and that for very smal pay) as often as he should require: which offer he refused; for God was fully purposed to bring him to destruction. In those countries are certaine townes called the new confederates, namely, Basill, Strasbourg, and diuers other imperiall cities, ¹ situate neer the riuer of Rhene, which in times past had bin enemies to the Swissers in fauour of *Sigismond* D. of Austrich, whose confederates they were during the wars between the said Swissers & him. But now all these townes ioyned with the Swissers, & a league was made between them for ten yeers, & peace also between D. *Sigismond* and them, which league (as before you haue heard,) was concluded by the K. procurement, earnest sute, & great expenses, at the same time that the county of Ferrette was taken from the D. of Burgundie, & his lieutenant there

¹ These townes were Basill, Strasbourg, Sleestac, Colmar, Sunggau, and Brisgau.

there called *Peter Archambault* beheaded at Basill. The only cause of which inconvenience proceeded of this *Archambault* himself, which surely was a shrewd check to the Duke of Burgundy, being the very fountaine of all his other miseries. Wherefore a Prince that hath lately ioyned a strange country to his dominions, ought to be circumspect what governours he placeth there. For whereas subiects newly conquered, ought to be curteously intreated, to haue iustice truely administered, and to be better vsed than vnder their former government: this *Archambault* did the cleane contrary, for he vsed great violence and extortion, wherupon ensued vtter destruction to himselfe, his master, and many a good man besides.

This league aboue mentioned made by the kings onely procurement, turned afterwards to his great benefite, yea greater then the world weeneth, so far forth that for my part, I account it one of the wisest deeds that euer he did, and most to the damage of his enemies. For the D. of Burgundy once destroyed, the king of France neuer found man afterward of his owne subiects, that durst lift vp his finger against him: for they sayled all with his wind. Wherefore it was a worthy exploit to ioyn D. *Sigismund* of Austrich, and these new confederates in league with the Swissers, whose ancient enemies they had been: and I warrant you it was neuer brought to passe without great expenses and many voyages.

After the Duke of Burgundy had put the Swissers from all hope of peace, they returned to aduertise their confederates thereof, and to make preparation for defence. The Duke led his army into the country of Vaulx in Sauoy, which the Swissers (as you haue heard) had taken from the Lord of Romont. There he wan three or foure places belonging to Monsieur de Chasteauguion, which the Swissers held and negligently defended. From thence bee remooued, and laid his siege before a towne called Granson,² belonging also to the said Lord of Chasteauguion, within the which were eight or nine hundred Swissers; choice men: for because the place was neere their country, they had manned it well. The Dukes force was reasonable great, for diuers bands came daily to him out of Lombardy, and the Subiects also of this house of Sauoy were in pay with him. He loued strangers better than his own subiects, notwithstanding that he might haue leuied in his owne dominions great force of good souldiers: but the Constables death together with certaine other conceits he had in his head, caused him to mistrust his owne people. His artillery was maruellous strong, and hee lay in great pompe and triumph in his campe, to shew his magnificence to the Ambassadors that came to him out of Italy and Almaine: for the which purpose also hee had brought with him all his best iewels and plate, and great abundance of all kinde of furniture. Moreouer he had many phansies in his head touching the Duchy of Milan, where he trusted shortly to haue great intelligence. After hee had besieged this towne of Granson, and battered it with the canon certaine daies, they yeelded to his mercy⁴, and he put them all cruelly to death. The Swissers were assembled, but in small number, as diuers of them haue tolde me: for they are not able to leuy so great force in their countrey as the world supposeth, and at that time much lesse then now, because sithence most part of them haue forsaken their husbandry and giuen themselves to armes. Further, of their confederates few were with them, because they were forced to succour the place in haste; but so soone as they were abroad in campe, they heard of their companions death. The Duke contrary to their opinion whose aduise he asked determined to meet them at the entry of the mountaines where they yet lay, greatly to his owne disadvantage: for he was encamped in a place very well seated for the battel, being fortified one the one side with his artillery, and on the other with a

² He laid his siege before Granson, the 12. of February, 1476, beginning the yeere at New yeeres tide with 50000. men, and 500. peeces of artillery, *Annals Burgund.*
³ Others write but 4000.

⁴ Others write that they would not yeeld vlesse the Duke would receiue him to his mercy which he did, and yet after put them cruelly to death.

lake;

lake, so that in all appearance they could not haue endamaged him. Hee had sent a hundred archers before him to keep a strait directly ouer against the mountain where the Swislers lay, and marched forward himselfe, and his enemies encountered him, the greatest part of his army being yet in the plaine. The first ranks of his men thought to retire to ioyne with the rest; but those that were behinde, supposing these to flie, began to turne their backs, and by little and little the Dukes armie retired towards his campe; some of them valiantly behauing themselves. But to be short, when they drew neere to the campe, they neuer stood to defence, but fled all. So that the Almaines won the Dukes campe, his artillerie, all his tents and paulions, and his mens also, (whereof there was great abundance) and other riches and treasures infinite: for nothing was saued but the men onely. Moreouer the Duke lost here all his goodly iewels, notwithstanding, in this battell were slaine onely seuen men of armes; all the rest fled, and himselfe also. A man may iustlier say of him that he lost this day honour and reputation, than of King *John* of France, who valiantly defending himselfe, was taken prisoner by the English men at the battell of Poictiers.

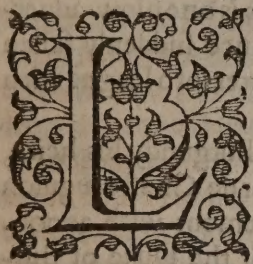
3 This battell was fought on Satterday the second of Aprill, or of March as some say, the Swislers at this battell were not above 5000. and the most harquebushiers. *Annal. Burg.*
6 All that the Duke lost that day was valued at three millions of crownes. *Annal. Burg.*

This is the first misfortune that euer hapned to this Duke: for all his other enterprises turned him eyther to honor or profite. But what a deadly wound receiued he this day by following his own braine, and despising good aduise? what damage receiued his house thereby? in how miserable estate is it yet. and shall be we know not how long? how many men became his enemies, and declared themselves against him that the day before spake him faire, and temporized with him? And for what quarrell beganne this war? forsooth for a lode of sheeps skins taken by the Earle of Romont from a Swisser passing through his country. Sure if God had not vtterly abandoned the Duke of Burgundie, it is not to be thought he would haue put himselfe into so great danger for so small a trifle, considering both the offers made him, and the men he had to do with, by vanquishing whom, he could obtaine neither riches nor honour. For at that time the Swislers as touching their valor were not esteemed as they be now, and their poerty was so great, that a Knight of their country, who was one of their first ambassadors to the Duke tolde me, that amongst diuers other reasons he vsed to dissuade him from this war, this was one: that by conquering them hee could gaine nothing, because their country was barren and poore, and void of al good prisoners, so far forth that he thought verily if all their country men were taken, they should not be able to pay a ransome to the value of the spurs and bridle bits in his campe.

But to returne to the battell: the King being immediately aduertised of all that was hapned, by the sundry spies and messengers he had abroad in the country, most of the which were strangers; reioyced much at these newes, and sorrowed onely that so few were slaine. Further, because of these affaires, he lay at Lions, to the end he might the sooner be aduertised of all that hapned, and the better countermined all such enterprises as the Duke had in his head. For the king being a wise Prince feared, least he should ioyne the Swislers to him by force. As touching the house of Sauoy, the Duke disposed thereof as of his own: the Duke of Milan was in league with him: King *Rene* of Sicilie was fully bent to haue put the countrie of *Prouince* into his hands. So that if his affaires had receiued good successe, he should haue held vnder his dominion, all that lyeth betweene the west and east seas, and haue soe bridled the subiects of this realme, that they could haue stirred no way out of France but by sea without his permissiō: Sauoy Prouince, and Lorraine being vnder his subiection. To euery one of these Prin-

ces the King sent ambassadors. The one, namely the Dutches of Sauoy was his sister, but friend to the Duke of Burgundy to the vttermost of her power. The other, to wit, King *Rene* of Sicily was his vnkle, who hardly gaue his ambassadors audience, but referred all matters to the Duke of Burgundy. The King sent also to these confederates of Almaine, but with great difficulty; for because the passages were stopped, hee was forced to send beggers, pilgrimes, and such kinde of men. The said confederates gaue him a proud answer, that vnlesse hee would declare himselfe for them, they would make peace with the Duke, and ioyne with the Burgundians against him: which notwithstanding that he greatly feared, yet thought hee it not time as yet to discouer himselfe the Dukes enemy, doubting also least some of his messengers whom he sent about the country should be taken, and so all his practises discouered.

Chap. 2. How after the ouerthrow at Granfon, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicily, the Dutches of Sauoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.



ET vs now see how the world changed after the battell, and how the courage of the Duke of Burgundy and his confederates altered, and withall how wisely the King gouerned his affaires. For this shall bee a goodly example for young Princes that attempt foolish enterprises, not considering what may ensue thereof: and despise the counsell of those, whose aduise they ought to vse, notwithstanding that themselues be vtterly voide of all experience. First, the Duke himselfe sent the Lord of Contay to the King with a lowly and humble message, contrary both to his accustomed manner and to his nature. Marke heer how suddenly he was changed euen in a moment: he desired the King faithfully to keep the truce, and excused himselfe for not comming to the meeting appointed at Auxerre, promising shortly to meet him there or else where at his pleasure. The King receiued the said *Contay* very honourably, assuring him of all his demaunds: for as yet he thought it not time to declare himselfe, because he knew well the loyalty of the Dukes subiects to bee such to their Prince, that he should soone be afloate againe. Wherefore hee was desirous to see the end of this war, without giuing occasion to eyther party to make peace. But notwithstanding the good entertainment the King gaue the said *Contay*, yet heard he many scoffes and taunts in the towne: for ballads were openly sung in the commendation of the vanquishers, and reproch of his folly that was vanquished.

So soone as *Galcas* Duke of Milan (then liuing) vnderstood of this aduenture, he reioyced not a little thereat, notwithstanding that he were the Duke of Burgundies confederate: for he was entred into league with him for feare onely, seeing the Duke so highly fauoured in Italy. Wherefore the saide Duke of Milan sent in all hast to the King a citizen of Milan, a man of small apparance, who by mediation of others was directed to me, and brought me a letter from the Duke: wherof when I had aduertised the King, he commanded me to heare his message. For he would not giue him audience himselfe, because he was displeased with the Duke of Milan for abandoning his league with him, to enter into confederacy with the Duke of Burgundy, and the rather for that his wife was the Queenes sister. The said ambassadors message was, that his Master the Duke of Milan was aduertised that the King and the Duke of Burgundy should meet to conclude a

finall

finall peace and a league greatly to his Masters discontentation, and diuers slender reasons he alleaged to dissuade the King from the conclusion thereof. But his last perswasion was, that if the King would be bound to make neither peace nor truce with the Duke of Burgundie, his Master would presently giue him 100000. ducats. When the King heard the substance of his ambassage, hee caused him to come to his presence, my selfe only being with him, and said thus briefly vnto him: Heere is Monsieur d'Argenton that aduertiseth me thus and thus: tell your Master I will none of his money; for I leuie once in a yeere thrise as much as he. And as touching peace or war, I will dispose thereof at my pleasure but if your Master repent him that he hath forsaken his league with mee, to enter into confederacy with the Duke of Burgundy, tell him I am contented that the league betweene vs shall continue as it was first concluded. The ambassador gaue him most humble thanks, perceiuing him by his answer to be no couetous Prince, and desired that it would please him to cause the said league betweene him and his Master to be proclaimed in manner and forme as it was first concluded, saying, that he had power to binde his Master thereunto. The King was contented, and after dinner it was proclaimed, and ambassador forthwith dispatched to Milan, where the league was againe proclaimed with great solemnity. This is one blow aduersitie gaue the Duke of Burgundy: for heere is one mighty Prince suddenly fallen from him; who had sent a great and solemne ambassage to enter into league with him but three weekes before.

2 For Prouence was held of the crowne of Fraunce, and therefore the K. would not suffer his enemy the Duke of Burgundy to possesse it.

King *Rene* of Sicilie was purposed to make the Duke of Burgundy his heire, and to put Prouence into his hands, so farre forth that Monsieur de Chasteauguion that now is, and diuers others were already gone into Piemont with 20000. crownes to leuie men to take possession of the said country for the Duke of Burgundy: but vpon the newes of this ouerthrow they fledde, and hardly saued themselues; and as touching their money, the Lord of Bresse being then in those parts tooke it. The Duchesse of Sauoy hearing these newes sent worde thereof immediately to King *Rene* of Sicilie, extenuating the ouerthrow, and willing him to be of good cheere, notwithstanding this small losse: but her messengers beeing Prouincials were intercepted, and thereby King *Renes* practise with the Duke of Burgundy discovered. Whereupon the King sent forces to the frontiers of Prouince, and ambassadors to the King of Sicilie, desiring him to come to him and assuring him of good entertainment, which if hee refused to doe, hee threatned by force to preuent this inconuenience. Wherefore in the ende the King of Sicilie agreed to repaire to Lions to the King, where he was honourably receiued and well feasted. I was with the King and heard the wordes that passed betweene them at their first meeting: which being ended, *John Crosse* Seneschall of Prouence, a worthy gentleman and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, said thus to the King. Sir, you must not maruell if the King my Master your Vncle offered to make the Duke of Burgundy his heire: for hee was counselled thereunto by his seruants, especially by my selfe, because you beeing his sisters sonne and his nephew, haue done him so great wrong in taking from him the castles of Bar and Angiers, and handled him so ill in all his other affaires. Wherefore we meant to enter into this practise with the Duke of Burgundy, to the ende that you hearing these newes might endeouour your selfe to repaire the iniuries you haue done vs, and acknowledge in the end the king our master to bee your Vncle: but wee neuer minded to bring this treaty to a full conclusion. The king being a wise Prince tooke this practise in good part, which the said *John Crosse* vttered indeed simply as it was meant, for himselfe was the onely contriuer thereof.

In

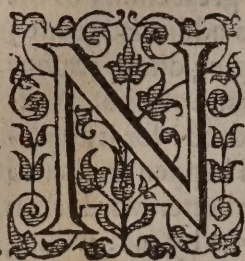
In short space all controuerfies between them were ended, and mony was giuen to the King of Sicilie and his feruants. Further, the King feasted him with the Ladies, and vfed him in all points according to his owne humor as neere as he could; and of the Duke of Burgundie no more mention was made, but he was vtterly abandoned of King *Rene*. This is another mishap that enfued this small aduerlitie.

The Duches also of Sauoy who of long time was thought great enemy to the King her brother, sent one Monsieur *de Montaigny* (who was addrested to me) with a secret message to reconcile hir selfe to the King, alleaging diuers reasons why shee was fallen out with him, and wherein she stood in care of him. Notwithstanding she was a very wise Lady and the Kings sister indeed: for it appeared that she meant to temporize as he did, to see what would happen further to the Duke before she would abandon him. The King gaue her better words than he was accustomed, and sent the messengers very good answers by me, willing him to desire his Mistres to come into France; and thus her man was dispatched. See heere another of the Duke of Burgundies confederates practising to forsake him. Besides this, through the whole country of Almaine enemies began to declare themselues against him, and all the Imperiall townes, as Nuremberg, Frankfurt and diuers others, ioyned themselues with these old and new confederates of Swisserland: so that all the world seemed to be perswaded the doing of him harme to be good seruice to God.

The spoiles of his campe enriched maruellously these poore Swissers, who at the first knew not what treasures were fallen into their hands, especially those of the ruder sort: one of the goodliest and richest pauillions in the world was torne all to peeces. There were that sold a number of siluer plates and dishes for two soules a peece, supposing them to be pewter. The Dukes great diamond being the goodliest iewel in Christendome, at the which hung a great orient pearle, was taken vp by a Swisser, who put it againe into the box where it was kept, and threw it vnder a cart; but after returned to seeke it, and sold it to a Priest for a guldon, who sent it to the Lords of their country, of whom he receiued three franks for it. They wan also three goodly ballais rubies, called the three brethren, because they were in all points like, and another great ballais rubie called *La hotte*, with a goodly stone called the round ball of Flaunders, the greatest and fairest stones in the world. Other infinite treasures they gained also; which since haue taught them to know what is money worth. Further, the victories they haue obtained, the account the King made of them euer after, and the summes of money he bestowed vpon them, haue maruellously enriched them. Euery ambassador of theirs that came to him at the beginning of these wars, receiued goodly presents of him either in money or plate, whereby he asswaged the displeasure they had conceiued against him for not declaring himselfe the Duke of Burgundies enemy: for he sent them home well contented, with full purses and clothed in silkes and veluets. Then began he also to promise them a yeerely pension of 40000. guldons, which afterward he truly paid, but the second battell was past first. Of this pension twenty thousand guldons were for the townes, and the other twenty thousand for the gouernors of the townes. And I thinke verily I should not lie, if I said that between the first battell of Granfon and the King our Masters death, these townes and gouernors of the Swissers receiued out of Fraunce aboue a million of florens. When I name townes I meane but these fower. Berne, Lucerne, Friburge, and Zurich, together with their cantons situate in the mountaines. Swisse also is one of their cantons though but a village. Yet haue

haue I seen an ambassador of that village clothed in very simple apparell giue his aduise in euery matter as well as any of the rest. The other two cantons are called Soleurre and Vnderwalde.

Chap. 3. *How the Swislers vanquished the Duke of Burgundie in battell neere to the towne of Morat.*



1 The Duke after the battell of Gran-son retired first to Ioingne, frō thence to Noseret, & then to Losanna. *La Marche.*

2 This pro- ueth both *Fi- tia animi sca- tere ad corpus, & animam se- qui temperatu- ram corporis,* which pro- ceedeth of the great sym- pathe betweene the minde and bodie. *Liui- lib. 1. decad. 1. writeth thus: Longinquus morbus, Tulli mores prorsus immutauit.*

3 The Duke laid his siege before Morat (called in Dutch *Mur-ten*) the 9. of June 1476. with 40000. men. *Annal. Burgund. & so had the Swif- seis also, Idem Meyer saith the Duke had but 24000. & the Swislers 30000.*

Now to returne to the Duke of Burgundie, he leuied men on all sides, so that within three weekes he had assembled a mighty armie: for a great number of his souldiers that fled the day of the battell, repaired againe to his campe. He lay at Losanna¹ in Sauoy, (where you my Lord of Vienna) assisted him with your counsell in a dangerous sicknesse he was fallen into, for sorrow and grieve of the dishonor he had receiued, which so much altered him, that I thinke after this battell of Granson, his wits were neuer so fresh nor so good as before². Of this new armie he now leuied I speake vpon the Prince of Tarentes report, who made relation thereof to the King in my presence. For you shall vnderstand that the said Prince about a yeere before the battell, was come to the Duke of Burgundie with a goodly traine in hope to marry his daughter and heire. And notwithstanding that his behauour, apparell and traine shewed him indeed to be a Kings sonne, and his father the King of Naples to haue spared no cost in setting him forth: yet did the Duke but dissemble with him, and fed at the selfe same time with faire promises the Duches of Sauoy putting hir in hope of this marriage for hir sonne. Wherefore the Prince of Tarente called *Don Frederick* of Aragon and his Counsell misliking these delaies, sent to the King our Master a he- rault of armes a wise fellow, who humbly besought him to graunt the Prince his safe conduct to passe through his Realme to the King his father who had sent for him, which he easily obtained of the King, because it seemed to tend to the Duke of Burgundies dishonor and discredit. Notwithstanding before the Princes messenger returned to his Master, a great number of these confederate townes were assembled and encamped hard by the Duke of Burgundie. The said Prince obeying the King his fathers commandement, tooke his leaue of the Duke the night before the second battell was fought, for at the first he was present, and behaued himselfe like a valiant gentleman. Some say (my Lord of Vienna) that he vsed your aduise herein: for when he was heere with the King I haue heard both him and the Duke of Ascoly commonly called the Earle *Julio*, and diuers other affirme, that you wrote in Italie of the first and second battell, and told what should ensue thereof, long before they were fought.

At the Princes departure great forces of these confederate towns were incam- ped (as I haue said) hard by the Duke of Burgundie, and came to giue him bat- tell, meaning to leuie the siege he held before Morat³ a little town neere to Bern, belonging to the Earle of Romont. The said townes had in their armie (as some that were at the battell haue informed me) 35000. men, wherof fower thousand were horsemen, the rest footmen well chosen and wellarmed; that is to say, 11000. pikes, 10000. halbards, and 10000. harquebusiers. Their whole force was not yet assembled, and these onely fought the battell, neither needed any more helpe. The Duke of Lorraine arriued at their campe a little before the battell, with a very small traine, which his comming turned afterward to his great profit: for the Duke of Burgundie held then all his country, and a happy

turne

turne it was for him that they waxed weary of him in our Court, as all those that maintaine a nobleman ouerthrowne vsually doe; notwithstanding he neuer vnderstood thus much. The King gaue him a small summe of money, and sent a good troupe of men of armes to conueigh him safe through Lorraine; who brought him to the frontiers of Almaine, and then returned home. This Duke of Lorraine had not onely lost his Duchy of Lorraine, the County of Vaudemment, and the greatest part of Batrois (the rest being withheld from him by the King, so that he had nothing left :) but his subiects also, yea his household seruants had voluntarily done homage to the Duke of Burgundy: so that his estate seemed almost irrecoverable. Notwithstanding God remaineth alwaies iudge to determine such causes at his pleasure.

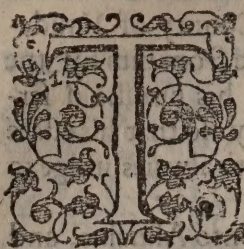
After the Duke of Lorraine was passed through Lorraine into Almaine, and had sojourned a few dayes, hee arrived at the Almaines campe with small force three or fowre howres before the battell began: which voyage (as before I haue said) turned to his great honour and profite; for if his successe had been bad, I thinke he should haue found but cold entertainment in any place. At the very instant that he arrived, the battels marched on both sides. For the confederates had lien in campe three daies or more in a strong place hard by the Duke of Burgundy, who was at the very first discomfited and put to flight: neither had hee so good lucke here as in the former battell, wherein hee lost but seven men of armes; which hapned because the Swislers had then no horsemen: but at this battell neare to Morat (whereof I now speake) they had foure thousand horsemen well mounted, the which pursued fiercely the Burgundians that fled. Further, their battell of footmen ioyned also with the Dukes battell, which was mighty and strong: for besides great force of his owne subiects, and certaine English men that serued him; diuers bands were newly come to him out of Piemont and the Duchie of Milan. So that the Prince of Tarente at his being here with me, told the king, that he neuer saw in his life so goodly an Army: for himselfe and diuers others by his commandement numbring the force as it passed ouer a bridge, had tolde to the number of 23000. soldiers taking pay, besides those that followed the army, and were appointed to serue at the artillery, which force me thinke was great, notwithstanding that many talke of millions, and report they wot not what, making armies fve times greater than they are. The Lord of Contay, who came to the King immediatly after the battell, confessed in my hearing, that the Duke his Master lost there 8000. soldiers, taking pay; besides the straglers: so that the whole number of the dead (for ought I could ever learne to the contrary) amounted to 18000. which is not incredible, considering both the great force of horsemen that diuers Princes of Almaine had there; and also the great number of men that were slaine in the Dukes campe, lying still at the siege before Morat. The Duke fled into Burgundy, vtterly discomfited, and not without cause; and held himselfe close in a town called La Riuiera, where he assembled all the forces he could. The Swislers followed the chase, but that night, and retired without further pursuit of their enemies.

place, we must know that after the Dukes vaward was ouerthrowne, they within Morat issued forth, and ioyned with the Duke of Lorraine, and entred perforce the Duke of Burgundies campe, lying before the said towne of Morat, where they made a great slaughter, as our Author here maketh mention.

5 Others
write 17000.
others 22700
others 26000;
and of the
Swislers
but 50. Meyer
saith the Duke
lost 14000.
6 For better
vnderstand-
ing of this
with the Duke
made a great

Chap. 4. How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Sauoy, and how she was deliuered, and sent home into her Country by the Kings meanes.

I suppose yea I assure my selfe, that the Printer hath here made a great fault, & that these three Weekes, must be read three monthes. For the battell of Granfon was fought the 2. of March, or Aprill, and this battell the 22. of Iune, which is much more then three weekes, and agreeth well with three monthes, and so also *Annales Burgundie*, report the time. 2 The French hath *Un Com-mandeur de Rhodes*, what this *Commandeur* is, looke in the notes of the ninth Chapter of the 7. booke.



His misfortune draue the Duke into vtter despaire: for hee well perceiued by the sequell of the first battell at Granfon, (betweene the which and this second there was but three weekes space) that all his friendes would abandon him: Wherefore by the aduise of those that were about him, hee made the Duchesse of Sauoy, and one of her children now Duke of Sauoy, to be led by force into Burgundy: but her eldest sonne was conueied away by certaine of her seruants: for those that committed this outrage did it in great feare, and vpon a sudden, the cause that moued the Duke hereunto was partly feare, least the Duchesse should retire to the King her brother; and partly because all these misfortunes were happened to him, (as he said) for succouring this house of Sauoy. Thus was the Duchesse led to the Castell of Rouure neer to Dyion, where a small gard was appointed ouer her. Notwithstanding euery body that would, went to visite her, and among others the Lord of Chasteauguion, and the Marquesse of Rotelin that now are, between the which two, and two of the Duchesses daughters, the Duke of Burgundy endeououred to make two mariages, which afterward were accomplished. Her eldest sonne called *Philibert* then Duke of Sauoy, was led by those that stole him away to Chambery, where the Bishop of Geneua lay, who was also of the house of Sauoy. This Bishop was altogether giuen to sloth and wantonnesse, and gouerned wholly by a Knight of the Rhodes: but the King so practised with him, and the Knight his gouernour, that they put into his hands the saide Duke of Sauoy, and a little brother of his, called *Le Prothonostaire*, together with the castels of Chambery and Montmelian, and held also to the Kings vse another castell, where all the Duchesses Iewels lay. When the Duchesse was come to Rouure, accompanied with all her women, and a great number of her seruants; she perceiuing the Duke of Burgundy to bee busied in leuying men, and those that garded her not to stand in such feare of their Master as they were accustomed: determined to send to the King her brother to reconcile her selfe to him, and to desire him to deliuer her out of this thraldome. For notwithstanding that she feared much to fall into his hands, because of the great and long hatred that had been betweene them: yet the misery wherein she was, forced her in the end thereunto. Wherefore she sent to him a gentleman of Piemont called *Riuierol* being steward of her house, who was directed to me. When I had heard his message, and aduertised the King thereof, hee commanded him to come to his presence, and after he had giuen him audience, answered that hee would not forsake his sister in this extremity, notwithstanding their former variance: and that if she would enter into league with him, he would send for her by the gouernour of Champaigne, called Master *Charles* of Amboise Lord of Chaumont. The saide *Riuierol* tooke his leaue of the King, and returned with speed to his Mistresse, who reioyced much at this newes. Notwithstanding shee sent yet againe to the King vpon the returne of the first message, to desire a safe conduct and assurance therein, that she should depart out of Fraunce into Sauoy, and that the Duke her sonne and his little brother, together with the places which the King helde, should be restored to her: and further that hee would helpe to maintaine her authority

thoritie in Sauoy; and she for hir part would forsake all confederacies, and enter into league with him. All the which hir request, the King granted, and immediately sent a man purposely to the said Lord of Chaumont about this enterprise: the which was well deuised and executed accordingly. For the said Lord of Chaumont, went himselfe peaceably through the country with a good band of men to Rouure, from whence he led the Duchesse of Sauoy and all hir traine to the next place of the Kings dominions. Before the dispatch of the Duchesses last messenger, the King was departed from Lions, where he had lien halfe a yeeve to ouerthrow couertly the Duke of Burgundies enterprises without breaking the truce. But if a man consider well the Dukes estate, the King made sharper war vpon him by letting him run himselfe out of breath, and priuily stirring vp enemies against him, than if he had openly proclaimed war. For immediately vpon the proclamation, the Duke would haue relinquished his enterprise, and then all these mishaps had neuer fallen vpon him.

The King being departed from Lions continued still his iourney, and from Rouenne went downe the riuer of Loire to Tours, where at his arriual he receiued newes of his sisters libertie; whereat he reioyced not a little, and sent for hir with all speed to come to him, and gaue order for hir charges vpon the way. Moreouer, when she drew neere, he sent a great company of Gentlemen to wait vpon hir, and went himselfe to receiue hir as farre as the gate of Pleffis du Parc; where at their first meeting with a merry countenance he said vnto hir: Lady of Burgundie you are hartily welcome. Then she knowing by his countenance that he did but sport, made him a wise answer, saying. Sir I am a true French woman, and ready to obey you in all you shall command. The King led hir to hir chamber, where she was very honorably entertained. True it is that he desired to send hir home as speedily as might be, whereof she was no lesse desirous than he: for she was a very wise woman, and they were well acquainted the one with the others conditions. The whole charge of this matter was committed to me, first to prouide money to defray hir in hir returne: secondarily, to seek filkes and veluets for hir: and lastly to put in writing the articles of their new league and amitie. Moreouer, the King endeouored to dissuade hir from the mariage of hir two daughters aboue mentioned; but she made hir excuse by the daughters themselues, who were obstinate therein: which when the King perceiued, he yeelded vnto them, and in mine opinion they were well bestowed. After the Duchesse had sojourned at Pleffis seauen or eight daies, the King and she sware thence forth to be friends each to other, and writings touching their amitie were interchangeably deliuered between them: which done, the Duchesse tooke hir leaue of the King, who caused hir safely to be conueighed into hir owne country, and restored vnto hir, hir children, all the places that were in his hands, all hir iewels, and all that belonged to hir. They were both glad of their departure, and liued euer after as brother and sister till their death.



Chap. 5. *How the Duke of Burgundie liued as it were solitarily the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.*



BVt to proceed in this historie, I must now returne to the D. of Burgundie, who after the battell of Morat, which was in the yeere 1476. fled to the frontiers of Burgundie and kept himselfe close in a town called La Riuere; where he lay more than six weeks with intent to leuie yet another army, wherein notwithstanding he proceeded but slowly: for he liued as it were solitarily, in such sort that all his doings seemed (as you shall heereafter perceiue) rather to proceed of obstinacie than any reason. For the griefe he had conceiued of the first ouerthrow at Granson so inwardly vexed him, that he fell into a dangerous sickness; which so altered his complexion, that whereas before his choler and naturall heat was so great that he dranke no wine, but Tysan euery morning ordinarily, and ate conferue of roses to refresh him: now this sorrow and griefe had so much weakned his spirits, that he was forced to drinke the strongest wine without water, that could be gotten. And further, to reduce the blood to the heart, his Phisitions were faine to put burning flax into boxing glasses, and so to set them on his breast neere to the heart. Of this sicknes (my Lord of Vienna) you can better write than my selfe, because all the time therof you were continually with him to assist him with your aduise, and caused him also to shauē his beard, which before he ware long. But in mine opinion after this sicknes his wits were neuer so fresh as before, but much weakned and decaied. Such are the passions of those that being fallen into great misfortunes seeke not the true remedies, especially of proud and disdainfull Princes. For in such a case the best and soueraignest remedy is to haue recourse to God, to bethinke our selues if we haue in any point offended him, to humble our selues before him, and to acknowledge our faults: for he it is that determineth these causes, and to him no man may impute any error. The second remedie in such a case is to confer with some familiar friend, to reueale boldly vnto him all our passions, and not to be ashamed to vtter our griefe to our deere friend: for that easeth and comforteth the minde, and by talking thus in counsell with a faithfull friend, the spirits recouer their former vertue and strength. The third remedie in such a case is to fall to some exercise and bodily labour: for seeing we are men, such pensiuenesse and griefe cannot be passed ouer without great passions either publike or priuat^r. But the Duke tooke the cleane contrary course, for he hid himselfe and kept himselfe solitary; whereas he should haue put to flight all such melancholike austeritie. Further, because he was a terrible Prince to his seruants, none durst presume to giue him counsell or comfort, but suffered him to follow his owne sense, fearing if they had gone about to perswade with him, it might haue turned them to displeasure.

^r Cardanus giueth three natural remedies or purgations of sorrow: fasting, weeping, sighing.

During this sixe weekes space or there about that he sojourned at La Riuere with small force, (which was no maruell hauing lost two so great battels) many new enemies arose against him, his friends fell from him, his subiects being defeated and discomfited began to murmure and despise him, which is a thing vsuall (as before I haue said) in such aduersities. Further, many places in Lorraine were either razed or woen from him, namely Vaudemont, Espinall, and diuers others, & on euery side enemies prepared to invade him, and the miserablest slaues

flaues were the hardiest. In this hurliburly the Duke of Lorraine assembled a small force and came before Nancy: of the little townes thereabout hee held the greatest part; notwithstanding the Burgundians kept still Pont-a-mousson fower leagues distant from Nancy.

Among those that were besieged within the said towne of Nancy, was a worshipful knight called Monsieur *de Beures* of the house of Croy, who had vnder him certaine harquebusiers; within the towne was also an English Captaine though but of meane parentage, yet very valiant called *Colpin*², whom my selfe preferred with certaine others of the garrison of Guisnes to the Dukes seruice. This *Colpin* had within the towne vnder his charge a band of three hundred English men, the which grew weary of the siege (though they were troubled neither with batterie nor approaches) because the Duke made no more haste to succour them. And to say the trueth, he committed a foule ouersight, in that he approached no neerer to Lorraine; but lay thus in a place farre off and where hee could doe no seruice: sith it stood him more vpon to defend that he had already gotten, than to inuade the Swissers in hope to reuenge his losses. But his obstinacie turned him to great inconuenience, in that hee would aske no mans aduise, but trusted wholly to his owne braine: for notwithstanding that they that were besieged, continually and earnestly sollicitied him to succour the place; yet lay he still vpon no necessitie, at the said towne of Riuiere sixe weekes or thereabout; whereas if he had done otherwise, he might easily haue releued the towne. For the Duke of Lorraine had no force before it, and by defending the country of Lorraine the passage from his other seniories into Burgundie should euer haue been open through Luxembourg and Lorraine. Wherefore if his wits had been such then as before time I had knowen them, he would sure haue vsed greater diligence.

² This *Colpin* the new copy calleth throughout *Colpin*, but the old *Colpin*, and *La March*, *Iehan-min Collepin*, wherefore I haue been bold to amend it according to the old copie.

During the time that they within Nancy looked daily for succours, *Colpin* aboue mentioned, Captaine of the English band within the towne, was slaine with a canon shot greatly to the Duke of Burgundies preiudice. For the presence of one man alone endued with vertue and wisdom, though but of base race and parentage, oftentimes deliuereth his Master from great inconueniences. As touching the which point I commend aboue all others the wisdom of the King our Master: for neuer Prince feared so much the losse of his men as he did. *Colpin* being thus slaine, the English men within the towne began to mutinie and despaire of succours: for neither knew they of how small power the Duke of Lorraine was, nor what goodly meanes the Duke of Burgundie had to leuie new forces. Further, because of long time the English men had made no wars out of their owne Realme, they vnderstood not what the siege of a town meant. Wherefore they resolued in the end to parliament, and told Monsieur *de Beures* captaine of the towne, that if he would not fall to composition with the Duke of Lorraine, they would compound without him. He notwithstanding that he were a trusty Knight lacked courage, and fell to intreaties and perswasions; whereas in mine opinion stouter language would better haue preuailed: but God had already disposed hereof. If the towne had been held but three daies longer, it had been releued. To conclude, the said *de Beures* agreed to the English men, and yeelded the place to the Duke of Lorraine³: and so departed he and all that were within it with bag and baggage.

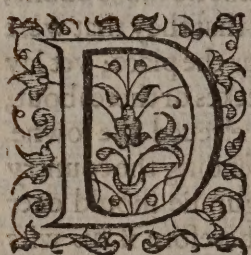
³ Nancy was yeelded the 6. of October. Meyer.

The next day or at the furthest within two daies after the towne was yeelded, the Duke of Burgundie arrived there well accompanied considering his estate: for certaine bands were come to him from Luxembourg, which had been

leuied

leuied in his other seniories. Before Nancy the Duke of Lorraine and he met; but no great exploit was done, because the Duke of Lorraines force was small. The said Duke of Burgundie continuing still his former enterprise, determined to lay siege before Nancy: wherefore better it had been for him not to haue delaide so long vpon selfe-will the succouring of the towne. But God giueth such extraordinarie mindes to Princes, when he is purposed to alter their good successe. If the Duke would haue followed good aduise, and manned well the small places about the towne, he might easily in short space haue recouered it: for it was vnfurnished of victuals, and he had men ynow, yea too many to haue held it in great distresse. In the meane time he might commodiously haue refreshed and repaired his armie, but he tooke the contrary course.

Chap. 6. Of the Earle of Campobaches great treasons, and how he kept the Duke of Burgundie from hearing a gentleman that would haue reuealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the said Duke made no account of the aduertisement the King sent him.



During the time the Duke of Burgundie held before Nancy this siege, vnfortunate to himselfe, to all his subiects, and to many others whom this quarrell no way concerned: diuers of his men began to practise his destruction. For (as you haue heard) many enimies were now risen against him on all sides, and among others *Nicholas* Earle of Campobache in the realme of Naples, whence he was banished for the house of Anious faction. This Earle after the death of *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria whom he serued, hauing as I said before neither lands nor liuing, was receiued with diuers others of the said Duke of Calabrias seruants, into the Duke of Burgundies house, who at his first comming deliuered him 40000. ducats in prest to goe into Italie to leuie therewith fower hundred launces that were vnder the said Earles charge and paid by himselfe. From the which day forward euen till this present he euer sought his Masters destruction, and now seeing him in this aduersitie began to practise afresh against him, both with the Duke of Lorraine and also with certaine of the Kings captaines and seruants that lay in Champaigne neere to the Dukes campe. To the Duke of Lorraine he promised so to order the matter, that this siege should take no effect. For he would finde meanes that such things as were necessarie both for the siege and batterie should be lacking: which promise he was well able to performe, for the principall charge thereof was committed to him; neither had any man so great authoritie in the army vnder the Duke of Burgundie as he. But his practises with the Kings captains touched the quicke neerer: for he continually promised them either to kill his Master or take him prisoner, demanding for recompence thereof the charge of these fower hundred launces, twenty thousand crownes to be deliuered him in ready money, and some good Earldome in Fraunce.

While this Earle was practising these treasons, certaine of the D. of Lorraines gentlemen attempted to enter the towne of Nancy. Some of the which entred, and some were taken, among whom was one *Cifron* a gentleman borne in Prouence, who was the only man that enterrained these practises between the Earle of Campobache and the said Duke of Lorraine. The D. of Burgundy presently commanded the said *Cifron* to be hanged, alleaging that by the law of armes

after

after a Prince hath laide his siege before a place and made his batterie, if any man attempt to enter to comfort those that are besieged he ought to dy. Yet is this law not practised in our wars which are much crueller then the wars of Italie or Spaine where it is put in vse. But law or no law, the Duke would in any wise that this gentleman should die, who seeing no remedy, sent word to the Duke that it would please him to giue him audience hee would reueale a secret to him that touched his life; whereof certaine gentlemen to whom hee vttered this speech went to aduertise the Duke: with whom at their arriual they found the Earle of Campobache, come thither either by chance or of purpose to be alwaies at hand; fearing least *Cifron* whom he knew to be taken should reueale all his conspiracies: for he was priuy to them all; and that was indeede the secret he would haue reuealed. The Duke made answer to these gentlemen that brought him this message, that he vsed this delay only to saue his life, commanding him to open the matter to them: vpon which word the Earle of Campobache laid hold, perswading the Duke that it should be best. For you shall vnderstand that none of the Dukes counsell, neither any other persons were present with him at the debating of this matter, but this Earle only who had charge of the whole army, and a Secretary that was writing. The prisoner answered that hee would vtter it to no man but to the Duke only: whereupon the Duke commanded him againe to be led to execution, and so he was. But vpon the way thitherward, he desired diuers gentlemen to entreat the Duke their Master for him; affirming this to be such a secret as the Duke would not for a Duchy but know. Many that were acquainted with him pitied him, & went to desire the Duke to vouchsafe him the hearing. But this traiterous Earle, who kept the Dukes chamber (being of timber) so straightly that no man might enter in: refused the dore to these gentlemen, saying that the Duke had commanded him to be hanged with speede; and further sent diuers messengers to the Prouost to hasten the execution. Thus was this *Cifron* hanged to the Duke of Burgundies great preiudice; and better had it beene for him to haue vsed lesse crueltie, & gently to haue heard this gentleman; which if he had done, peradventure he had beene yet liuing, his house flourishing, his dominions in safety, yea and much enlarged; considering the broiles that haue hapned since in this realme.

But it is to be thought that God had otherwise disposed hereof, because of the dishonorable part the Duke had plaid the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce not long before. For you haue already heard in this history how notwithstanding his safe conduct, he tooke him prisoner, deliuered him to the King to put him to death, and sent also all the letters and writings hee had of the said Constables seruing for his processe. And although the Duke had iust cause to hate him euen to the death, and to procure his death for diuers considerations too long to rehearse, (so that he might haue done it without stayning his honor:) yet all the reasons that may bee alleaged on his behalfe, cannot excuse his fault in that contrary to his promise and honor, hauing given him a sufficient safe conduct; he tooke him and sold him for couetousnes, partly to recouer the towne of Saint Quintin with other the said Constables places, lands and goods; and partly to stay the King from hindering his enterprise at Nancy when he first besieged it. For lying at that siege, after many delaies he deliuered the Constable, fearing least the Kings army being in Champaigne would haue hindered his said enterprise if he had done otherwise. For the King threatned him by his ambassadors, because it was agreed betweene them, that whether of them could first lay hands vpon him, should deliuer him to the other within eight daies, or put
him

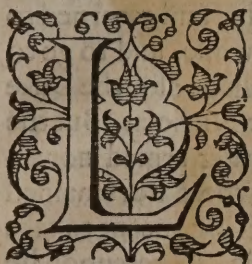
him to death. But the Duke had passed the terme of the Constables deliuey many daies as you haue heard; so that the only feare of losing Nancy, and the greedy desire of hauing it caused the Duke to deliuer him to the King. But euen as in this place of Nancy he committed this foule fault, and afterward also in the same place at the second siege put *Cifron* to death, refusing to heare him speake, as one hauing his eares stopped and wits troubled: euen so in the selfe same place was himselfe deceiued, and betraied by him whom he most trusted, and peradventure iustly punished for his false dealing with the Constable, in deliuering him for couetousnes to haue the said towne. But the iudgement hereof appertaineth to God alone, neither speake I it to any other end but to declare this matter at large, and to shew how much a good Prince ought to eschew such false and faithlesse dealing, what counsell soeuer be giuen him thereunto. For oftentimes those that giue a Prince such aduice; do it either to flatter him, or because they dare not gaine say him: yet when the fact is committed, they are sorry for it, knowing the punishment both of God and man that is like to ensue. But such counsellors are better far from a Prince than neere about him.

You haue heard how God appointed the Earle of Campobache his deputie in this world, to take reuenge of the Constables death committed by the Duke of Burgundie, in the selfe same place, and after the same manner, or rather a crueller. For euen as the Duke contrarie to his safe conduct and the trust the Constable had reposed in him, deliuered him to death: euen so was himselfe betraied by the trustiest man in his army (I meane by him whom he most trusted) and whom he had receiued into his seruice being old, poore, and destitute of liuing, and whom hee yeerely entertained with an hundred thousand ducats, wherewith this Earle himselfe paid his men of armes, besides diuers other great benefits that he had receiued at the D. hands. And when he first began to conspire his death he was going into Italie with 40000. ducats, which (as you haue heard) he had receiued in preft of the Duke to leuie therewith his men of armes. Moreouer, the better to execute his traiterous enterprife, he practised in two places, first with a Physition dwelling in Lyons called Master *Simon* of Pauia; & afterward with the Kings ambassador in Sauoy, as before I haue rehearsed. Againe at his returne out of Italie, his men of armes lying in certaine small townes in the countie of Marle which is in Lannois, he began a new to practise against his Master, offering either to deliuer into the Kings hands all the places he held: or when the King should bee in battell against his Master, a priuie token to be betweene them; vpon the sight whereof he would turne with all his company to the King against the Duke his Master. But this last ouerture pleased not the King. He offered yet further, so soone as his Master should be abroad with his army, either to take him prisoner or to kill him, as he went to view the seat of his campe; which last enterprife vndoubtedly he would haue executed. For the Dukes manner was when he alighted from his horse at the place where he encamped, to disarme himselfe all sauing his quirace, and to mount vpon a little nagge; accompanied only with eight or ten archers on foot, or sometime two or three gentlemen of his chamber; in the which estate he vsed to ride about his campe, to see if it were well inclosed: so that the said Earle might with ten horses easily haue executed his enterprife. But the King detesting the continuall treasons against his Master, especially this last being attempted in time of truce; and further not knowing throughly to what purpose he made these offers: determined of a noble courage to discouer them to the Duke of Burgundy; and accordingly aduertised him at large of them all by the Lord of Contay (so often before named) my selfe being present when he declared them to the said

Contay

Contay, who I am sure like a faithfull seruant reuealed them to his Master. But the Duke taking all in euill part, said that if it were so, the King would neuer haue aduertised him thereof. This was long afore he laid his siege before Nancy; yet thinke I that he neuer spake word thereof to the said Earle: for he loued him euer after rather better than worse.

Chap. 7. How the Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with good force of Almaines, came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy; and how the King of Portugale who was in Fraunce, came to see the Duke of Burgundie during the saide siege.



Et vs now returne to our principall matter, I meane the siege the Duke held before Nancy, which he began in the midst of winter with small force, euill armed, euill paide, and the most part sicke. The mightiest in his campe practised against him as you haue heard, and generally they murmured all, and despised all his doings, as in aduetitie commonly it happeneth: but none attempted ought against his person or estate, saue this Earle of Campobache onely: for in his subiects no disloialtie was found: While he lay there in this poore estate, the Duke of Lorraine treated with the confederated townes before named, to leuie men in their territories to fight with the Duke of Burgundy lying before Nancy, whereunto all the townes easily agreed, but the Duke of Lorraine lacked money: wherefore the King sent ambassadors to the Swissers in his fauor, and lent him also 40000. franks towards the paiement of his Almaines. Further, the Lord of Cran who was then the Kings lieutenant in Campaigne, lay in Barrois with seuen or eight hundred launces and certaine franke archers led by very expert capitaines. The Duke of Lorraine by meanes of the Kings fauor and mony, drew into his seruice great force of Almaines as well horsemen as footemen, besides the which the townes also furnished a great number at their owne charge. Moreouer, with the said Duke were many gentlemen of this realme, and the K. army as I said before lay in Barrois, which made no war, but waited to see to whether part the victorie would incline. The Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with these Almaines aboue mentioned, came and lodged at Saint Nicholas two leagues from Nancy.

The King of Portugale had beene in this realme at that present the space of nine moneths: for the King our Master was entred into league with him against the King of Spaine that now is. Whereupon the said King of Portugale came into Fraunce, hoping that the King would lend him a great armie to inuade Castile by the frontires of Biscay or Nauarre. For the said King of Portugale helde certaine places in Castile bordering vpon Portugale, and certaine also vpon the confines of Fraunce; namely, the castell of Bourgues, and diuers others: so that if the King had aided him as once he was purposed, it is like his enterprise had taken effect: but the King altered his minde, and foded him foorth with faire words the space of a yeere or more. During the which time his affaires in Castile daily impaired: for at his comming into France all the nobles in manner of the realme of Castile tooke part with him, but because of his long absence, by little and little they altered their mindes, and made peace with King *Ferrande* and Queene *Isabell* now raingning. The King our Master excused his not aiding him according

according to his promise by the wars in Lorraine, alleaging that he feared that the Duke of Burgundie (if he recovered his losses) would forthwith invade him. This poore King of Portugale being a good and a iust Prince¹ resolved to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin german² to treat of peace betweene the King and him, to the end that then the King might aide him: for he was ashamed to returne into Castile or Portugale in this estate hauing done no good heere in Fraunce; and the rather because he had taken his iourney vpon him very rashly, and contrary to the aduise of most of his counsell. Wherefore he put himselfe vpon the way in the midst of winter to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin lying before Nancy: where at his arriual he began to treat with him according to the Kings instructions. But perceiuing it an impossibility to agree them because their demands were contrarie in all points; after he had remained there two daies he tooke his leaue of the Duke of Burgundy his cosin, and returned to Paris from whence he came. The Duke desired him to stay a while, and to go to Pont-à-muſson fower leagues from Nancy to defend that passage: for the Duke was already aduertised that the Almaines army lay at Saint Nicholas. But the King of Portugale excused himselfe, saying: that he was neither armed nor accompanied for such an enterprife; and so returned to Paris, where he remained a long time, till in the end he entered into ielousie, that the King meant to take him prisoner and deliuer him to his enemy the King of Castile. Whereupon he and two of his seruants disguised themselves, purposing to go to Rome there to enter into religion. But as he iourneied in this disguised attire, he was taken by a Norman called *Robinet le Beuf*. Of this his departure the King our Master was both sory and ashamed: and thereupon armed diuers ships vpon the coast of Normandie to conuey him into Portugale; of the which flecte *George Leger* was appointed Admirall.

The occasion of his war vpon the King of Castile was for his sisters daughter. For you shall vnderstand that his sister had beene wife to Don *Henry* King of Castile that last died; and had issue a goodly daughter which liued yet in Portugale vnmarried. This daughter Queene *Isabell* sister to the said King *Henry*³ held from the crowne of Castile, saying that she was illegitimate; of the which opinion were also many others, alleaging that King *Henry* was impotent to generation, for a certaine impediment that I ouerpasse. But whether it were so or no; notwithstanding that the said daughter were borne vnder the vaile of marriage: yet remained the crowne of Castile to Queene *Isabell* and hir husband the King of Aragon and Sicile⁴ now raigning.

The King of Portugale aboue mentioned, labored to make a mariage between the said daughter his neece and King *Charles* the eight now raigning, which was the cause of this his voyage into Fraunce, that turned so greatly to his damage and griefe. For soone after his returne into Portugale he died. Wherefore (as I said in the beginning of this history) a Prince ought to beware what ambassadors he sendeth into a strange countrey. For if they had beene wise that came from the King of Portugale into Fraunce to conclude the league aboue mentioned, (whereat my selfe was present, as one in commission for the King) they would haue informed themselves better of our affaires in these parts before they had counselled their Master to enter into this voyage, which turned so much to his losse and damage.

¹ He meaneth
a simple
Prince of wit.
² How the
King of Por-
tugale and the
Duke of Bur-
gundie were
cosin ger-
mans, the Pe-
degree in the
end of the
worke will
declare.

³ The Pede-
gree in the
ende of the
worke will
make this
plaine.

⁴ Before he
calleth *Rene*
King of Sici-
lie, but King
Rene had but
the title not
the possession.

Chap. 8. How the Duke of Burgundy refusing the good counsell of diuers of his men, was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betweene him and the Duke of Lorraine, neere to Nancy.



Would have passed ouer this discourse of the King of Portugale, had it not bin to shew that a Prince ought to beware how he put himselfe into another Princes hands, or go in person to demand aide. But now to returne to the principall matter. Within a day after the King of Portugales departure from the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Lorraine and the Almaines that serued him, dislodged from Saint Nicholas, and marched to fight with the said Duke, and the selfe same day the Earle of Campobache to accomplish his enterprise departed from the Dukes campe, and reuolted to his enemies with eight score men of armes, sorrowing onely that he could do his Master no more harme. They within Nancy had intelligence of this Earles practises, which encouraged them to endure the siege. Further, one that leaped downe the ditches entered the town and assured them of succors, otherwise they were vpon the point to haue yeelded it. And to say the truth, had it not beene for the said Earles treasons, they could neuer haue held it so long; but God was fully determined to bring the Duke to his end.

The Duke of Burgundy being aduertised of the Duke of Lorraines arriual, assembled his counsell contrary to his accustomed manner; for hee was neuer wont to aske any mans aduise, but in all matters to follow his owne sense. Most of them counselled him to retire to Pont-à-mussion, being but fower leagues thence, and to man the places well which he held about Nancy, alleaging that the Almaines would depart so soone as they had victualled the towne, and the Duke of Lorraines mony faile him; so that he should not be able in long time to assemble the like force. They said further, that his enemies could not victuall the towne so well, but that before winter were halfe expired it should bee in as great distresse as at that present, and in the meane time, he might leuy men: for I haue bene informed by those that perfectly vnderstood it, that hee had not in all his army aboue fower thousand souldiers, of the which hardly twelue hundred were able to fight. Money he lacked not, for in the castell of Luxembourg being not far thence, were at the least 450000. crownes, and men ynough hee might haue recouered. But God would not giue him grace to follow this wise aduice, nor perceiue how many enemies lodged round about him on euery side: so that he tooke the worst course, and by the aduise of certaine hairebrained fooles determined to hazard the battell with these few terrified and heartlesse men; notwithstanding all the reasons alleaged to him, both of the great force of Almaines the Duke of Lorraine had, and also of the Kings army that lay hard by his campe. When the Earle of Campobache was come to the Duke of Lorraine, the Almaines commaunded him to depart, saying, that they would haue no traytor among them. Wherefore he retired to Condé a castell and passage neere at hand², which he fortified with carts, and other prouisions the best he could, trusting that when the Duke of Burgundy and his men fled, some of them would fall into his hands, as indeed a great many did. But this practise with the Duke of Lorraine was not his greatest treason, for a little before his departure he conspired with diuers in the Dukes army, resolving with them (because he saw no hope of killing or taking his Master prisoner) to reuolt to the enemies at the very instant that the two battels should ioyne; but sooner

He departed vpon wensday with 180.

Meyer saith almost 200. men of armes, that is 100. horse, and on saturday departed the Lords of Dauge or Augy as Meyer nameth him, and Monifors with 120.

men of armes, that is 480. horse, and vpon sunday was the battell. Annal. Aquit. Meyer. Annal. Burgund.

² The castell of Condé was the passage vpon the bridge of the riuer of Mesfelle Meyer.

3 The Duke
lost in the bat-
tell of Nancy

3000. men.

Annal. Burgund.

4 He had three

wounds, one

with a halbert

in the side, of

his head,

which claue

his head

down to the

teeth, ano-

ther with a

pike through

the haunches,

and the third

a pish also

with a pike by

the funda-

ment. *Annal.*

Burg. Hee was

borne the 11.

of Nouember

1433. and was

34 yeeres old

when he be-

gan to gouern:

hee liued 43.

yeeres, one

moneth, and

26. daies and

gouerned

nine yeeres,

six moneths,

and twenty daies. *Meyer.*

5 The name of him that slue Duke Charles was Claude of Bausmont,

captaine of the castell of Saint Dier in Lorraine. The Duke was mounted vpon a blacke courser, and seeing his battels ouer-

throwne, tooke a little riuier supposing to haue saued himselfe, but in the riuier his horse fell and ouerthrew him: and then this

gentleman not knowing him, and by reason he was deafe not hearing the Duke, who cried to him for the safety of his life, ranne

vpon him, slue him, stripped him, and left him lying starke naked in the ditch. Where the next day after the battell, his body

was found so fast frozen in the ice, that when it was drawne forth, a peece of his cheeke tarried there behinde. The Duke of

Lorraine to his great honour solemnely buried him, himselfe and all his nobles accompanying the corps in mourning attire

The place where the Duke was slaine was hard by S. Johns Church without Nancy, where the Duke of Lorraine erected a

croffe for a memoriall thereof. The gentleman that slue him died soone after of melancholie, when hee vnderstood that he had

slaine so woorthy and courageous a Prince. *Champer. Annal. Burgund.*

6 The battell at Nancy *Meyer* nameth the battell

of Iarulla. 7 Being sunday, and as others write anno. 1477. but the variance both in this place and diuers others betweene

Commynes and them is, because they ende the yeere at New yeeres tide after the Italian and Dutch Computation, and hee not

before Easter, according to the French and Flemish accompt, as by the course of this history is most plaine. 1477. begin-

ning the yeere at New-yeeres tide.

not to depart, to the end their sodaine reuolt might the more astonnish and terrify the Dukes whole army. Further, he promised assuredly, if the Duke fled that hee should neuer escape aliue; for he would leaue thirteene or fowerteene trusty fel- lowes behinde him, some to begin to flie at the very instant that the Almaines should march: and other some to haue an eye on the Duke to kill him if he fled, which enterprife he made full account to execute, and two or three I knew after- wards my selfe of those that were left behinde for that purpose. After hee had conspired these abhominable treasons, he returned againe to the Dukes campe, and then reuolted from him (as you haue heard) when hee saw the Almaines march, of whom being refused, he retired as I said before to the castell of Conde. The said Almaines marched forward, beeing accompanied with great force of French horse men that had leaue giuen them to be at the batrel. Diuers also there were that lay in ambushes neere to the place, to the end if the D. were discomfi- ted they might get some good prisoner or booty. Thus you see the miserable e- state this poore D. of Burgundy was fallen into, by refusing good aduise. When the two armies ioyned, the Dukes hauing bin already twise discomfited, and being but small and in very euill order, was incontinent broken and put to flight; a great number escaped, the rest were either slaine or taken, and namely the D. him- selfe died vpon the place. Of the manner of his death 4, I will not speake because I was not there present: but I haue communed with some that were there, who told me that they saw him striken to the ground, and could not succour him be- cause they were prisoners. Notwithstanding to their iudgement hee was not then slaine, but after these came a great troupe which slew him in the midst of them, stripped him, and left him among the dead bodies, not knowing who hee was 5. This battell 6 was fought the first of Ianuary 7, 1476. vpon Twelfth euen.

9 The name of him that slue Duke Charles was Claude of Bausmont, captaine of the castell of Saint Dier in Lorraine. The Duke was mounted vpon a blacke courser, and seeing his battels ouer-throwne, tooke a little riuier supposing to haue saued himselfe, but in the riuier his horse fell and ouerthrew him: and then this gentleman not knowing him, and by reason he was deafe not hearing the Duke, who cried to him for the safety of his life, ranne vpon him, slue him, stripped him, and left him lying starke naked in the ditch. Where the next day after the battell, his body was found so fast frozen in the ice, that when it was drawne forth, a peece of his cheeke tarried there behinde. The Duke of Lorraine to his great honour solemnely buried him, himselfe and all his nobles accompanying the corps in mourning attire The place where the Duke was slaine was hard by S. Johns Church without Nancy, where the Duke of Lorraine erected a croffe for a memoriall thereof. The gentleman that slue him died soone after of melancholie, when hee vnderstood that he had slaine so woorthy and courageous a Prince. *Champer. Annal. Burgund.* 6 The battell at Nancy *Meyer* nameth the battell of Iarulla. 7 Being sunday, and as others write anno. 1477. but the variance both in this place and diuers others betweene *Commynes* and them is, because they ende the yeere at New yeeres tide after the Italian and Dutch Computation, and hee not before Easter, according to the French and Flemish accompt, as by the course of this history is most plaine. 1477. begin-ning the yeere at New-yeeres tide.



Chap. 9.

Chap. 9. A Discourse vpon certaine vertues of the Duke of Burgundy, and of the time his house flourished in prosperity.



ISaw at Milan since his death a signet that I haue often seene him weare at his breast, which was a ring set with a camée, hauing very curiously cut into it an iron to strike fire¹, wherein his armes were grauen. This ring was solde at Milan for two ducats, & he that stole it from him was a false knaue, that had been a groome of his chamber. Many a time haue I seene him made ready & vnready with great reuerence & solemnity, & that by great personages. But now when death came, al these honors flected away, & both he and his house were destroyed as you haue heard, in the self same place where a little before he had consented for couetousnesse to deliuer the Constable to death. I haue known him in times past a mighty & honorable Prince, as much yea more esteemed and sought to of his neighbours, then any Prince in Christendome. Further, in mine opinion the greatest cause of Gods indignation against him, was, for that he attributed al his good successe, and al the great victories he obtained in this world to his own wisdom and vertue, and not to God, as he ought to haue done. And vndoubtedly he was endued with many goodly vertues: for neuer was Prince more desirous to entertaine noble men, and keepe them in good order than he. His liberality seemed not great², because he made all men partakers thereof. Neuer Prince gaue audience more willingly to his seruants and subiects than he³. While I serued him hee was not cruell, but grew maruellous cruell towards his end, which was a sign of short life, In his apparel and all other kind offurniture hee was wondrous pompous, yea somewhat too excessiue. He receiued very honorably all ambassadors and strangers, feasting them sumptuously, and entertaining them with great solemnity. Couetous he was of glory, which was the chiefe cause that made him moue so many warres: for he desired to imitate those ancient Princes, whose fame continueth till this present. Lastly, hardy he was and valiant, as any man that liued in his time: but all his great enterprises and attempts ended with himself, and turned to his own losse and dishonour; for the honour goeth euer with the victory. Yet to say the truth, I wot not well whether God powred out greater indignation vpon him or vpon his subiects: for he died in battell without any long grieve; but they fithence his death neuer liued in peacc, but in continuall war; against the which they haue not been able to make resistance, because of their own ciuill troubles and diuisions. Yea, and another thing that most grieueth them is, that they that now defend them are strangers, who not long since were their enemies, namely the Almaines. To conclude, since the Dukes death neuer man bare them good will, no not they that defend them. Further, if a man consider well their actions, it seemeth that their wits were as much troubled, as their Princes before his death: for they despised all good counsell, and sought all meanes to hurt themselves. In the which vale of misery they are still like to continue; or if happily they wade out of it for a season, like they are to fall into it againe.

Wherefore I am of a certain wise mans opinion of my acquaintance, that God giueth to Subiects, Princes, according as he will punish or chastice them; & likewise towards the Prince disposeth the subiects hearts, according as he will aduance or abase him: and enen so dealt he with the subiects of this house of Burgundy. For after three great, good and sage Princes, who gouerned them the space of 120. yeares or more with great wisdom and vertue, he gaue them in the

¹ Of the deuise of the Fuzill reade the chronicles of Flanders, pag. 345. ² Claude Paradin in his deuises heroiques, pag. 46. and *Annales Burgund.* lib. 3. pag. 711. who saith, that he gaue the striking yron, because it is made in the forme of B. which is the first letter of Burgundy. Further, he giueth the sayde iron striking against the stone with infinite sparkles flying from them, to signifie that the cruel wars between the D. of Burgundy and the realm of France had set all their neighbours on fire.

² His meaning is that because he bestowed vpon euery man, he could not bestow much vpon any one whereby his liberality was the lesse apparent.

³ He meaneth in hearing their suites, for as touching matters of counsel, he hath said before in diuers places that he would neuer vse any mans aduise.

all

end this *D. Charles*, who held them in continuall wars, trauell and charges, almost as much in winter as summer: so that a great number of rich wealthy men were eyther slaine in these wars, or starued in prison. Their miseries beganne before *Nuz*, and continued with the losse of three or foure battels, till the houre of the Dukes death; who in this last battell wasted and consumed the whole force of his country, and lost all his seruants that could or would haue defended the estate and honor of his house. It seemeth therefore (as before I saide) that this aduersity hath counteruailed all the time of their felicity. For as I say, that I haue seene him a great, mighty and honourable Prince: so I may say also of his subiects: for I haue trauelled the best part of Europe in mine opinion, yet saw I neuer country in my life of the like greatnesse, no nor far greater, abound with such wealth, riches, sumptuous buildings, large expences, feasts, bankets, and all kind of prodigality, as these Countries of Burgundy did, during the time that I was resident there. And if those that knew them not during the time that I speak of, thinke my report too large: I am sure others that knew them then as well as my selfe, will thinke it too little. But God with one blow hath laide flat on the ground this sumptuous building, I meane this mighty house that bred & maintained so many worthy men; that was so greatly esteemed both farre and neer, and obtained greater victories, & liued in greater honor during the time it flourished than any other: which great felicity and grace of God towards them continued the space of a hundred and twenty yeares. During the which time all their neighbours suffered great afflictions, namely, France, England and Spaine, so far forth that all these at one time or other haue come to craue helpe and succor of this house of Burgundy, as you haue seene by experience, of the king our Master, who in his youth, while his father King *Charles* the seuenth raigned, liued in Burgundy the space of sixe yeares, which good *D. Philip*, who louingly receiued him. Astouching the Princes of England, I haue seene in the Duke of Burgundies court King *Edwards* two brethren, the Dukes of Clarence and Glocester, who afterward named himselfe King *Richard* the third: and on the contrary side of the house of Lancaster that tooke part with King *Henry*, I haue seene in manner all the noble men suing to this house of Burgundy for aide. To be short, as I haue knowne this house honoured of all men: so haue I also seene it at one instant fall downe topsie turuy, and become the most desolate and miserable house in the world, both in respect of the Prince, and also of the subiects. Such like works hath God brought to passe before we were borne, and will also when we are dead. For this we ought certainly to belieue, that the good or euil successe of Princes, dependeth wholly vpon his diuine ordinance.

Chap. 10. How the King was aduertised of the Duke of Burgundies last ouerthrow, and how he gouerned his affaires after the said Dukes death.



Ut to proceed in our history, the K. who had now laid posts in his realme (for before were neuer any) looked houely for the certaine newes of this battell of Nancy, because of the occurrents he had already receiued of the Almaines arrivall, and of all the other circumstances aboue rehearsed: and was forthwith aduertised of the Dukes ouerthrow. Diuers there were that waited diligently to beare him the first newes hereof; for alwayes hee gaue somewhat to him that first brought him tidings of any good newes, withall not forgetting the messengers. Forther his delight was to talke of them before they came, and to promise rewarde to

to him that could bring him some good newes. Monsieur de Bouchage and my selfe being together, receiued the first word of the battell of Morat, whereof, both of vs ioyntly aduertised the King, who gaue to each of vs two hundred markes of siluer. Monsieur de Lude, who lodged without Plessis, was the first man that knew of the Curriers arrivall with the letters of this battell of Nancy, and commanded the said Currier to deliuer him his packer, who durst not deny it him, because of the kings, great fauour towards him. The next morning by breake of day, the said de Lude came rapping at the dore next to the Kings chamber, which forthwith was opened to him, and deliuered these letters sent from the Lord of Cran and diuers others, notwithstanding none of them writ any certainty of the Dukes death: but some of them reported that he was seen flie and was escaped. This newes at the first so rauished the King with ioy, that he wist not what continence to shew, notwithstanding two doubts there were that troubled him, the one, least the Almaines, if the D. were taken, for greedinesse of money (whereof the D. had plenty) would not onely ransom him, but also conclude some treaty with him, and of his foes become his friends. The other, if the D. were escaped thus, thrise discomfited, whether he should seaze into his hands his seniories of Burgundy or no, knowing them easie to be taken, because in manner all the force of the country was slaine in these three battels. Touching the which point, his resolution (whereunto few I thinke but my selfe were priuy) was, if the D. were escaped aliue, to command his army that lay in Champaigne and Barrois to enter incontinent into Burgundy, during this great feare and astonishment of the people, and hauing seazed all the Country into his hands, he meant to aduertise the Duke, that he did it onely to saue it for him, and defend it from the Almaines: for because the said Duchie was held of the Crowne, he would for no good that it should be a prey for them: but whatsoener he had taken, he would faithfully restore, as vndoubtedly he would, though many happily will not credite it. And no maruell, for they know not the reasons that would haue mooued him thereunto: but he altered this determination when he vnderstood of the D. death. Immediately after, the King, (being at Tours) had receiued the letters aboue mentioned, which reported nothing of the D. death; he sent into the towne for all his capitaines and diuers noble men, to whom he read these letters, whereat they seemed in apparance greatly to reioyce: but those that looked narrowly into their behaviour, perceiued that a great many of them forced their mirth, and wished with all their hearts, notwithstanding their outward shew, that the world had gone otherwise with the Duke. The reason whereof peradventure was, because the King heretofore had liued in great feare, but now they doubted, seeing him deliuered of so many enemies, that he would alter many things especially offices and pensions. For there were a great number in the company, that had born armes against him, both in the war called THE VVEALE PVBLIKE (whereof you haue heard in the beginning of this history) and in diuers other broiles between him and the Duke of Guienne his brother. After he had communed a while with these noble men and capitaines, he went to Masse, which being ended, he caused the table to be couered in his chamber, and made them all dine with him, the Lord Chancellour and certaine others of his counsell being all present. All dinner while hee talked of those affaires: but I and diuers others marked with what appetite those that sate at the table dined. And vndoubtedly there was not one of them (I wot not whether for ioy or sorrow) that ate halfe a meales meat, yet were they not ashamed to eate in the Kings presence, for euery one of them had often before dined at his table. When the K. was risen from dinner, hee withdrew him-

1 By what
marks the
Dukes body
was knowne,
read *Annal.*
Burgund. pag.
988.

selfe and gaue to diuers, certaine of the Duke of Burgundies lands, if hee were dead, and soone after dispatched the Admirall of France, called the bastard of Bourbon and my selfe, giuing vs commission to receiue into his alleageance, as many as would become his subiects: and further, commanding vs to depart incontinent, and to open all courriers packets that wee should meet with, to the end we might be certainly informed whether the Duke were dead or alieue. We departed in great hast, though in the extreamest cold weather that euer I felt: & when we had ridden about halfe a dayes iourney, we met with a Poste, whom we commanded to deliuer vs his letter, the contents whereof were, that the Duke was found among the dead bodies¹, and knowne by an Italian Page that serued him, and by his Physition called Master *Loupe*, a Portugale borne, who sent word to Monsieur *de Cran* of the Duke his Masters death, who incontinent aduertised the King thereof.

Chap. 11. How the King after the Duke of Burgundies death, seized into his hands the townes of Abbeuille, and of the answere they of Arras gaue him.

WHen we vnderstood these newes, we rid forthwith to the suburbs of Abbeuille, and were the first that brought word of the Dukes death into those parts. At our arriual we found the towns men in treaty with Monsieur *de Torcy*, whom they had loued of long time. But the souldiers and those that had been the Dukes officers, treated with vs about the deliuey of the towne by a messenger, whom wee sent thither before vs, so farre forth that vpon our promises, they caused foure hundred launces to depart the towne, which the townsmen seeing, immediately opened the gates to Monsieur *de Torcy*, greatly to the hinderance of the captains, and the other officers of the towne, to seuen or eight of the which we had promised both money and pensions (for we had commission from the King so to doe) whereof nothing was performed, because the towne was not yeilded by their meanes. This towne of Abbeuille was parcell of those lands that King *Charles* the seuenth engaged to Duke *Philip* of Burgundie at the treaty of Arras, vnder this condition; that for default of heyre male they should returne to the crowne. Wherefore it is not to be maruelled, if so lightly they opened to vs their gates. From Abbeuille we rid to Dourlans, and sent to summon Arras the chiefe towne of Artois, the auncient inheritance of the Earles of Flaunders, which hath alwayes descended as well to the heires femals as males. Monsieur *de Rauastain*, and Monsieur *de Cordes* who were within the town, condescended to come and treat with vs at an Abbey neere the towne called Mont Saint Eloy, bringing with them certaine of the towne. To the which treaty we agreede that I should goe and certain with me, for because wee supposed they would not yeelde to our requestes, it was thought good that the Admirall should not go. Immediately after my arriual at the place assigned, the Lordes of Rauastaine and Cordes being accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and certaine also of the towne repaired thither. Among those that came to negotiate with vs for the towne, was their Recorder, called Master *John de la Vaquerie*, since that time chiefe president in the Courte Parliament at Paris. We required them at this meeting to open vs the gates, and to receiue vs into the towne for the King, saying, that hee claimed both towne and country as his by way of confiscation, adding, that if they refused so to doe, they

they were like to be forced thereunto, seeing both their Prince was slaine and their countrey vtterly vnfurnished of men of war, because of these three battels they had lost. The Lords aboue named made vs answere by the said Master *Iohn de la Paquerie*, that this countie of Artois appertained of right to the Lady of Burgundie, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, and descended to her by inheritance from the Lady *Margaret* sometime Countesse of Flaunders, Artois, Burgundie, Neuers, and Retell, the which married with *Philip* the first, Duke of Burgundie, sonne to King *Iohn* of Fraunce¹, and yongest brother to King *Charles* the first: wherefore they humbly besought the King to keep the truce concluded between him and the late Duke *Charles*. Our communication was but short; for we supposed before our meeting, that this should be our answere. But the chiefe cause of my going into those parts, was to commune with certaine of mine acquaintance there, and to draw them to the Kings seruice: with some of the which I spake, who soone after became his faithfull seruants accordingly. These countries were in maruellous feare and astonishment, and not without cause; for I thinke that in eight daies they could not haue leuied eight men of armes. Further, in all those quarters were not aboue 1500. soldiers, horsemen and footemen, which lay towards Namur and in Henault, and were of those that escaped out of the battell where the D. was slaine. There wonted termes and maner of speech were now cleane altered; for they spake lowly and humbly: which I write not to accuse them, as though in times past their words had been more arrogant than became them; but the truth is when I was there they thought so well of themselves, that they vsed not such reuerend language, neither to the King, nor of the King, as they haue done sithence. Wherefor if men were wise, they would vse such faire speech in time of prosperitie, that in aduersity they should not neede to change their termes. I returned to the Admirall, to make report of my negotiation: immediately whereupon we were aduertised that the King was at hand; for he set forth soone after vs, and commanded letters to bee written both in his owne name, and diuers of his seruants names, to cause certaine to repaire to him; by whose meanes he trusted to bring these seniories vnder his obedience.

¹ The pedigree in the end of this worke will shew, how all these titles descended to this Lady *Margaret*.

Chap. 12. A discourse not appertaining to the principall matter, of the great ioy the King was in to see himselfe deliuered of so many enemies, and of the error he committed touching the reducing of these countries of Burgundie to his obedience.

He King reioyced not a little to see himselfe thus deliuered of all those whom he hated and were his principall enemies: of some of the which hee had taken the reuenge himselfe; namely the Constable of France, the Duke of Nemours, and diuers others, his brother the Duke of Guyenne was dead whose inheritance was fallen to him. In like manner all they of the house of Aniou were dead, namely King *Rene* of Sicilie, the Dukes of Calabria *Iohn* and *Nicholas*, and their cousin the Earle of Maine, and afterward of Prouence: the Earle of Armignac was slaine at Lestore, and all their lands and goods fallen to the King. But because this house of Burgundie was greater and mightier than the rest, and had made sharpe warre with the English mens aide vpon his father King *Charles* the seuenth, thirtie two yeeres without truce, and had their dominions bordering vpon his, and their subiects alwaies desirous to make war vpon him

and his realme: therefore he reioyced more at their Princes death, than at the death of all the rest. Further, he now fully perswaded himselfe, that during his life, no man neither within his Realme, nor in the countries bordering vpon it, would once lift vp his finger against him. For he was in peace (as you haue heard) with the English men, which he trauelled to the vttermost of his power to continue. But although he were thus voide of all feare: yet did not God permit him to take the wisest course for the atchieuement of this his enterprise being of so great importance. And sure it appeareth both by that God shewed then and hath shewed since, that he meant sharply to punish this house of Burgundy, as well in the person of the Prince, as of the subiects, and of those that liued amongst them. For if the King our Master had taken the best course, the warres that haue consumed them since had neuer hapned. For if he had done as he ought to haue done, hee should haue sought to ioyne to the crowne all those great Seniories whereunto he could pretend no title, either by marriage or by courteous dealing with the subiects; which thing he might then easily haue accomplished, seeing the great feare, miserie, and distresse these countries were in at that time. And if he had thus done, he should both haue rid them of many troubles, and enlarged and enriched his owne Realme through long peace, which by this meanes had been easily obtained. He might also hereby haue eased his Realme diuers waies, especially of the charge of men of armes, who continually ride vp and downe from one corner of the Realme to another, oftentimes vpon small occasion. While the Duke of Burgundie yet liued, he oftsoones debated with me what were best to be done if the said Duke hapned to die. And then he discoursed maruellous wisely thereof, saying, that he would trauell to make a mariage betweene the King his sonne now raigning, and the Dukes daughter, afterward Duches of Austrich, which if she refused because of the Daulphin his sons younge age; then he would attempt to win her to marry some younge Lord of this Realme, to obtaine thereby her friendship and her subiects, and recouer without blowes that he claimed to be his: in the which minde he continued till eight daies before he vnderstood of the Dukes death. But this wise deliberation he began somewhat to alter the selfe same day he receiued newes thereof, and the very instant that he dispatched the Admirall and me. Notwithstanding he discovered not his purpose therein, but made promise to diuers of lands and lordships that had beene in the Dukes possession.

Chap. 13. How Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin and Peronne were yeelded to the King, and how he sent Master Oliuer his Barber to practise with them of Gaunt.

HHe King being on the way comming after vs, receiued good newes from all parts: for the castels of Han and Bohain were yeelded vnto him, and the citizens of Saint Quintins of their owne accord receiued Monsieur de Mouy their neighbor into the towne for him. Further he assured himselfe of Peronne, which William of Bische held, & was put in hope both by vs and others, that Monsieur de Cordes would reuolt to him. Further he had sent his Barber called Master Oliuer to Gaunt, in a village neere to the which he was borne, and had dispatched diuers others into other places, being in great hope of them all; but the most part of them serued him rather with words then deeds. When he drew neere to Peronne I went to meete him, and found him in a village, whither M. William of Bische and certaine others came and

and presented him the keies of the towne, whereof he was right glad. The King abode there that day, and I dined with him after mine accustomed manner: for his pleasure was that seuen or eight at the least, and sometimes more should ordinarily sit at his owne table. But after dinner he withdrew himselfe, and seemed to be discontented with the small exploit the Admirall and I had done: saying, that he had sent Master *Oliuer* his Barber to Gaunt to bring that towne to his obedience, and *Robinet Dodensfort* to Saint Omers, who was well friended there: and these he commended as fit men to receiue the keies of a towne, and put his forces into it. Diuers others also he named, whom he had sent to other great townes: and this matter he made Monsieur *de Lude*, and two or three others to debate with me. It became not me to reason against him, nor gaine say his pleasure, but I told him that I feared Master *Oliuer* and the others whom he named, would not so easily take these great townes, as they supposed. The King vsed this communication with me, because he had altered his minde, and hoped by reason of his good successe in the beginning, that all the country would yeeld vnto him. Moreouer, he was counselled by diuers (and was also of himselfe inclined thereunto) vtterly to destroy this house of Burgundie, and to disperse the seniories thereof among diuers men; some of the which he named, vpon whom he was purposed to bestow the Earledoms, namely, Henault and Namur that border vpon Fraunce: with the greater seniories, as Brabant, Holland, and the rest, he meant to win certaine Princes of Almaine to his friendship, to the end they might aide him in the atchieuing of his enterprife. All the which matters it pleased him to acquaint me with, because I had counselled him before to take the other course aboue rehearsed: wherefore he would that I should vnderstand the reasons, why he followed not mine aduise. Further he alleaged, that this course should be most beneficiall for his realme, the which had sustained infinite troubles, because of the greatnesse of this house of Burgundie, and the mighty seniories that it possessed. And sure as touching the world, his reasons caried great shew (though in conscience me thought otherwise:) notwithstanding such was his wisdom, that neither I nor any of his seruants could see so far into his affaires as himselfe did; for vndoubtedly he was one of the wisest and subtillest Princes that liued in his time. But in such waighthy affaires God disposeth the hearts of Kings and great Princes, which he holdeth in his hands, and directeth them into those waies that best serue for the executing of his determinations: for vndoubtedly if it had pleased him, that the King should still haue continued in that course which he of himselfe had deuised before the Dukes death; the warres that haue been since, and yet are, had neuer hapned. But we were vnworthy on both sides to enioy that quiet peace that was then offered vs, which sure was the onely cause of the Kings error, not want of wit: for as you haue heard, in wit no man excelled him. I write of these affaires at large, to shew that when a man attempteth any great enterprife, he ought at the first thoroughly to debate it, to the end he may choose the wisest way; but especially to submit himselfe to God, and humbly to beseech him to direct him into the best course, which is the principall point, as appeareth both by the scriptures and by experience. I minde not heere to blame the King, nor say that he erred in this behalfe: for peradventure diuers which knew and vnderstood more than my selfe, were then and yet are of his opinion; notwithstanding the matter was not debated there nor elsewhere. Further, those that write Chronicles, frame their stile commonly to their commendation of whom they speake, omitting diuers points, somtimes because they know not the truth of them. But as touching my selfe, I minde to write nothing
but

but that is true, and which my selfe either haue seen or learned of such parties as are worthy of credit, not regarding any mans commendation. For no Prince is to be thought so wise, but that he erreth sometime, yea oftentimes if he liue long, as should well appeare by their actions, if they were alwaies truly reported. The greatest Senates and Consuls that be or euer haue been, haue erred and do erre, as we may read and daily see.

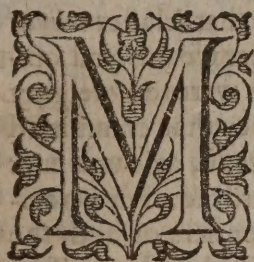
When the King had reposed himselfe one day in this village neere to Peronne, he determined the next morning to make his entry into the towne; for it was yeilded him as you haue heard. And at his departure he drew me aside, and commanded me to goe into the countrey of Poictou and the frontiers of Britaine, telling me in mine eare that if neither Master *Oliuers* enterprise tooke effect, nor Monsieur *de Cordes* reuolted to him, he would cause all the country of Artois called *La Leuée* lying vpon the riuer of *Lis*, to be burned; and that done returne againe into Touraine. I desired him to be good to certaine who by my meanes were become his seruants, and to whom I had promised in his name pensions and great rewards: whereupon he tooke their names of me in writing, and performed all that I had promised. Thus I tooke my leaue of him for that time. But euen as I was taking horse, Monsieur *de Lude* came to me, whom the King for certaine considerations fauord greatly. He was a man much giuen to his owne priuate gaine, and as he cared not to deceiue and abuse any man: so was he also very light of beliefe, and often beguiled himselfe. He had been brought vp with the King from his childhood, and knew which way to feed his humor, and had a very pleasant head. He came and said thus to me (wisely after a iesting manner) what depart you now when you should bee made or neuer; seeing the great things that fall daily into the Kings hands, wherewith he may enrich those that he loueth? For my part I looke to be gouernor of Flaunders, and to make my selfe all of gold, in vttering the which words, he brake forth into great laughter: but I had no lust to laugh, because I feared that this proceeded of the King. Mine answer was, that I would be right glad if his fortune might be such, and that I trusted the King would not forget me.

A certaine knight of Hainault was come to me not past halfe an hower before my departure, who brought me newes of diuers with whom I perswaded by letters to put themselues into the Kings seruice. The said Knight and I are kinsmen, and he is yet liuing, wherefore neither will I name him, nor those of whom he brought me this aduertisement. His offer in few words was to yeeld vnto the King the chiefe places and townes in Hainault. Whereof I aduertised the King euen as I was taking my leaue; who after he had talked with the said knight, told me that neither he nor those others whom I named were such as he had need of. He misliked one for this point, and another for that, and their offer seemed vnto him nothing: for he thought to obtaine all that he desired without them. Again, after my departure the King made Monsieur *de Lude* to commune with the same knight, who was much discontented with the said *de Ludes* words, and departed incontinent without entring into farther treatie, because the said *de Lude* and he would neuer haue agreed in any point. For whereas this knight was come out of Hainault to get somewhat at the Kings hands whereby to enrich himselfe: the said *de Lude* at the first meeting asked him what the townes would giue him to commend their cause to the King. I thinke verily that this refusall the King made to these knights proceeded also of God; for since that time he would haue made good account of them if he could haue drawne them to his seruice. But peradventure God would not accomplish his desire in all points; either because of the reasons

reasons aboue alleaged, or for that he would not suffer him to vsurpe this country of Hainault (which is held of the Empire) both because he had no title thereunto, and also because of the ancient league betweene the Emperors and the Kings of Fraunce, whereof the King himselfe also seemed afterward to take notice. For he held Cambray, le Quesnoy, and Bossi¹ in Hainault, whereof Bossi hee yeelded againe, and restored Cambray beeing an imperiall towne to neutrality as it was before. Although my selfe were present at these actions, yet was I enformed how they passed: for I had good meanes to vnderstand of them, because I was acquainted, and had been brought vp in both these Princes dominions, and haue since also communed with diuers that were the principall managers of these affaires on both sides.

¹ This Boiss lib. 6. cap. 3. he calleth Bou-chain: and so out of doubt it should be read heere.

Chap. 14. How Master Oliuer the Kings barber failing to execute his enterprise at Gaunt, found meanes to put the Kings forces into Tournay.



After Oliuer (as you haue heard) was gone to Gaunt, and cari- ed letters of credit to the Lady of Burgundy Duke Charles his daughter, hauing also commission to perswade with hir apart, to put hir selfe into the Kings government¹. But this was not his principall charge: for he doubted that he should not obtaine leaue to commune with her apart; and though he did, yet supposed he that he should not frame hir to his request. But his hope was to raise some great tumult in this towne of Gaunt, which hath euer been inclined to rebellion, and was the easier to be mooued thereunto at this present, because vnder Duke Philip and Duke Charles they had liued in great awe, and lost diuers priuiledges by the treaty made with the said Duke Philip, after their wars with him ended. Duke Charles also had taken one priuilege from them, concerning the election of their Senate; for an offence made the first day hee entered into the towne as Duke: whereof because I haue made mention before, I will heere write no further. All these reasons encouraged Master Oliuer the Kings barber to proceed in his enterprise, so farre forth that hee discovered his purpose to some such of the citizens, as he thought would giue eare vnto him, offering (besides diuers other promises) to cause the King to restore them their priuiledges that they had lost. But notwithstanding that he were not in their Towne-house to speake publicly to their Senate, because he meant first to assay if hee could doe any good with this young Princesse; yet was his enterprise smelt out: wherefore after hee had sojourned a few daies in Gaunt, he was sent for to declare his message; whereupon he repaired to the Princesse presence, being apparelled much more sumptuously then became one of his calling, and deliuered his letters. The said Lady sate in hir chaire of estate, hauing about hir the Duke of Cleues, and the Bishop of Liege, with diuers other noble men, and a great number of her subiects. When shee had read hir letter, shee commanded him to declare his message. But he answered that he had nothing to say but to her selfe alone. Whereupon it was told him, that this was not the manner of their country, especially to commune in secret with this young Lady being vnmarried. But he still continued his former answer, that hee had nothing to say but to her selfe apart. Whereupon they threatned to make him say somewhat else: which words put him in feare. And I thinke verily that when he came to deliuer his letter, hee had not bethought him what to say: for this was not his principall charge, as you haue heard. Thus master Oliuer departed for this time without further speech.

¹ The King claimed this Lady as his ward, because diuers of her dominions, namely Flaunders, Artois, &c. were held of the crowne of Fraunce: besides that, hee was her godfather, which was the cause why hee commanded this Oliuer to mooue this request.

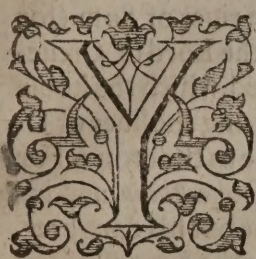
Some

Some of the Councell began to scorne him, as well because of his base estate, as of his foolish speech and behauiour, but especially they of Gaunt (in a little village neere whereunto he was borne) scoffed and derided him, so farre forth that suddenly hee fledde thence, being aduertised if he staid there any longer, that he should be throwne into the riuer; which I thinke would haue prooued true. The said Master *Oliuer* named himselfe Earle of Melun, a little towne neere to Paris, whereof he was captaine. From Gaunt he fledde to Tournay, a towne in that country subiect to neyther Prince, but maruellously affectioned to the King: for it is his after a fort, and payeth him yeerely fixe thousand franks; but in all other respects liueth in liberty, and receiueth all sorts of men: it is a goodly towne and a strong, as all the inhabitants thereabout can testifie. The Churchmen and citizens haue all their possessions and reuenues in Henault and Flaunders, in both the which countries it is situate. Wherefore they vsed alwaies during the long warres between King *Charles* the seuenth, and *Philip* Duke of Burgundy, to pay yeerely vnto the said Duke ten thousand franks; the which summe I haue seene them pay also to Duke *Charles*: but at the time that Master *Oliuer* came thither they were quit of all payments, and liued in great wealth and quietnesse. Although Master *Oliuers* charge aboue mentioned were too weighty for him to deale in, yet was he not so much to be blamed, as they that committed it to him: for notwithstanding that his enterprise had such successe, as it was euer like to haue; yet shewed he himselfe wise in that hee afterward did. For perceiuing the saide towne of Tournay to bee situate vpon the frontiers of both the countries aboue named, and very commodious to endamage them both, if he could put the Kings forces that lay in those parts into it; and knowing further, that the townes-men would neuer consent thereunto, because they neuer tooke part with eyther Prince, but shewed themselues friends indifferently to both: hee sent word secretly to Monsieur *de Money* (whose sonne was balife of the towne, but not resident there) that hee should bring his company which he had within Saint Quintins, and certaine other bands that lay in those quarters, to the towne of Tournay; who at the hower appointed came to the gate, where he found Master *Oliuer* accompanied with thirty or forty persons, who partly by fauour, partly by force caused the gate to be opened, and receiued the Kings men; wherewith the people of the towne were well enough contented, but not the gouernours; of whom Master *Oliuer* sent seuen or eight to Paris, whence they departed not during the Kings life. After these men of armes, entred also diuers other souldiers, who did great harme afterward in the two countries aboue named: for they spoyled and burned many goodly villages and faire farmes, more to the damage of the inhabitants of Tournay, than of any other for the reasons aboue alleaged. To be short, so long they spoyled that the Flemmings arose, and tooke out of prison the Duke of Guelderland (whom Duke *Charles* had held prisoner) and made him their captaine: and in this estate came before the towne of Tournay, where they lay not long, but fled in great disorder, and lost many of their men, and among the rest, the Duke of Guelders, who had put himselfe behinde to maintaine the skirmish (being euill followed) was there slaine, as heereafter you shall heere more at large. Wherefore this honour and good successe that hapned to the King, and the great losse his enemies receiued, proceeded of the said Master *Oliuers* wisdom and iudgement: so that peraduenture a wiser man, and a greater personage then he, might haue failed to atchieue the like enterprise. I haue spoken enough of the great charge this sage Prince committed to this meane person, vnfit to manage so weighty a cause; onely adding, that it seemed

that

that God had troubled the Kings wits in this behalfe. For, as I said before, if he had not thought this enterprife far easier then indeed it was; but had appeased his wrath, & laid downe his greedy desire of reuenge vpon this house of Burgundie, vndoubtedly he had held at this day all those Seniories vnder his subiection.

Chap. 15 Of the ambassadors the Lady of Burgundy daughter to the late Duke Charles sent to the King, and how by meanes of Monsieur de Cordes the City of Arras, the townes of Hedin and Bolleyn, and the towne of Arras it selfe, were yeilded to the King.



YOu haue heard how Master *William Bische* yeilded Peronne to the King. The said *Bishe* was a man of base parentage, borne at Molins-Engibers in Nivernois; but enriched and greatly aduanced by Duke *Charles* of Burgundy, who made him captaine of Peronne, because his house called Clery (being a strong and goodly castle that the said *Bishe* had purchased) was neere vnto it. But to proceed, after the King had made his entry into the towne, certaine ambassadors came to him from the Lady of Burgundy, being all the greatest and noblest personages that were able to doe her any seruice: which was vnadvisedly done to send so many together; but such was their desolation and feare, that they wist not well what to say or doe. The aboue named ambassadors were these; the Chancellor of Burgundy called Master *William Hugonet*, a notable wise man, who had been in great credit with Duke *Charles*, and was highly aduanced by him. The Lord of Himercourt (so often before mencioned in this History) was there also, (who was as wise a gentleman, and as able to manage a weighty cause as euer I knew any) together with the Lord of la Vere, a great Lord in Zealand, and the Lord of Grutuse, and diuers others as well noble men as Churchmen, and burgeses of good townes. The King before he gaue them audience, trauelled both generally with them all, and apart with euery one of them to draw them to his seruice. They all gaue him humble and lowly words, as men in great feare. Notwithstanding, those that had their possessions farre from his dominions in such countries as they thought to be out of his reach would not bind themselues to him in any respect, vnlesse the marriage betweene his sonne the Daulphin, and the said Lady their Mistresse tooke effect. But the Chancellor and the Lord of Himercourt, who had liued long in great authority, wherein they still desired to continue, and had their lands lying neere to the Kings dominions, the one in the Dutchy of Burgundy, the other in Picardie neere to Amiens, gaue eare to his offers, and promised both to serue him in furthering this marriage, and also wholly to become his, the marriage beeing accomplished: which course he liked not (though it were simply the best) but was displeased with them, for that they would not then absolutely enter into his seruice. Notwithstanding he shewed them no countenance of displeasure because he would vse their helpe as he might. Moreouer, the King hauing now good intelligence with Monsieur *de Cordes* captaine and gouernor of Arras, by his counsell and aduise required these ambassadors to cause the said *de Cordes* to receiue his men into the city of Arras: for at that time there were wals and trenches between the towne and the city, but the towne was then fortified against the citie; and now contrariwise the city is fortified against the towne. And diuers perswasions vfed to the said ambassadors, that this should be the best and readiest way to obtaine

peace

^a This request the king made as Tutor (and Godfather to the young Lady, in which respect also the said ambassadors did as he required

^b Arras was cut in two, to wit, into the town and the city; the town vnder the Dukes of Burgundy was fortified and the draw-bridge was drawne into the towne: but the King beat downe the fortification of the towne, and fortified the city, and altered also the draw-bridge, and drew it vp into the city, whereas before it was drawn vp into the towne,

peace in shewing such obedience to the King, they agreed to his demand, especially the Chancellor and *Himbercourt*, and sent a letter of discharge to the said *de Cordes*, wherein they aduertised him of their consent to the deliuey of the city of Arras. Into the which so soone as the King was entered, he raised bulwarks of earth against the gates of the town, and in diuers other places neere to the town. Further, because of this discharge, Monsieur *de Cordes* and the men of warre that were with him, departed out of the towne³, and went whither them listed, and serued where them best liked. And as touching the said *de Cordes*, he now accounting himselfe discharged of his Mistres seruice, by the ambassadors letters aboue mentioned; determined to do homage to the King, and to enter into his seruice; both because his house, name, and armes were on this side the riuer of Som (for he was called Master *Philip* of Creuecoeur, second brother to the Lord of Creuecoeur, and also because the territories so often aboue mentioned, which the house of Burgundy had possessed vpon the said riuer of Somme, during the liues of D. *Philip* and Duke *Charles*, returned now without al controuersie to the crown. For by the conditions of the treaty of Arras, they were giuen to Duke *Philip*, and his heires male onely. Wherefore seeing Duke *Charles* left no issue but his daughter, the said Master *Philip* of Creuecoeur became without al doubt the Kings subiect: so that he could commit no fault by entring into the Kings seruice, and restoring to him that which he held of him, vnlesse he had done homage anew to the Lady of Burgundy. Notwithstanding men haue reported, and will report diuersly of him for this fact: wherefore I leaue the matter to other mens iudgments. True it is that he had bin brought vp, enriched, & aduanced to great honor by D. *Charles*, and that his mother for a certain space was gouernesse of the Lady of Burgundy in her childhood: and further, when the Duke of Burgundy died, he was gouernour of Picardy, Senescall of Ponthieu, Captaine of Courtray, gouernor of Peronne, Montdidier and Roie, and Captaine of Bolloin and Hedin. Al the which offices he holdeth yet at this present of the King; in such manner and forme, as after the Dukes death the King our Master confirmed them vnto him.

After the King had fortified the City of Arras (as you haue heard) he departed thence to besiege Hedin, leading thither with him the said *de Cordes*, who had bin captaine of the place not past three daies before, and his men were yet within it, and made shew as though they would defend it for the Lady of Burgundy, saying that they had sworne to be true vnto her: but after the artillery⁴ had beaten it two or three daies, they fell to parlement with the said *de Cordes* their late captaine and yeelded the towne to the King. But this was indeed a compact matter betweene the King and them. From thence the king went before Bolloin, where the like was also done: but they held, as I remember, a day longer then the others. This was a very dangerous enterprife if ther had bin soldiers in the country; and that the king knew well enough, as he afterwad told me: for diuers in Bolloin, perceiuing this to be a meere collusion between the soldiers & him, trauelled to haue put men into the town, if they could haue leauied them in time, & to haue defended it in good earnest. During the space of fise or six daies that the king lay before Bolloin, they of Arras perceiuing how they had bin abused, and considering in what danger they stood, being enuironed on euery side with a great number of soldiers, and great force of artillery: trauelled to leuy men to put into the towne, and writ thereabout to their neighbors of Lisle and Douay. At the said town of Douay was Monsieur *de Vergy*, & diuers others whose names I remember not, with a few horsemen escaped out of the battel of Nancy. These determined to enter the towne of Arras, and leuied al the force they could, being

³ If the King had demanded the town of Arras, the ambassadors would neuer haue granted it, because it was the whole strength of the country: but by obtaining the citie (at that time not greatly accounted of, because it was vtterly vnfortified) he got the said *de Cordes* discharged, who soone after procured him both the towne of Arras, and the greatest part of the country of Artois.

⁴ For they were willing to yeeld it, but because they would depart like soldiers and without suspicion of treason they desired to haue the cannon brought before it.

to the number of two or three hundred horse good and bad, and five or six hundred footmen. But they of Douay (whose peccoakes feathers were not yet all pulled) constrained them spite of their teeth to depart the towne at noone day, which was great folly, and so came of it. For the countrey beyond Arras is as plaine as a mans hand, and between Douay and Arras are about five leagues. If they had taried till night (as they would if they might haue been suffered) they had sure accomplished their enterprise. But when they were vpon the way, they whom the King left in the citie of Arras, namely Monsieur de Lude, Iohn de Fou, and the Marshall of Loheacs companie being aduertised of their comming, determined with all speed to issue forth and encounter them, and to put all in hazard rather than to suffer them to enter the towne: for they well perceiued that if they entered the towne, the citie could not be defended. Their enterprise was very dangerous, yet they executed it valiantly, and put to flight this band issued out of Douay; the which also they so speedily pursued, that they were all in a manner either slaine or taken, and amongst the prisoners was Monsieur de Vergy himselfe. The next day the King arriued there in person, reioycing much because of this discomfiture, and caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and of the footmen commanded a great number to be slaine, to put thereby those few men of war yet remaining in those quarters, into the greater feare. Moreouer, Monsieur de Vergy he kept long in prison, because he would by no meanes be brought to doe him homage; notwithstanding that he lay in close prison and in irons: but in the end hauing been prisoner a yeere and more, by his mothers perswasion he yeelded to the Kings pleasure; wherein he did wisely. For the King restored him to all his lands, and all those he was in sute for. He gaue him farther ten thousand franks of yeerely reuenues, and diuers other goodly offices. They which escaped out of this discomfiture, being very few in number entred the towne, before the which the King brought his artillerie and laid his batterie. The artillerie was goodly and great; and the batterie terrible; but the towne wall and the ditch nothing strong: wherefore they within were in great feare, the rather because the towne was vtterly vnfurnished of soldiers. Further, Monsieur de Cordes had good intelligence within it; and to say the truth, the citie being in the Kings hands the towne could not be defended: wherefore they fell to parlement and yeelded it by composition; which notwithstanding was euill obserued; whereof Monsieur de Lude was partly to blame. For diuers Burgeesses and honest men were slaine in the presence of him and Master William de Cerisay, who maruellously enriched themselues there: for the said de Lude told me that he got during the time of his being there twenty thousand crownes, and two timbers of Martens. Moreouer, they of the towne lent the King 60000. crownes, which summe was much too great for their abilitie; but I thinke it was repaid them, for they of Cambray lent 40000. which I am sure were restored, as I thinke were these also.



Chap. 16. How the citizens of Gaunt vsurped authoritie ouer their Princesse after hir fathers death, came in ambassage to the King, as from the three estates of their country.

THE same time the siege lay before Arras, the Lady of Burgundie was at Gaunt in the hands of hir mutinous subiects greatly to hir losse; but to the Kings profit: for alwaies ones losse is an others gaine. These citizens of Gaunt so soone as they vnderstood of Duke *Charles* his death, thinking themselves thereby cleerely deliuered out of captiuitie: apprehended their Senators being to the number of six and twenty, and put them all or the greatest part to death; pretending that they did it because the said Senators the day before had commanded one to be beheaded, though not without desert, yet without authoritie (as they said,) their commission being determined with the Dukes death, by whom they were chosen into that office. They slew also diuers honest men of the towne that had been the Dukes friends; amongst whom were some, that when I serued him dissuaded him in my presence from destroying a great part of the towne of Gaunt, which he was fully resolved to haue done. Further, they constrained their Princesse to confirm all their ancient priuileges, both those they lost in the time of Duke *Philip* by the treatie of Gaures, and those also that Duke *Charles* tooke from them. The said priuileges serued them onely for firebrands of rebellion against their Princes, whom about all things they desire to see weake and feeble. Moreouer during their Princes minoritie, and before they begin to gouerne, they are maruellous tender ouer them; but when they are come to the gouernment they cannot away with them, as appeareth by this Lady whom they loued deerely and much tendered before hir comming to the state. Further, you shall vnderstand that if after the Dukes death these men of Gaunt had raised no troubles, but had sought to defend the country, they might easily haue put men into Arras, and peraduenture into Peronne; but they minded onely these domesticall broiles. Notwithstanding while the K. lay before the towne of Arras, certaine ambassadors came to him from the three estates of the said Ladies countries. For at Gaunt were certaine deputies for the three estates, but they of the towne ordered all at their pleasure, because they held their Princesse in their hands. The K. gaue these ambassadors audience, who among other things, said: that they made no overture of peace, but with consent of their Princesse; who was determined in all matters to follow the aduise and counsell of the three estates of hir country. Further, they required the K. to end his war in Burgundie & Artois, and to appoint a day when they might meet to treat friendly together of peace; and in the meane time that he would cause a surcease of armes. The K. had now in a maner obtained all he desired, and supposed the successe of the rest would haue answered his expectation otherwise than it did, because he was certainly informed, that most of the men of war in the country were dead and slaine, and knew well that a great many others had forsaken the said Ladies seruice, especially Monsieur de Cordes, of whom he made great reckoning, and not without cause; for he could not haue taken by force in long time, that which by his intelligence he obtained in few daies, as before you haue heard: wherefore he made small account of these ambassadors demaunds. Further, he perceiued these men of Gaunt to be such seditious persons, and so inclined to trouble the state of their country, that his enemies by

by meanes thereof should not be able to aduise, nor giue order how to resist him, For of those that were wise, and had beene in credite with their former Princes, none were called to the debating of any matter of state, but persecuted, and in danger of death: especially the Burgundians whom they hated extreamely, because of their great authority in times past. Moreover, the King (who saw further into these affaires than any man in his realme) knew well what affection the citizens of Gaunt had euer borne to their Princes, and how much they desired to see them affeebled; so that they in their country felt no smart thereof. Wherefore he thought it best to nourish their domesticall contentions, and to set them further by the eares together, which was soone done: for those whom he had to doe with, were but beasts, most part of them townes men vnacquainted with those subtle practises, wherein he had beene trained vp, and could vse for his purpose, better than any man liuing.

The King laid hold on these words of the Ambassadors, that their Princesse would doe nothing without the consent and aduise of the three estates of her country, and answered, that they were euill informed of her pleasure, and of certaine particular men about hir: for he knew very perfectly, that shee meant to gouerne all hir affaires by the aduise of certaine particular persons, who desired nothing lesse than peace: and as touching them and their actions, he was well assured they should be disauowed. Whereunto the ambassadors (being not a little moued, as men vnacquainted with great affaires,) made a hot answer, that they were well assured of that they said, and would shew their instructions, if need so required. Whereunto answer was made, that they should see a letter, if it so pleased the king, written by parties worthy of credite, wherein the king was aduertised that the said Lady would gouerne her affaires by fowre persons onely. Wherunto the others replied, that they were sure of the contrary. Then the king commanded a letter to bee brought forth, which the Chancellour of Burgundy, and the Lord of Himbercourt deliuered him at their last being with him at Peronne. The said letter was written partly with the yong Ladies owne hand; partly by the Dowager of Burgundy Duke *Charles* his widow, and sister to king *Edward* of England, and partly by the Lord of Rauastain brother to the Duke of Cleues, and the saide yong Ladies nearest kinsman: so that it was written with three seuerall hands, but signed with the name of the young Lady alone; for the other twain set to their hands onely to giue it the greater credite. The contents of the letter were, to desire the King to giue credit to those things, whereof the Chancellour and *Himbercourt* should aduertise him. And further, it was therein signified vnto him, that she was resolved to gouerne all her affaires by foure persons, namely, the Dowager her mother in law, the Lord of Rauastain, and the aboue named Chauncellour and *Himbercourt*, by whom only and none other, she humbly besought him to negotiate with hir; because vpon them she would repose the whole gouernment of hir affaires.

When these citizens of Gaunt, and the other ambassadors had seene this letter it heated them throughly; and I warrant you those that negotiated with them, failed not to blow the fire. In the end the letter was deliuered them, and no other dispatch of importance had they, neither passed they greatly for any other: but thought onely vpon their domesticall diuisions, and how to make a new world, neuer looking further into this businesse, notwithstanding that the losse of Arras ought to haue grieued them much more than this letter: but they were townes men (as I said before) vnacquainted with these affaires. They returned straight to Gaunt, where they found their Princes accompanied with the Duke of

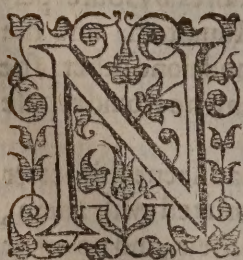
¹ This Duke of Cleues was called *John*, whose father *Adolph* had married *Mary* sister to Duke *Phillip* of Burgundy, *Meyer*, lib. 17. p. 1257, but *Annal.* *Burgund.* say that *Adolph* was sonne to one of Duke *Phillips* sisters b it corruptly, as the pedigree in the end of this worke will declare.

² The Bishop of Lieges reuenues are nine thousand pound sterling *Guichiar.*

³ This *de la Marche* was named *Arenberg*, how he died after this murder, read *Berlandus*, f. 77

Cleues, her nearest kinsman, and of her bloud by his mother¹, he was an ancient man, brought vp continually in this house of Burgundy, where he receiued an yeerely pension of six thousand guildons; wherefore besides that hee was their kinsman, he resorted thither oft times as a pensioner to do his duety. The Bishop of Liege, and diuers noble men were there also, partly to waite vpon this young Lady, and partly for their owne particular affaires. For the said Bishop entertained a sute there to discharge his country of a payment of thirty thousand guildons or thereabout, which they gaue yeerely to D. *Charles* by the treaty they made with him, when the wars about mentioned ended. All the which warres began for the said Bishops quarrell, so that there was no cause why hee should moue this sute; but rather seek to keep them still in pouerty; for he receiued no benefit there more than of his spirituall iurisdiction and of his demains (which also were but small² in respect of the wealth of his country, and the greatnesse of his Dioces.) The said Bishop (brother to the Dukes of Bourbon *John*, and *Peter* now liuing) being a man wholly giuen to pleasures and good cheare, and little knowing what was profitable or vnprofitable for himselfe: receiued into his seruice Master *William de la Marche*³, a goodly valiant knight, but cruell and of naughty conditions; who had been enemy of long time both to the said Bishop, and also to the house of Burgundie for the Liegeois cause. To this *de la Marche* the Lady of Burgundie gaue fifteen thousand guildons, partly in fauour of the Bishop, and partly to haue him hir friend: but he soon after reuolted both from hir and from the said Bishop his Master, and attempted by force through the Kings fauour to make his owne sonne Bishop. Afterward also he discomfited the said Bishop in battell, slew him with his owne hands, and threw him into the river, where his dead corps floated vp and downe three daies. But the Duke of Cleues was come thither in hope to make a marriage between his eldest sonne and the said Lady, which seemed to him a very fit match for diuers respects; and sure I thinke it had taken effect if his sons conditions had liked the yoong Lady and hir seruants: for he was descended of this house of Burgundie, and held his Duchie of it, and had been brought vp in it; but peradventure it did him harme that his behauiour was so well knowne there.

Chap. 17. *How they of Gaunt after their ambassadors returne, put to death the Chancellor Hugonet, and the Lord of Himbercourt against their Princesses will: and how they and other Flemmings were discomfited before Tournay, and their Generall the Duke of Gueldres slaine.*



Now to proceed in the historie. After these ambassadors were returned to Gaunt, the councell was assembled, and the Princess sat in her chaire of estate, accompanied with all hir nobility to giue them audience. Then the ambassadors made rehearsall of the commission she gaue them, touching principally that point that serued for their purpose and saying that when they aduertised the King, that shee was determined to follow in all points the aduise and counsell of the three estates of her country: hee forthwith answered that hee was sure of the contrary, and because they auowed their saying, offered to shew the said Ladies letters in that behalfe. The Princess being therewith moued, suddenly answered in the presence of them all that it was not so, assuring her selfe that the King had not shewed her letter. Then he that spake being Recorder of Gaunt or Brucels

Brucels, drew the letter out of his bosome before the whole assembly and deliuered it hir. Wherein he shewed himselfe a lewd fellow and an vnciuill, in dishonoring openly after such a sort this yoong Lady, who ought not so rudely to haue been dealt with: for though she had committed an error, yet was it not publicly to be reformed. It is no maruell if she were greatly ashamed thereof, for she had protested the contrary to the whole world. The Dowager of Burgundie, the Lord of Rauastain, the Chancellor, and the Lord of Himbercourt were all fower there present also.

The Duke of Cleues and diuers others who had been put in hope of this yoong Ladies mariage, stormed maruellously at this letter, and then began their factions to breake forth. The said Duke was euer perswaded heretofore that *Himbercourt* would further his sute for his sonne: but now perceiuing by this letter his hope to be frustrate, he became his mortall foe¹. The Bishop of Liege, and his minion Master *William de la Marche* who was there with him, loued him not for the things done at Liege, whereof the said *Himbercourt* had been the chiefe instrument. The Earle of Saint Paule sonne to the Constable of Fraunce, hated both him and the Chancellor; because they two deliuered his father at Peronne to the Kings seruants, as before you haue heard at large. They of Gaunt also hated them both, not for any offence made, but because of the great authoritie they had borne: whereof vndoubtedly they were as worthy as any man that liued in their time, either heere or there; for they were euer true and faithfull seruants to their Master.

To be short, the same day at night that this letter was shewed, the aboue named Chancellor and *Himbercourt* through the furtherance as I am perswaded of their enimies aboue named, were apprehended by the citizens of Gaunt; which danger notwithstanding that they were forewarned of by their friends; yet had they not power to auoide, as it hath often hapned to diuers others. With them was also apprehended M. *William* of Clugny then Bishop of Therouenne, and since of Poictiers; and all three imprisoned in one place. They of Gaunt proceeded against them by colour of processe (contrary to their accustomed maner in their reuenge) and appointed certaine of their Senate to heare their cause: with whom they ioyned in commission one of this house of La Marche, deadly enimie to the said *Himbercourt*. First they demanded of them, why they caused Monsieur *de Cordes* to deliuer the citie of Arras to the King, but thereupon they stood not long; notwithstanding that they had nothing else iustly to charge them with. But this was not it that grieued them: for neither cared they to see their Prince affeebled by the losse of such a towne; neither had they the wit to consider what great damage might ensue thereof to themselves in tract of time. Wherefore they rested chiefly vpon two points²; the first, they charged them that they had receiued bribes of the towne of Gaunt, namely for a sute in law, which of late the said towne had obtained by their sentence pronounced by the said Chancellor, against a particular man whom they had in sute. But of all this matter of briberie, they acquitted themselves very honorably; and as concerning that particular point where they of Gaunt charged them, that they had sold iustice, and taken money of them to pronounce sentence on their behalfe: they answered, that the town of Gaunt obtained their sute, because their cause was good; & as touching the mony they tooke, they neuer demanded it, nor caused it to be demanded, but receiued it being offered. The second point was, that during the time they were with the late D. *Charles* their Master, and also being his lieutenants in his absence, they had done diuers things against the priuiledges and state

¹ With the letter the King had also vnterred the message, that the Chancellor and Himbercourt brought, which was to treat of a marriage between the Dauphin and this Lady, which also they offered the King to further; and this was the cause why the Duke of Cleues became Himbercourts enimie.

² The causes of the Chancellors and Himbercourts death, read in *Berlandus* fol. 69.

of their town, and that whosoever doth against the priuileges of Gaunt, ought to die. But this point touched them no whit : for they were neither their subiects nor citizens, neither able to infringe their priuileges ; and if the Duke or his father tooke any of their priuileges from them, they did it by the treatie made between them, after their long warres and diuisions : but the other priuileges that were left them (being in truth more than were conuenient for their profit) were neuer broken, but kept and obserued. Well, notwithstanding the answers these two notable men made to these two points (for of the principall matter first objected against them, no word was spoken) yet the Senate of the towne condemned them to die as they stood at the barre, because (as they said) they had broken their priuileges, and receiued bribes after iudgment giuen vpon the matter in law aboue mentioned. These two worthy personages hearing this cruell sentence, were not a little astonished : and no maruell, for they saw no way how to escape, being in their enemies hands: notwithstanding they appealed to the King and his court of Parliament, trusting by this meanes to delay their death, to the end their friends in the meane time might deuise some way to saue them. Before their arrainment, they racked them extremely against all order of law. Their processe endured but six daies, and (notwithstanding their appeale) after sentence pronounced, they gaue them but three howers respite to confesse them, and bethinke them of their soules health. Which time expired, they led them into their market place, and set them vpon a scaffold. The Lady of Burgundie (afterward Duchesse of Austrich) being aduertised of their condemnation, went to the towne-house to make request and supplication for their liues : but perceiuing that she could do no good there, she went to the market place, where all the people were assembled together in armes, and there saw the two noble men aboue named, standing vpon the scaffold. The said Ladie was in her mourning apparel, hauing nothing on her head but a kerchiefe, which was an humble and simple attire, and ought of right to haue moued them to pitty. There she desired the people with weeping eies, and hir haire loose about hir shoulders, to haue pitty vpon these hir two seruants, and to restore them vnto hir. A great part of the people were willing that hir pleasure should be done, and that they should not die ; but others would in no wise giue eare vnto hir : whereupon they bent their pikes the one against the other. But those that desired their death were the stronger, and cried to them that stood vpon the scaffold to dispatch them ; immediately whereupon both their heads were stricken off : and in this estate returned this poore Lady to hir Court sorrowfull and comfortlesse : for these two were the principall persons, in whom she had reposed hir whole confidence. After they of Gaunt had done this exploit, they remooued from about the said Lady, the Lord of Rauallain, and the Dowager Duke *Charles* widow hir mother in law, because they had also written part of the letter aboue mentioned, which *Himbercourt* and the Chancellor deliuered to the King, and they of Gaunt redeliuered to their Princesse after their returne, as before you haue heard. Further, they vsurped all power and authoritie ouer this poore yoong Lady : for so might she now well be called, both because of the great damage she had already receiued by the losse of so many notable townes, irrecoverable by force, considering his power in whose hands they were, although by fauour, friendship, or composition some hope yet remained ; and also because she was in the hands of the ancient enemies and persecutors of hir house, which was a great misfortune to hir. Notwithstanding these citizens of Gaunt in all their publike actions haue ener shewed more grosse folly than cunning : and no maruell, for they that carry credit

credit and authoritie among them, are for the most part, wealthy men of occupation, vnacquainted with waighty affaires, and little vnderstanding what belongeth to the gouernement of a state. Their cunning consisteth but in two points; the one, that they studie by all meanes possible how to weaken and impouerish their Prince: the other, that when they haue made a fault, and finde the partie offended too strong for them, they craue pardon with greater humilitie, and buy peace with larger gifts than any people in the world; yea and knowe what instruments to worke by, & what persons to labour for obtaining of peace, better than any towne that euer I knew.

After they of Gaunt had taken by force the gouernment of their Princesse, put the two aboue mentioned to death, and remooued from about her those that misliked them; they began euery where to place and displace officers at their pleasure, and to banish and spoile all those that had best serued this house of Burgundie, not regarding their good or euill desert; but aboue all other men they hated the Burgundians especially, so farre forth that they banished them all, and trauelled to make them the Kings seruants & subiects as much as the King himselfe did, who sollicitated them thereunto by faire words, wise perswasions, large gifts and promises, and sought also to constraîne them by great force which he had in their countrey. Moreouer these men of Gaunt meaning to begin their gouernment with some case of nouelty, tooke out of prison (as already is mentioned) the Duke of Gueldres, who of long time by Duke Charles his commandement had beene held prisoner for the causes aboue rehearsed, and him they made generall of an army which they among themselues, namely the townes of Bruges, Gaunt, and Ypre, leuied and sent to Tournay to set fire on the suburbes thereof, which was little for their Princesse profit. For 200. soldiers sent in time to Arras, or ten thousand franks to haue entertained men to put into it, when the siege came before it; would haue done both her and them much more seruice than ten such armies as this. For this army could doe no good but fire a fewe houses in a place, whereof the King made small account: for hee leuied neither taskes nor subsidies there, but their wit was not able to reach thus far. After the Duke of Gueldres was come before Tournay with this army being to the number of twelve or fifteene thousand men, very well paid by the townes aboue mentioned, he set fire on the suburbes. But within the towne were three or fower hundred men of armes which sallied out and charged his men on the backe as they retired, and incontinent put them to flight. But the Duke himselfe being a valiant Prince, turned against his enemies meaning to maintaine the skirmish, to the end his men might haue leasure to retire: but being euill followed he was ouerthrowne and slaine, and a good number also of his people; yet was the Kings force that did this exploit very small. The Flemmings army retired with this losse, for there was but one band of men defeated. The Lady of Burgundy (as I haue heard) and her friends reioised much at this newes; for the brute ran for a certainty that they of Gaunt were determined to compell her by force to marry this Duke of Gueldres, which willingly she would neuer haue done for diuers reasons aboue rehearsed.



Chap. 18. A Discourse vpon this point that wars and diuisions are permitted of God for the chastisement of Princes and euill people, with diuers good reasons and examples for the instruction of Princes, which happened in the authors time.



Cannot imagin for what cause God hath so long preserued this towne of Gaunt, the fountaine of so many mischiefes, and of so small importance for the benefit of the country where it is situate. For it yeeldeth no commodity to the common wealth, much lesse to the Prince; neither is it comparable to Bruges, which is a place where is greater trafficke of merchandise and resort of strangers in my opinion, than in any towne in Europe; so that the destru-

tion thereof should be an irrecoverable losse. But it seemeth that God hath created nothing in this world neither man nor beast, without an enemie to hold it in feare and humility; and for that purpose serueth this towne of Gaunt very well¹.

¹ He meaneth that this towne of Gaunt is situate where it is for a plague to the whole countrey of Flaunders, which otherwise because of the great abundance therof, would soone forget God.

² Fregosi and Fregosini in other histories.

³ This diuision began anno 1309, betwene the Abbot of Einsidlen and the village of Sultz, and the said Abbot demanded aide of Leopold Duke of Austrich.

⁴ As for example, Leopold the Duke of Austrich brothers sonne to the former that began this diuision, whom they slue at the battell of Sem-pache 9. Iulij ann. 1386.

For there is no countrey in Christendome more inclined to all wanton pleasures, pomps and delicacies than this countrey of Flaunders, notwithstanding they are good Christians there, and serue and honor God well. But it is not this nation only, to whom God hath giuen as it were a continuall pricke, to put them in minde of their duty: For to Fraunce he hath giuen the Englishmen for enemies; to the English men the Scots; to the realme of Spaine Portugale, I will not say Granado: for they are enemies of the faith; notwithstanding hitherto the said countrey of Granado hath much troubled and endamaged the realme of Castile. Against the Princes of Italie, the greatest part of the which hold their lands by no title, vnles it be giuen them in heauen (whereof we can but diuine) and who rule cruelly and violently ouer their subiects by extreme exactions and leuies of money: God hath raised vp the free states of the said countrey, namely Venice, Florence, Genua, and sometime Bononia, Senes, Pifa, Luques, and others, which in diuers points are contrarie to the Princes, and the Princes to them, each of them hauing an eie vpon other, that none grow too great. But to speake more particularly of the state of Italie; against the house of Arragon God hath raised the house of Aniou; against the Sforces (which vsurpe the place of the Vicounts in the Duchie of Milan) the house of Orleans; against the Venetians, the Princes of Italie, as before I haue said, and besides them the Florentines; against the Florentines their neighbors of Senes, Pifa, and the Genuois; and against the said Genuois their owne euill gouernment, and want of faith each to other, which is so vniuersally knowen, that euery man can tell thereof: for their factions are in league the one against the other, as appeareth by the Fourgouze², Adorni, d'Orie, and others. Now to speake of Almaine; you haue alwaies the house of Austriche and Bauiere at variance, and particularly them of Bauiere diuided among themselues. In like maner the house of Austriche hath particularly opposite to it the Swissers; the beginning of which their variance arose but about a little village called Swisse³, vnable to arme sixe hundred men, whereof the other Swissers beare their name; who are now so increased, that two of the Duke of Austriches best towns, namely Zurich and Fribourg bee of their cantons. Moreouer, they haue obtained great victories, and slaine of the Dukes of Austrich in the field⁴. Diuers other quarrels also there are in Almaine, as the Duke of Cleues against the Duke of Gueldres; the Dukes of Gueldres against the

the Dukes of Iulliers: the Easterlings who inhabite so far northward, against the Kings of Denmarke. And to speake generally of Almaine, there are so many strong places there, so many men inclined to mischief, to spoyle, to rob, and that vse force and violence one against another vpon small occasions, that is a wonder to see: for a man that is able to maintaine but himselfe and his seruant, will proclaime war against a great citie or a Duke, that vnder colour thereof he may the better rob and spoyle: for he will haue some small castell situate vpon a rocke to retire into, where hee ntertaineth twenty or thirty horsemen, which runne downe to rob and spoyle the country at his commandement. These men are very seldome punished by the Princes of Almaine, because they vse their helpe when they neede their seruice: but the townes if they take any of them, punish them cruelly, and often besiege and destroy their castles. Further, the said towns haue soldiers alwaies in pay for their defence. Wherefore it seemeth that these Princes and townes of Almaine are preserued, the one to force the other to doe that is right and good. And it is necessary that such diuisions should be not only there, but through the whole world. I haue hitherto spoken but of Europe; for I am not well informed of Asia and Africke: yet we heare that they are diuided and make war one vpon another as we do, yea after a much beastlier sort. For I know in this part of Africke bordering vpon vs, diuers places where they sell one another to the Christians, as also well appeareth by the Portugales, who haue bought and daily do buy of them many slaues. But I doubt how well we may vpbraide this to the Saracens, sith in some part of Christendome they doe the like: notwithstanding those countries are either vnder the Turkes dominions, or next neighbors to him; as for example some part of Greece.

It seemeth then that such diuisions are requisite through the whole world; and that these pricks and stings before spoken of which God hath giuen euery estate, and in a mannereuery particular person, are necessary. And surely for mine owne opinion (speaking as a man vnlearned, and one that will maintaine no opinion not to be maintained) I thinke they are necessary indeed, especially because of the beastlinesse of some Princes, and the wickednesse of othersome, who hauing wit and experience sufficient, do notwithstanding abuse it. For a Prince or any other man of what estate or condition soeuer he be, hauing power and authoritie where he dwelleth ouer others, if he be learned and haue seene and read much, is thereby eyther much amended or empaired, for much learning maketh the euill woorse, and bettereth the good: Notwithstanding, it is to be presumed that learning rather amendeth a man then empayreth him: for if men be but ashamed of themselues when they know they do euill, it sufficeth either to keepe them altogether from doing euill⁶, or at the least from doing so much euill as otherwise they would. For although they be not good indeed, yet shame will cause them to make a shew of goodnesse: whereof I haue seene diuers examples of great personages, whom learning oftentimes hath withdrawn from doing euill, ioyned with the feare of Gods punishments, whereof they haue more vnderstanding than ignorant men which neuer saw nor reade anything. Wherefore those Princes that know not themselues, but lacke wit, either because they haue been euill brought vp, or because nature hath grafted follie in them, can neuer vnderstand how farre the power & authority extendeth that God hath giuen them ouer their subiects. For they neuer read it themselues, neither are informed by them that know it; nay few that vnderstand it are admitted to their presence; and if some one be, yet dare hee not instruct them in it for feare of displeasure; or if happily at any time hee put them in minde thereof no man will abide him, at the

⁵ The reason hereof read in *Aristot. Politic. lib. 1. cap. 2. & Problem. Anthonij Zimarie.*

¹² ⁶ Shame cometh of knowledge, so that if a man doe a fault, and for lacke of learning know not that it is a fault, hee can neuer be ashamed of it, nor seeke to amend it.

the least he shall be accounted but a foole, peradventure also it may be taken in euill part, and so turne him to displeasure. But to proceede, it is manifest that neither naturall reason, neither knowledge, neither feare of God, neither love towards our neighbour, is sufficient to keepe vs from vsing violence against others, from withholding other mens goods, nor from rauishing by all meanes possible that which appertaineth to others. For if great Princes withhold townes and castles from their kinsfolkes or neighbours, none of these reasons can moue them to restore them: and after they haue giuen forth some colour, or forged some pretence to withhold them, all their subiects commend their proceedings, at the least such as are neere about them, and hunt after their fauour. Of meane persons that be at variance I speake not, for they haue a superior who sometimes doth iustice to the parties, at the least he that hath a good cause, & followeth it diligently, and defendeth it stoutly, and spendeth frankly, shall in processe of time haue right, vnlesse the Court, that is to say, the Princes authority vnder whom hee liueth, be against him. Wherefore it appeareth most manifestly, that God is constrained and forced as it were of necessity to shew many examples among vs, and to beate vs with many rods, because of our negligence, or rather wickednesse: but in Princes especially, negligence and ignorance is very dangerous, and much to be lamented, because the good or euill gouernment of their Seniories, dependeth wholly vpon them. For if a Prince beeing mighty and hauing a number of soldiers in ordinary, by whose meanes he leuieth great sums of money at his pleasure, as well to pay them, as to spend in all kind of wantonnesse not necessary, will diminish none of this foolish and excessiue expences; further if all men seeke to flatter him. and no man dare shew him what is good, either for feare of displeasure, or because he knoweth it will not preuaile: who can redresse this inconuenience but God alone? True it is, that God talketh not to men now as in times past, neither are there Prophets now a daies by whose mouth hee speaketh: but his word is disperfed through the whole world, and well inough knowne to all those that will vnderstand and know it; so that no man can excuse himselfe by ignorance, at the least none that haue had space and time to liue and are indued with naturall witte. How shall those Princes then escape that gouerne their Seniories after such sort, that by force they leuie what they list, and by tyranny maintaine their authority, and hold their subiects in so great thraldome, that the least commandement they giue toucheth life? Some punish vnder colour of iustice, and haue lawyers euer at hand ready in all points to execute their commandements, and to make a deadly sinne of a veniall. If they haue not matter enough against a man, they find meanes to delay the hearing of the cause, or the taking of the depositions to hold the party still in prison, or to vndoe him by charges, waiting continually if any man will come to accuse him, that is thus held in prison, and to whom they wish euill. If this way be not colourable inough, nor speedy inough for their purpose, they deuise other readier wayes alleadging that it was necessarie to do thus and thus for examples sake, and make the case as hainous as pleaseth them: with others that hold of them and be of some power, they goe more plainly to worke, saying, thou dost against thine allegiance thou owest mee, thou disobieiest me, and so proceede by force to take from him that is his if they can, (if they doe not, it is no thanke to them) causing him to liue in great trouble and vnquietnesse. Their neighbors that be strong and mighty they meddle not with; but if any be weake, he can rest no where for them: for either they say that hee hath aided their enemies, or they make their men of armes to liue in his countries, or buy quarrels to haue colour to assault him, or finde some occasion to de-

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destroy him by aiding his neighbor against him, and lending him forces to invade him. Such of their subjects as have been in authority, and served well their predecessors, they put out of office because they live too long, and place new men in their rooms. The Church men they encombe and trouble about their benefices, to the end they may thereby wring some thing from them to enrich some one of their darlings, at the sute estoones of those that have not deserved it, and at the request of such men and women as at times can preuaile much with them. The nobilitie they hold in continuall trauell and charge vnder colour of their wilfull wars, which they take in hand without the counsell or aduise of their estates, and of such as they ought to make priue thereunto before they attempt them: for these be they that spend both goods and liues in the wars: wherefore it is reason they should vnderstand the cause of them before they begin. Their subjects they poule in such sort that they leaue them nothing; for notwithstanding that they pay them taskes and subsidies aboue their abilitie: yet seeke they not to redresse the disorder of their men of armes, which liue continually vpon their people without paiement, doing besides infinite mischiefes and iniuries as all the world knoweth. For they are not contented with such cheer as they finde in the husband mans house and is set before them; but beate also the poore men, and constraîne them to go forth to buy them wine, bread, and victuals: and if the good man haue a faire wife or a daughter, he shall do wisely to keepe her out of their sight. Notwithstanding, seeing these men of armes are duly paid, this inconuenience might easily be redressed, and order giuen that their pay should be made at euery two moneths end at the furthest; so should they not be able to alleage any pretence of their mischieuous doings vnder colour that they want pay: for the money is leuied, and at the yeeres ende there is not one penny owing them. I speake this for our realme which is more afflicted and plagued with these men of armes than any other countrey that I know. But none can redresse this mischiefe but a wise Prince, other realmes bordering vpon vs haue other scourges. Wherefore to continue this discourse, is there any King or Prince that hath power to leuie one peny vpon his subjects besides his demaines, without leaue and consent of those that must pay it, vnlesse it be by tyranny and violence? A man will say that sometime the Prince can not tary to assemble his estates, because it would require too long time. Whereunto I answer, that if he moue a war offensive, there needeth no such haste: for he may haue leisure inough at his owne pleasure to make preparation. And further, he shall be much stronger and much more feared of his enemies, when he moueth warre with the consent of his subjects than otherwise. Now as touching a warre defensive, that cloud is seene long before the tempest fall, especially when it is forraine war; and in this case good subjects ought not to complaine, nor refuse any thing that is laid vpon them. Notwithstanding such inuasion cannot happen so suddenly, but that the Prince may haue leasure at the least to call together certaine wise personages, to whom he may open the causes of the war, vsing no collusion therein, neither seeking to maintaine a trifling war vpon no necessity, thereby to haue some colour to leuie money. Money is also necessarie in time of peace to fortifie the frontiers for defence of those that dwell vpon them, least they bee taken vnprovided; but this must be taken measurably. In all these matters the wisdom of a sage King sufficeth; for if he be a iust Prince, he knoweth what he may doe, and not do, both by Gods law and mans. To be short, in mine opinion of all Seniorities in the world that I know; the realme of England is the countrey where the common wealth is best gouerned, the people least oppressed, and the fewest buildings

and

and houses destroyed in ciuill war, and alwaies the lot of misfortune falleth vpon them that be authors of the war.

Our King is the Prince in the whole world that hath least cause to alleage that he hath priuileges to leuy what him listeth vpon his subiects, considering that neither he nor any other Prince hath power so to doe. And those that say hee hath, do him no honor, neither make him to be esteemed any whit the mightier Prince thereby; but cause him to be hated and feared of his neighbors, who for nothing would liue vnder such a gouernment. But if our King or those that seeke to magnifie and extoll him should say, I haue so faithfull and obedient subiects that they deny me nothing I demand, and I am more feared, better obeyed, and better serued of my subiects than any other Prince liuing, they endure patiently whatsoeuer I lay vpon them, and soonest forget all charges past: This me thinke (yea I am sure) were greater honor to the King than to say; I leuie what me listeth, and haue priuileges so to doe, which I will stoutly maintaine. K. *Charles* the fift vsed no such termes, neither did I euer heare such language proceede from any King, but from diuers of their seruants, who thought they did their Masters great seruice in vttering such speeches: but in mine opinion they misbehaued themselues towards their Prince, and vsed such language partly because they would seeme to be good seruants, and partly because they knew not what they said. But for a manifest prooue of the French mens loialtie and obedience to their Prince, we neede alleage none other example than that we our selues haue seen of late by experience; when the three estates were assembled at Tours, after the death of our Master King *Lewis* the eleuenth, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1483. A man might then haue thought this good assembly to be dangerous for the Kings estate; yea, and diuers there were of meane calling, and lesse honesty, that said then and haue often said since, that it is reason to make mention of assembling the estates, and a thing tending to the diminishing of the Kings authoritie: but themselues are those that worke treason against God, the King, and the common wealth; neither doe any vse these speeches but either such as are in authoritie without desert and vnworthy thereof; or such as are common tale-carriers, and accustomed to talke of trifling matters; or such as feare great assemblies, least their doings should there be ripped vp and reprehended. At this assembly I now speake of, all men of what estate soeuer they were, thought the realme much weakned and impouerished, because it had paid by the space of 20. yeeres or more great and excessiue subsidies; yea so great that they surmounted yeerely by the summe almost of three millions of frankes all subsidies that euer were leuied in Fraunce. For King *Charles* the seuenth leuied yeerely but eightene hundred thousand franks⁷: but King *Lewis* his sonne leuied at his death seuen and fortie hundred thousand⁸, besides the charges of the artillerie and such like expences. And sure it was a pittifull thing to behold the miserable estate of the poore people. But one good propertie had the King our Master, that he hoorded vp no treasure, he tooke all and spent all, and bestowed more vpon fortification of townes and places for the defence of his realme, then all his predecessors ioined together. He gaue also much to Churches, but in some respect he had done better to haue giuen lesse: for he tooke from the poore to giue to them that had no neede. But there is no man perfect in the whole world.

Well to proceede. Notwithstanding that this realme were so impouerished and oppressed diuers waies: did the people yet after the King our Masters death raise any sedition against the King that now is? the nobilitie and commons tooke they armes against their yoong King? went they about to chuse an other? sought they

⁷ 1800000.
frankes are
225000.
pound star-
ling after
eight souer to
the English
shilling, and
the French
liuer at two
shillings fixe
pence star-
ling.
⁸ 4700000.
frankes are
587500.
pound star-
ling.

they to diminish his authoritie, or to bridle him that he should not vse the authoritie of a King? I thinke no, and to say the truth how could they? though diuers glorious fooles said they might. But his subiects did cleane contrarie; for they all repaired to him, as well Princes, as gentlemen and Burgeses of good townes: they all acknowledged him for their King, and did him homage and fealtie, and the Princes and nobilitie presented their requests in writing, humbly kneeling vpon their knees. Further, they chose among themselves a counsell of twelue men, and the King being but thirteene yeeres of age commanded vpon report of the said counsell. Moreouer at this assembly certaine supplications were made, & bills exhibited in the presence of the King and his Counsell in great humility for the common wealth of the realme, referring al to the King and his Counsels pleasure. They granted the King without any deniall all that was demanded, & all that was shewed in writing to be necessary for the maintenance of his estate. The summe the King demanded was two millions and a halfe of frankes⁹, which was ynough and ynough againe, yea rather too much than too little without some extraordinarie accident. Further, the said estates humbly required, that at two yeeres end they might assemble againe: saying, that if the King had not money ynough, they would giue him more at his pleasure. They promised moreouer if he had wars, or that any enimie should inuade him, to aduenture their bodies, to spend their goods, and not to refuse any thing for his seruice. Are subiects that giue this liberally to be choked with priuileges whereby the Prince may take what him listeth? shall not the King doe iustlier both before God and the world to leuie after this sort, rather than by extraordinary will? seeing no Prince, as I haue said before, hath authoritie to command money but by graunt; vnlesse he will vse tyrannie and incurre the danger of excommunication. But a number of Princes are very beasts, not knowing what is lawfull or vnlawfull for them to do in this behalfe. Subiects there are also that offend their Prince and refuse to obey him, and succour him in time of neede: yea in stead of aiding him when he hath great affaires in hand contemne him and stir vp rebellion and sedition against him, contrarie to the allegiance that they owe him. When I say Kings or Princes, I meane either themselves or such as gouerne vnder them: and when I say subiects, I meane such subiects as haue preheminance and beare sway in the common wealth. The greatest mischiefes are wrought commonly by those that are mightie, for the weake desire peace and quietnes. When I say mightie, I meane as well women as men, sometime and in some places where they haue rule and authoritie, either because of their husbands affection towards them, or because they gouerne their affaires, or for that their Seniories are their wifes inheritance.

⁹ That is
250000.
franks, which
amounteth to
312500.
pound sterling.

If I should write of men of meane calling in this world, my discourse would be too tedious. Wherefore it shall suffice to speake of great estates, because in them the power and iustice of God is most apparant. For although two hundred thousand mishaps chaunce to a poore man, no man regardeth them: but attributeth them either to pouerty or euill looking to; as for example, if hee bee drowned or breake his necke, they say this chaunced because he was alone, so that hardly men will giue eare to it. But if some misfortune fall vpon a great citie it is otherwise talked of, yet not so much as when it chaunceth to a Prince. What is the reason then that God sheweth his iustice rather vpon Princes and great men, than vpon men of low degree? because meane and poore men finde ynowe in this world to punish them when they offend; yea oftentimes they are punished without desert, either for examples sake, or for their goods, or peraduenture through the iudges fault: sometime also they deserue punishment,

and then it is reason that iustice be done. But as touching great Princes or Princesses and their gouernors and counsellors: againe, as touching prouinces and townes, rebellious and disobedient to their Princes and gouernors, who will search out their lines? Who will informe the Iustice of their actions? What iustice will take notice thereof? or who will punish their faults? I speake of the euill not of the good; but fewe there are of those. What is the cause then that moueth both them and all others to commit these faults aboue rehearsed, and many mo (which for breuitie I ouerpasse) not regarding the power and iustice of God? I answere, that it is lacke of faith, and in those that are ignorant lacke of wit and faith together, but especially offaith, which in mine opinion is the onely fountaine of all mischiefes. I meane such mischiefes as fall vpon those that complaine, that they are troden vnder foote, and oppressed by those that are mightier than they. For if men were fully perswaded the paines of hell to be such as indeed they are, and beleueed firmly (as we ought all to beleuee) that who so hath taken ought by violence, or possesseth ought that his father or grandfather tooke wrongfully: shall neuer enter into the ioies of paradise, vnlesse he make full satisfaction and restitution of all that hee withholdeth from his neighbour; (whether it be Duchies, Earldoms, townes, castels, mooueables, medowes, ponds, or mils, euery man according to his estate) there is no man liuing, be hee poore or rich, or of what estate and condition soeuer he be, that would withhold ought that is not his owne. No, if all men beleueed this firmly, it is not to bee thought, that there is either Prince, Princess, or any other man through the whole world, what estate or condition soeuer he be of, be he heigh or low, spirituall or temporall, man or woman, that would wittingly withhold any thing from his subiect or neighbour, wrongfully put any man to death, hold him in prison, take from one to giue to enrich another, or seeke to procure dishonesty to his kinsfolkes & seruants for his wanton pleasures, as for women, and such like, which is the filthiest attempt that may be made. No vndoubtedly we would neuer do as we do, if we had a stedfast faith, and beleueed that which God and his Church commandeth vs to beleuee, vnder paine of damnation: knowing our daies to be short, & the paines of hell horrible and endles. Wherefore we may conclude, that all mischiefes proceede of want of faith. For example wherof, when a K. or Prince is taken prisoner, & feareth to die in prison, is there any thing in the world, be it neuer so deare vnto him, that he wil refuse to giue for his deliuerance? as appeareth by K. *John*, who being taken prisoner by the Prince of Wales at the battell of Poictiers, paid for his ranfome three millions of franks, and yeilded to the English men all Aquitaine (at the least all that he held in his hands) with a number of other cities, townes and places; yea in a manner the third foote of his realme: whereby he brought his realme into such pouertie, that many yeeres after they vsed leather money, with a little stud or naile of siluer in the midst thereof. And all this gaue hee and his sonne King *Charles* surnamed the *Wise*, for his raunfome. And if they would haue giuen nothing, yet would not the English men haue put him to death, but his greatest paine had bene imprisonment. But admit they had put him to death, yet had not that paine been so great by the hundred thousandth part, as the least paine in hell. Why gaue he then all this great raunfome aboue rehearsed, destroying his children and subiects? but onely because he beleueed that which he saw and perceiued well, that hee could not otherwise be deliuered. But peradventure when he committed the fault, for the which this punishment fell vpon him, his children and subiectes: hee beleueed not firmly, that the offence hee made against God and his commandements,

ments, should be punished. Now to conclude, there is no Prince, or very few, that will restore one towne they withhold from their neighbour, for the lone of God, or to eschew the paines of hell; and yet King *John* gaue all this to deliuer his body out of prison.

I asked a question before, who will search out great mens faults, who will informe the iustice of them, and who will be the iustice to punish them? Whereunto I now answere, that the information shall be the lamentable crie and plaint of their subiects, whom they tyrannize and oppesse so many waies without any compassion, the sorrowfull lamentation of widowes and orphans, whose husbands and fathers they haue wrongfully put to death; by meanes whereof their wiues and children haue euer after liued in affliction and miserie; and generally the complaints of all those whom they haue persecuted either in their persons or goods. These, I say, shall giue information against them by their great mourning, wailing, and pitious teares, and shall accuse them before the Lord God, who will be the iust iudge thereof, and peraduenture will not delay the punishment till the world to come; but will also punish them in this world: which punishment proceedeth of lacke of faith, because they had not a firme and stedfast beliefe in Gods commandements.

We must therefore of necessitie confesse, that God is forced to shew such tokens and examples, to the end both Princes themselues and all the world may beleue, that these punishments fall vpon them for their misbeleefe and sinnes, and that God sheweth his mightie power and iustice vpon them, because none other in this world but he, hath power ouer them. At the first happily they amend not their liues for Gods scourges, be they neuer so great and long. But no misfortune falleth vpon a Prince, vpon those that gouerne his affaires, or vpon those that rule great commonalties, but the issue is hurtfull and dangerous to the subiects. When I say misfortunes, I meane none but such as cause the subiects to smart; for to fall from a horse, to breake a legge, to be punished with a sharpe ague, are no misfortunes to a Prince, because hee may be cured of them, and peraduenture they may doe him good, and teach him wit: but I call these misfortunes, when God is so displeased with a Prince, that hee will no longer suffer him to raigne, but will shew his power and iustice vpon him. For then first hee weakeneth his wits, which is a shrewd blowe for all those that haue to doe with him, he troubleth his house, and suffereth it to fall into diuision and disquietnes: and the Prince himselfe is so far in Gods disgrace, that he flieth the counsell and companie of the wise, and aduanceth none but yoong fooles, voide of wit, oppressors, flatterers, and such as sooth him in all his sayings. If he take one peny, they bid him take two; if he threaten a man, they bid hang him, & after that sort in all other actions. Further, they giue him counsell in any wise to cause himselfe to be feared, and they also behaue themselues cruelly and proudly, trusting by this meanes to hold men in awe of them, as though authority were their inheritance. Those whom such Princes, by the aduise of these new Counsellors haue banished & displaced, hauing serued many yeeres, and being well acquainted & friended in their country, will storme at this vsage, & for their sakes their friends and wellwillers also; and peraduenture such iniurie shall be offered them, that they shall bee forced either to defend themselues, or to flie to some Prince their neighbor, who perchance is enemy to him that banisheth and chaseth them, and so by inward diuision strangers shall enter into the land. Is any plague or miserie so great, as wars betwixt friends and acquaintance? Is any malice so ranke and deadly? As touching forren enemies, when the subiects are linked together they may easily

make resistance, because their enemies haue no intelligence nor acquaintance in the realme. Think you that an vnwise Prince being accompanied with fooles, can smell a far off how great a mischiefe diuision among his subiects is? or beleue that it can hurt him? or proceedeth of God? he eateth and sleepeth no whit the worse for it; he hath neither fewer horses in his stable, nor fewer robes in his wardrobe, but many mo companions. For he allureth men vnto him by promises, and by parting among them the spoiles and offices of those whom he hath banished; he giueth also of his owne to win thereby fame and renowme: but when he shall least thinke of it, God will raise vp an enemy against him whom peraduenture he neuer mistrusted. Then will he waxe pensive, and suspect those whom he hath iniured, yea he will feare such as indeede beare him no euill will: yet notwithstanding he will not haue his refuge to God in this extremitie, but seeke to redresse this inconuenience by force. Haue wee not seene in our daies examples hereof euen among our next neighbors? Haue we not seene the late King of England *Edward* the fourth of that name, heire of the house of Yorke, vtterly destroy the house of Lancaster, vnder the which both his father and he had liued many yeeres? Further, the said King *Edward* hauing done homage to King *Henry* the 6. being of the house of Lancaster, did he not afterward hold him prisoner many yeeres in the tower of London, the chiefe citie of the realme, where in the end he was put to death?

Haue we not also seene the Earle of Warwicke principall gouernor of all the said King *Edwards* affaires, (after he had put to death all his enemies, especially the D. of Sommerfet) in the end become deadly enemy to the K. his Master, giue his daughter in mariage to the Prince of Wales son to K. *Henry*, attempt to set vp againe the house of Lancaster, passe with the said Prince into England, discomfited in the field, and slaine both he, his brethren and kinsfolkes, and diuers other noble men of England, who in times past had done the like to their enemies? After all this, the children of these when the world turned, reuenged themselues; and caused in like manner the others to die, which plagues we may be assured hapned not but by the wrath of God. But (as before I said) the realm of England hath this speciall grace aboue all other realmes and dominions, that in ciuill wars the people is not destroyed, the townes be not burned nor razed, but the lot of fortune falleth vpon the soldiers, especially the gentlemen whom the people enuy to too beyond reason: for nothing is perfect in this world. After K. *Edward* was quiet in his realme and receiued yeerely out of Fraunce fifty thousand crownes paid him in the tower of London, and was growen so rich, that richer he could not be, he died suddenly as it were of melancholy, because of our K. mariage that now raigneth, with the Lady *Margaret* the Duke of Austriches daughter. For so soone as he was aduertised thereof he fell sicke, & began then to perceiue how he had beene abused touching the marriage of his daughter, whom he caused to be named the Ladie *Daulphine*. Then also was the pension which he receiued out of Fraunce taken from him, which he called tribute, although indeede it were neither the one nor the other, as before I haue declared ¹⁰. K. *Edward* left by his wife two goodly sonnes, one Prince of Wales, the other Duke of Yorke, and two daughters. The D. of Glocester his brother tooke vpon him the gouernment of his nephew the Prince of Wales, being about ten yeeres of age, and did homage to him as to his soueraigne Lord, and lead him to London pretending that he would there crowne him King, hoping by that meanes to get the other brother out of the Sanctuary at London, where he was with his mother, who began already to be iealous of his proceedings. To be short, by means of the Bishop

¹⁰ For it was due by the conditions of the treatie.

of Bathe (who hauing been sometime of K. *Edwards* Councell, fell afterward into his disgrace, and was put in prison, & made to fine for his deliuerance,) the D. of Gloucester executed this exploit, which you shall now heare. This Bishop aduertised the D. that King *Edward* being in loue with a certaine Lady, promised hir mariage vpon condition that he might lie with hir, whereunto she consented, so far forth that the said Bishop married them together, none being present but they two & himselfe. Which matter this Bishop being a iolly courtier neuer disclosed during K. *Edwards* life, but caused also the said Lady to conceale it, so that it was kept secret. After this the said K. falling againe in loue, married the daughter of an English knight, called the L. *Riuers*, being a widow, and mother of two sonnes. But after K. *Edwards* death, this Bishop of Bathe reuealed this matter to the D. of Gloucester, wherby he egged him forward not a little to the executing of his mischieuous pretended enterprise. For the said Duke murdered his two nephewes, crowned himselfe King by the name of *Richard* the third, proclaimed his brothers two daughters bastards in open parlament, tooke from them their armes, and put to death all the faithfull seruants of the late K. his brother, at the least as many as he could lay hands on. But this cruelty remained not long vn timerished: for when the said K. *Richard* thought himselfe safest, and liued in greater pride than any K. of England did these hundred yeeres (hauing put to death the D. of Buckingham, and hauing a great army in a readines) God raised vp an enimie against him of no force, I meane the Earle of Richmond then prisoner in Britannie, but now King of England, of the house of Lancaster, though not the neereest to the crowne¹¹, whatsoeuer men say, at the least so far as I can learne. The said Earle told me a little before his departure out of this realme, that from the fift yeere of his age he had liued continually like a prisoner and a banished man. And indeed he had been fifteen yeeres or thereabout prisoner in Britaine to the D. *Frances* that last died, into whose hands he fell by tempest of the sea as he fled into Fraunce, accompanied with the Earle of Pembroke his vn cle. My selfe saw them when they arriued, for I was come of a message to the D. at the same time. The D. entreated them curtiously for prisoners, & after K. *Edwards* death lent the said Earle great force of men, & a great nauie; with the which he sent him hauing intelligence with the D. of Buckingham, (who for this cause was afterward put to death) to land in England: but the winde was against him, & the seas so rough, that he was forced to returne to Diepe, and from thence by land into Britaine. From whence soone after he departed with his band into France without taking leaue of the Duke, partly because he feared to ouercharge the Duke; (for he had with him fife hundred English men,) and partly because he doubted lest the D. would agree with King *Richard* to his preiudice: for hee knew that King *Richard* practised with him to that end. Soon after, the K. that now is, appointed three or fower thousand men to waite him ouer onely, and deliuered those that accompanied him a good summe of money and certaine peeces of artillerie: and thus passed he ouer in a ship of Normandie to lande in Wales where he was borne. King *Richard* forthwith marched against him; but a Knight of England called the Lord *Stanley*, who was married to the Earles mother, ioyned himselfe with the Earle, and brought vnto him at the least 26000. men¹². The battell was giuen, King *Richard* slaine, and the Earle crowned King in the field with the saide *Richards* crowne. Will you say that this was fortune? No, no, it was the iudgement of God: and for further prooffe thereof marke this also. Immediately after the King had murdered his two nephewes, hee lost his wife, whom some say he murdered also. Further, he had but one onely son,

¹¹ How King Henry the 7. was next heire of the house of Lancaster, the pedigree in the end of the worke wil declare, where also Philip de Commynes error is controlled.

¹² Our Chronicles say but 3000. and some 5000.

who died in like manner incontinent after this murther. This example would haue serued better hereafter when I shall speake of King *Edwards* death; for hee was yet liuing at the time my former Chapter treateth of: but I haue rehearsed it heere to continue my discourse which I am fallen into. In like manner we haue seene of late the crowne of Spaine altered after the death of Dom *Henry* that last died. For the said Dom *Henry* had to wife the King of Portugales sister last deceased, by whom he had issue a goodly daughter, which notwithstanding succeeded not her father, but was put from the crowne vnder colour of adulterie committed by her mother. But the matter ended not without great contention and warre: for the King of Portugale tooke part with his neece, and diuers great Lords of Castile ioined with him: yet notwithstanding the said Dom *Henries* sister, wife to the son of Dom *John* King of Arragon, obtained the crowne and possesseth it yet at this day: and thus this partage was made in heauen as diuers others are. Further, you haue seene of late daies the King of Scotland and his sonne being thirteene yeeres of age in battell, the one against the other: the son and his faction preuailed, and the King was slaine vpon the place ¹³. This King murdered his owne brother, and was charged with diuers other crimes, namely the death of his sister and such like. You see also the Duchy of Gueldres out of the right line, and haue heard what impietie the Duke last deceased vsed against his father. Diuers other examples I could rehearse which should manifestly appeare to be punishments and scourges of God, which scourges are the principall cause of wars, whereof insue mortalitie and famine, all the which euils proceede of lacke of faith. Wherefore I conclude, considering the wickednes of men especially of great men, who know not themselues, neither beleue that there is a God: that it is necessary for euery Prince and gouernor, to haue an aduersary to keepe him in feare and humility, otherwise no man should be able to liue vnder them or neere them.

¹³ This King that slue his father in battell was *Lames* the 4: who married *Margaret* sister to King *Henry* the 8.



THE SIXTH BOOKE.

Chap. 1. How the Duchie of Burgundie was yeelded to the King.

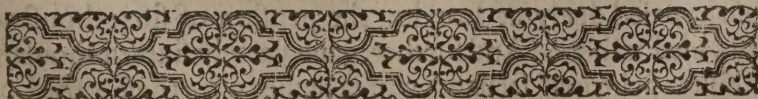


Now to returne to the principall matter, and to proceed in this historie, written at your request, my Lord of Vienna : while the King brought vnder his subiecti-
on the places and townes aboue named in the mar-
ches of Picardie, his armie lay in Burgundie, the ge-
nerall whereof in apparence, was the Prince of O-
renge¹ that now is, who was borne in the countie of
Burgundie, and a subiect thereof; but lately reuolted
the second time from Duke *Charles*. wherefore the
King vsed his helpe; for he was a great Lord, well

¹ This Prince
of Orenge
was *Iohn de*
Chastillon: the
Prince of
Orenge that
now is, is of
the house of
Nassaw. Look
in the Epi-
tome *Guicci-*
ardins descrip-
tion of the
Lowe coun-
tries compi-
led by me, and
there you shall
see the Prince
of Orenge's
pedegree.

friended, and well beloued both in the said county, and also in the Duchie of Burgundie. But the Lord of Cran was the Kings lieutenant, and he it was indeed that had the charge of the whole army, and in whom the King reposed his prin-
cipall trust, and sure he was a wise man and faithfull to his Master, but somewhat
too greedy of his owne gaine. The said Lord of Cran when he drew neere the
country of Burgundie, sent the P. of Orenge before him with certaine others to
Digeon, to perswade with the citizens to become the Kings subiects : which en-
terprise so well they atchieued by the said Princes meanes, that the towne of Di-
geon, and all the other places of the Duchie of Burgundie yeelded to the King,
Auffonne and certaine castels excepted, which held yet for the Lady of Burgun-
die. The King had promised the Prince of Orenge many goodly estates, and to
restore him to all his grandfathers inheritance in the countie of Burgundie : for
the which he was in sute with the Lords of Chauuerguion his vncl², whom (as
he said) Duke *Charles* had fauoured to his preiudice. For this cause had been
often pleaded before him with great solemnitie, and once the Duke being accom-
panied with a number of Lawyers, gaue iudgment against the Prince, at the least
thus he reported : wherfore he forsooke the Dukes seruice, and went to the King.
But Monsieur *de Cran* after he was entred into all these townes aboue mentioned,
and had gotten into his hands all the best places that should descend to the said
Prince by right of inheritance, refused to yeeld them to him, notwithstanding
both the Kings promise, and the said Princes request. The King also wrote often
to him about this matter without all collusion, knowing that he much misused
the Prince : notwithstanding he feared to displease the said *de Cran*, because he
had the charge of the whole country, neither thought he that the Prince either
would or could haue caused the country of Burgundie to rebell, as afterward he
did, at the least the greatest part thereof. But I will heere leaue these Burgundish
affaires, till another conuenient place shall serue to speake thereof.

² The old co-
pie hath *Chas-*
teauguion. *Ann-*
nal. Burgund.
Chaumergnon.
Annal. Franc.
Chauuerguion,
& so vndoub-
tedly it is to
be read : for
Chasteauguion
was brother
to this Prince
of Orenge.
Gaguin.



Chap. 2. *How the King entertained the English men after the death of Charles Duke of Burgundie, to the end they should not hinder his conquest of the said Dukes dominions.*



¹ The King could not take Saint Omer, for the Lord of Chantieraine valiantly defended it. Read *de la Marche* lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 410.

² Others write but 295. others 296. and others 299.

Those that hereafter shall read this historie, and happily vnderstand the affaires both of this realme and the countries bordering vpon it better than my selfe, will maruell that since the death of Duke *Charles*, I haue hitherto by the space almost of one whole yeere made no mention of the English men, and will wonder that they suffered the King to take the townes bordering so neere vpon them; namely Arras, Bolloin, Ardres, and Hedin, with diuers other castels, and to lie so long with his campe before Saint Omer¹. But you shall vnderstand that the reason thereof was, for that our King in wisdom and sence surmounted far *Edward* King of England then reigning: for notwithstanding that the said King *Edward* were a most valiant Prince, and had woon in England eight or nine battels; wherein he fought alwaies himselfe on foot greatly to his renowme; yet were these troubles but by fits, so that his head was not continually busied in matters of state: for immediately after the victorie obtained, he returned to his former sports and pleasures, till another storme arose. For you shall vnderstand, that when war beginneth in England, in ten daies or lesse the one or the other getteth the garland. But our affaires in Fraunce passed not after that sort, for besides the war it selfe, the King was forced to haue an eye continually vpon diuers places as well of his owne realme as of his neighbors, but especially by all meanes possible to content the King of England, and to entertaine him by ambassadors, presents, and smooth words, to the end he should not entermiddle with our affaires. For the King knew well the English men as well Nobles and Commons as the Cleargie, to be naturally inclined to make war vpon this realme, aswell vnder colour of the title they pretend thereunto; as also in hope of gaine. For they trust to haue euer such successe heere as their predecessors haue had, whom God permitted to obtaine in this realme many great victories, and large dominion both in Normandie, and in Guienne, the which they had possessed by the space of three hundred and fiftie yeeres², when King *Charles* the seuenth first recovered it. During the which time they enriched the realme of England with great spoiles and much treasure, that they got aswell of the Princes and noble men of Fraunce, a great number of whom they tooke prisoners; as also of the townes and places which they subdued. Notwithstanding they should hardly haue had such successe in the King our Masters time: for he would neuer haue endangered his estate in battell as King *Charles* the sixt did at Agincourt, where all the nobilitie of Fraunce lighted on foot to fight with the English men; but would haue proceeded more warily if the matter had come to execution, as you may perceiue by the course he held in sending King *Edward* home. Wherefore the King well perceiued that he must in any wise keep the King of England and his principall seruants his friends, whom he saw altogether inclined to quietnesse and very greedy of his money: for the which cause he paid duely at London the pension of fiftie thousand crownes, which they called tribute. And further, gaue yeerely sixteen thousand crownes to the said Kings principall seruants, whose names were these: the Lord Chauncellor; the Master of the Roles who now is Chauncellor; the Lord *Hastings* Lord great Chamberlaine, a man of singular wisdom and vertue, and in great authoritie

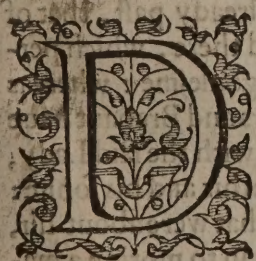
authoritie with his Master, and not without cause, for he euer serued him faithfully; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*; the Lord *Howard*, afterward Duke of Norfolke and partaker with the wicked K. *Richard*; the Master of the Horse called Master *Cheney*; Master *Challenger*, and the Marques Dorset the Queene of Englands sonne by hir first husband. Further, he gaue goodly presents to all the ambassadors that came to him, were their messages neuer so sharpe and bitter, and sent them home with such goodly words and Princely rewards, that they returned well contented. And notwithstanding that some of them vnderstood that he did all this only to win time, the better to atchieue his enterprize in the conquest of the D. of Burgundies dominions: yet winked they at it because of the great riches they receiued at his hands. To all these aboue named he gaue besides their pensions many goodly presents, so largely that the Lord *Howard* ouer and aboue his pension receiued of him in lesse than two yeeres space in mony and plate fower and twenty thousand crownes. To the Lord *Hastings* also Lord great Chamberlaine of England, he gaue at one time a present of plate to the value of ten thousand marks. The acquittances of all which great personages are yet to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris, saue of the Lord *Hastings* L. great Chamberlaine of England, which is an high office, for there is neuer but one alone in it. This Lord Chamberlaine was long laboured before he would become the Kings pensioner, my selfe being the onely man that perswaded him thereunto. For I wan him first to *Charles* Duke of Burgundies friendship during the time I serued him, who gaue him yeerely a pension of a thousand crownes; whereof when I had aduertised the King, he would in like manner that I should be a meanes to make him his friend and pensioner: for in times past during Duke *Charles* his life, and after his death also in fauour of the Lady of Burgundie, he had alwaies been the Kings extreme enemie, and trauelled once to perswade the King of England to aide the said Lady against the King our Master. I began this friendship by letters and the King gaue him a pension of two thousand crownes, which was double the summe he receiued of the Duke. Further, the King sent to him one of the stewards of his house called *Peter Cleret*; charging him to bring with him the said Lord Chamberlaines acquittance, to the end hereafter it might appeare that the great Chamberlaine, Chauncellor, Admirall, and Master of the Horse of England, besides diuers others, had been the French Kings pensioners. The said *Peter Cleret* was a wise fellow, and communed priuily alone with the Lord Chamberlaine at his lodging in London; where, after he had declared his message from the King: he presented him his two thousand crownes in golde (for the King neuer gaue but golde to strangers) which mony when the L. Chamberlain had receiued, *Peter Cleret* humbly besought him for his discharge, to giue him an acquittance; wherein the said Lord Chamberlaine made difficultie. Then *Cleret* desired him to giue him onely a letter of three lines to the King to testifie the receipt of the money; least the King being a suspitious Prince should thinke that he had conuerted it to his owne vse. Which reasonable demand the Lord Chamberlaine hearing, answered thus: Sir, you require but reason, but this gift proceedeth of the King your Masters liberalitie not of my request; if it please you that I shall receiue it, put it heere into my sleeue, and other letter or testimoniall get you none of me. For I will not for my part that any man shall say that the Lord great Chamberlaine of England hath been pensioner to the French King; nor that my acquittances be found in his chamber of accounts. Whereunto, the said *Cleret* replied not, but departed leauing the money behinde him; and at his returne made report thereof to the King, who was not a little displea-

displeased with him for that he brought no acquittance : but as touching the said Chamberlaine, he commended and esteemed him more than all the King of Englands other seruants, and his pension was euer after payed without acquittance.

After this sort liued the King with the English men. Notwithstanding the King of England was oftentimes earnestly pressed by this yoong Princesse for aide, and therefore sent ambassadors often to negotiate with the King our Master about these affaires, desiring him to grant hir either peace or truce. Now you shall vnderstand that those that were at the debating of these matters in England, especially in their parliament, (which is an assembly of the three estates, where diuers wise men were present that smelt our dissimulation a far off, and receiued no pension of the King as the others did) were very desirous ; and yet the commons of the realme more desirous, that the King of England should send aide without further delay to the said Ladie : saying, that we heere did but abuse them, and that the mariage should neuer be accomplished : alleaging that at the treatie made at Picquigny between the two Kings, we had faithfully sworne and promised that the King of Englands daughter whom they already called the Lady Daulphineffe, should be sent for into Fraunce within a yeere ; which terme was now long expired. But what reasons soeuer the subiects made, the King would giue no eare thereunto, but alleaged diuers reasons to the contrary. And to say the truth, he was a very corpulent man and much giuen to pleasures, neither could his body endure the toile of the wars. Further, he had wound himselfe out of great troubles and was loth to enter into them againe. The couetousnesse also of the fiftie thousand crownes yeerely paid him in the tower of London qualified his minde. Besides all this, his ambassadors that came hither were so courteously entertained and so well rewarded, that they departed euer well contented ; but they neuer receiued any resolute answer : for the King sought onely to protract the time euer saying, that ere it were long he would send to the King their Master certaine noble men with such assurance of those matters he stood in doubt of, as he knew well could content him. According to the which promise, within three weekes or a moneth after these ambassadors departure, sometime more, sometime lesse, (which was no small delay in such a case) he vsed to send ambassadors to the King of England : but at euery voiage sundry men, to the end that if the former had made any ouerture not performed, the latter might plead ignorance therein. They also that were sent, perswaded so well the King of England that we meant nothing but good faith, that he lay still, and neuer stirred : for both he and the Queene his wife so much desired this mariage, that partly for this cause, and partly for the other reasons aboue alleaged ; he was content to winke at this warre, which some of his counsell told him plainly to be very preiudiciall to his realme. But he feared the breach of this mariage, because men began already to scoffe at it in England, especially such as desired rebellion and ciuill war. Now to discourse a little vpon this point. You shall vnderstand that the King our Master neuer meant to accomplish this mariage, because there was no equalitie between the age of the two parties : for King Edwards daughter at this present Queene of England, was much elder than the Daulphin now reigning. But by these dissimulations a moneth or two was gained in running to and fro, by which meanes the King foded forth his enimie one whole summer, wherein he might haue done him harme. For vndoubtedly if the King of England had not hoped vpon this mariage, he would neuer haue suffered the King to take the places bordering so neere vpon the English dominions, but haue sought

sought to defend them: and if at the beginning he had declared himselfe for the Lady of Burgundie, the King who was by nature timorous, and would put nothing in aduenture, had neuer weakened this house of Burgundie as he hath. Thus much I write chiefly to shew how these affaires passed; and secondarily, to the end that if hereafter those that are to manage great affaires happen to read this historie, they may thereby learne how to helpe themselves in the like case: for be their wisdom never so great, yet a small aduertisement doth good many times. True it is, that if this Lady of Burgundie would haue consented to marry the Lord Rivers the Queene of England's brother, shee should haue been aided with great force: but this had been an vnequall match; for he was but a poore Earle, and shee one of the greatest inheritors in hir time. Many practises were entertained between the Kings of Fraunce and England; and amongst others the King offered him, that if he would ioyne with him, and passe over in person into the Lady of Burgundies countries, he would be contented that the King of England should hold the country of Flaunders without homage, and also the Duchie of Brabant: offering further, to conquer for him at his proper costs and charges fower of the greatest townes in Brabant, and to put them into the King of England's hands; to wage him 10000. English men for fower moneths, to the end he might the better sustaine the charge of the wars, and to lend him great store of artillerie, and men and carriage to conuey it, and attend vpon it, with this condition, that the King of England should conquer the country of Flaunders, during the time the King our Master invaded on the other side. Whereunto the King of England made answer that the townes of Flaunders were strong and great; and both that countrey, and also the countrey of Brabant hard to be kept if they were conquered: adding further, that this war liked not the English men, because of their entercourse with those countries. But seeing it pleased the King to make him partaker of his conquest, if he would giue him certaine townes he had already conquered in Picardie, as Bolloin and diuers others which he named; he would then be contented to declare himselfe for him, and send men to serue him if he would pay them, which was a very wise answer.

Chap. 3. How the mariage between the Lady of Burgundie and Maximilian Duke of Austrich, afterwards Emperour, was concluded and accomplished.



diuers practises were entertained (as before you haue heard) between these two Kings to delay time; but in the meane while the Lady of Burgundies force still diminished: for of those few men that remained aliue after hir fathers death, diuers revolted from hir to the King, especially after Monsieur de Cordes was entred into his seruice; for he led away a great troupe with him. Others, necessitie forced to shrinke from hir, because they dwelt either within the townes the

King had already conquered, or neere vnto them. Some also put themselves into his seruice to be enriched; for no Prince dealt so liberally with his men, as the King our Master did. Moreouer, ciuill dissentions and factions amongst themselves increased daily in the great townes, especially in Gaunt, which bare the greatest sway in the countrey, as you haue heard. For the Lady of Burgundie diuers mariages were mentioned; for all men were of opinion that either shee must get hir a husband to defend that she yet held, or marry the Daulphin, thereby quietly to possesse all. Some desired greatly that this mariage might take effect,

she

she hir selfe especially, before the King deliuered the letters aboue mentioned, sent vnto him by hir Chauncellor and the Lord of Himbercourt: but others disallowed of this mariage, both because of the said Daulphins yoong age (for he was but nine yeeres olde) and also because of the mariage promised in England: and these laboured for the Duke of Cleues sonne. Others there were that trauelled for the Emperors sonne *Maximilian* now King of Romans. The said Lady had conceiued extreme hatred against the King for the deliuerie of the letters aboue mentioned, which was the only cause of the two noble mens death, and of the dishonor she receiued when hir letters were openly re-delivered hir before the assembly, whereof you haue heard. Further, the deliuerie of the said letters seemed also to be the only occasion that mooued them of Gaunt to banish so many of hir seruants from hir, to remooue from about hir, hir mother in law and the Lord of Rauastaine, and to put hir woman in such feare, that they durst not open a letter before they of Gaunt had seen it, nor commune with their Mistresse in hir care. Wherefore she began now to remooue from about hir the Bishop of Liege, who was of the house of Bourbon, and an earnest suter for hir mariage with the Daulphin, which sure had been a very honorable match for hir, had not the said Daulphin been so yoong, notwithstanding the Bishop had no regard thereof. To be short, the said Bishop departed to Liege, whereupon euery man gaue ouer that sute. It had been hard to deale in this busines to the contentation of all parties, and I thinke who so should haue intermedled in it, should haue had but small thanke for his labour in the end: wherfore euery man forbare to speake therein. Notwithstanding before hir mariage was fully concluded, there was an assembly held about it, whereat the Lady of Halleuin the Princesse of Burgundies principall woman was present, who said (as I haue heard reported) that they had need of a man not a child, and that hir Mistres was a woman growen and able to beare children, which should be the onely stay of the country. This opinion tooke place, notwithstanding some blamed this Lady for speaking thus frankly; but others commended hir, saying, that she had spoken but of such mariage as was most necessary for the estate of the country. There was now no more to doe but to finde a fit man. And I thinke verily if it had so pleased the King, she would willingly haue married the Lord of Angoulesme that now is¹; so much desired she to continue hir alliance with the house of Fraunce. But God was minded to make another match whereof peradventure the sequel is yet vknown. Notwithstanding this, we are able to say by that is already past, that of the said mariage many great wars haue arisen both heere and there, which perchance had neuer hapned if she had married the Lord of Angoulesme: whereas by reason of this other match both the countries of Flaunders and Brabant haue suffered great afflictions. The Duke of Cleues was at Gaunt with the said Lady, making friends there in hope to conclude a mariage between hir and his sonne: but she had no fancie thereunto; for both shee and those that were about hir, misliked much his sonnes conditions. Wherefore some began to motion a mariage between hir and the Emperors sonne now King of Romans, the which in times past had been so far forth treated of between the Emperor and D. *Charles*, that it was concluded between them two. Further, the Emperor had a letter written with the Ladies own hand by hir fathers commandement, and a ring set with a diamond. The contents of the which letter were, that according to the pleasure of hir Lord and father, she promised to the said Duke of Austrich the Emperors sonne, to accomplish the mariage concluded between both their parents, in such manner and form as hir said Lord and father should appoint.

From

¹ This was
Charles Duke
of Angoules-
me father to
King Francis
the first.

From the Emperor came certaine ambassadors to the said Lady being at Gaunt, who receiued letters at Bruxels commanding them to stay there, because Commissioners should be sent thither to treat with them, which was the Duke of Cleues doing, who was loth of their comming, and sought to send them home discontented. But the said ambassadors passed forth that notwithstanding, for they had good intelligence in the Ladies court, especially with the Dowager of Burgundie, who was remooued from the said Lady, as you haue heard; because of the letter aboue mentioned. Shee aduertised them (as it was reported) that they should not stay at Bruxels notwithstanding these letters, instructing them further what they should doe at their comming to Gaunt; and assuring them that the said Lady and diuers about hir were well disposed to their sute. The Emperors ambassadors followed hir aduise, and rid straight to Gaunt, notwithstanding the message aboue mentioned. Wherewith the D. of Cleues was not a little discontented, but he was not acquainted with the disposition of the said Lady & hir women. The Councell concluded that these ambassadors should haue audience, and their message being heard, the Princeesse should bid them heartily welcome, and tell them that she would take aduise with hir Councell, which words being vttered, shee would withdraw hir selfe without farther communication. Whereunto she agreed. The ambassadors when audience was giuen them, presented their letters and declared their message, which was, that hir mariage had been concluded between the Emperor and the D. of Burgundie hir father with hir consent; as appeared both by hir letters written with hir owne hand which they there shewed, and also by the diamond which they said she had sent and giuen in token of mariage. Moreouer, the said ambassadors required hir on their Masters behalfe, that it would please hir to accomplish the said mariage according to the will and promise both of hir said Lord and father, and also of hir selfe. Further, desiring hir to declare before the assembly there present, whether she had written the said letter or not, and whether she meant to performe hir promise. Wherunto the said Lady without further deliberation answered, that she had sent the said diamond, and written the letter by the commandement of hir Lord and father, and would performe all that was contained therein. Then the ambassadors gaue hir humble thanks, and returned with ioyfull mindes to their lodging. But the Duke of Cleues was highly displeased with this answer, being cleane contrary to hir counsels resolution, and told hir that she had done vnadvisedly. Whereunto she answered, that she could doe no otherwise because hir promise was past, which she would not breake. Which words the Duke hearing, and knowing diuers about hir to be of the same opinion: determined soone after to returne home into his owne countrey and relinquish his sute. Thus was this mariage concluded, for the accomplishment whereof Duke Maximilian came to Colen, where certaine of the Ladies seruants met him, and brought him money, whereof I thinke they found him bare ynough: for his father was the hardest man either Prince or priuate man that liued in his time. The said Emperors sonne being accompanied with seuen or eight hundred horse was conueied to Gaunt, where the mariage was accomplished, which at the first was more vnprofitable than profitable to the Ladies subiects; for the Almaines in steed of bringing money with them, had money giuen them. Their number was not sufficient to withstand the Kings forces, and their conditions agreed not with hir subiects manners: for they liued vnder rich Princes which gaue goodly offices, kept honorable and pompous houses both in furniture and fare, and had sumptuous apparell both for themselves and their seruants:

but the Almaines are of a cleane contrary disposition, for they are rude fellows and liue grossely.

I doubt not but that by sage and wise aduise and by the special grace of God, the law Salicke was ordained in Fraunce which barreth women from the crown, to the end the realme fall not into the hands of a strange Prince and nation. For neither the French men nor any other people can easily digest the gouernment of a stranger. And to say the truth, there is no great Seniorie but in the end the dominion thereof remaineth to the naturall countrey men, as appeareth by the realme of Fraunce, a great part whereof the English men possessed the space of fower hundred yeeres; and yet now hold nothing therein but Calice, and two little castles, the defence whereof costeth them yeerely a great summe of money: the rest they lost much sooner than they wan; for they lost more in one day, than they got in a yeere. The selfe same appeareth also by the realme of Naples, the yle of Sicilie, and the other prouinces possessed by the French many yeeres, where now is no memoriall of their being there, saue only their ancestors graues. For notwithstanding that men may away with a strange Prince being wise, and accompanied with a small traine well disposed; yet can they hardly digest a great number of strangers: for if the Prince bring with him a great multitude, or send for great forces vpon occasion of warres, quarrels will arise between them and the subiects of the countrey, because of the diuersitie of their manners and conditions, and because they will not forbear to offer the subiects wrong, and are not beloued as the naturall countrey men be: which inconuenience then happeneth especially, when strangers seeke to haue the highest offices and estates, and the gouernment of the affaires in the common-wealth. Wherefore a Prince that goeth into a strange countrey, had neede to be wise and carefull in setting all things in good order: for if he lacke this vertue of prudence, which proceedeth especially of the grace of God, whatsoeuer other good parts be in him, all is but lost; and if he liue a mans age both he and those that liue vnder him shall taste of great troubles, especially in his old age, when his subiects and seruants despaire of amendment.

² Maximilian was borne the 22 of March 1459. and this mariage was accomplished in August 1477. *Introduit. de la Marche*, so that he was eighteen yeeres olde and six months when he was married.

After this mariage aboue rehearsed was accomplished, their affaires amended not, for the Princes, were both very yoong, and Duke *Maximilian* for his part simple and of small vnderstanding, as well because of his yoong yeeres ², as also for that he was in a strange countrey, and vtterly vnacquainted in his education with any matter of state. Lastly, hee wanted force sufficient for any great exploit, so that for these causes these countries fell into great miseries, wherein they yet remaine and are like to remaine. Sure it is a greuous plague when a Prouince is forced to seeke a strange Prince to gouerne it. Wherefore God hath shewed great grace to the realme of Fraunce by the law aboue mentioned, which barreth women from the crowne: for by such mariages with strangers a priuate house (I confesse) may be enriched, but to a great realme such as this, many inconueniences should thereof insue. Soone after this mariage accomplished, or while they were treating thereof: the King wan the countrey of Artois. It sufficeth me to rehearse the substance of these affaires, and if I faile otherwhiles in the exact computation of the time a moneth or two, I trust the Readers will hold me excused. The Kings good successe daily increased; for no man withstood him, by meanes whereof he wan euery day some place or other, vnlesse truce or some ouerture of peace were made: which notwithstanding could neuer bee brought to conclusion; because both the parties were vnreasonable. Wherefore the war continued still. Duke *Maximilian* and the Lady of Burgundie had

had issue the first yeare Archduke *Philip* now living³. The second yeere they had a daughter called *Margaret* now our Queene⁴. The third yeare they had a sonne named *Francis*, of *Francis* Duke of Britaine⁵, who christned him. The fourth yeare she died⁶ with a fall from her horse⁷, or of an ague: but true it is that she fell, and some said she was with child. Her death was a great losse to hir subiects, for she was a vertuous and liberall Lady, welbeloued of her people, and more reuerenced and feared of them than her husband; and no maruell, for she was Lady of the land. She loued her husband entirely well, and was well reported of all men. She died in the yeare 1482. The King held in *Hainault* the townes of *Quesnoi-le Counte*, and *Bouchain*, the which hee restored againe, whereat diuers wondred, considering that he seemed not desirous of peace, but rather to take all, and leaue this house of Burgundy nothing. And sure I thinke if he could easily haue disperfed and giuen away all the Seniories thereof, hee would vtterly haue destroyed it indeed. But two causes there were, as he afterwards tolde me, that moued him to render these places: the one he saide that a King ought to make more account of places of force & defence within his owne realme where he is annointed and sacred, than of those that were out of his realm as these two were. The other was because of the solemne oath and league that is between the kings of France and the Emperours, that they shall not incroch the one vpon the other, and these places aboue mentioned were situate in the Empire, and were restored the yeare 1477. The same cause moued him to leaue *Cambray* also, and to restore it to neutrality, and to say the truth, they receiued him into the town vnder that condition.

³ This is *Philip* father to the Emperours *Charles* the first & *Ferdinand*, he was borne the 23. of Iune 1478. and died the 25. of September 1506.
⁴ This *Margaret* is she whom they of Gaunt against hir fathers wil betrothed to King *Charles* the 8. as *Commines* writeth, in this booke cap. 9. The said K. *Charles* neuer accomplished the marriage with hir, but being growne to mans estate, sent hir home to her father as *Commines* writeth, lib 7.

cap. 3. Afterward she married the Prince of Castile as is mentioned lib. 8. cap. 17. and lastly, *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy. Shee was borne anno 1480. *de la Marche*. 5. This *Francis* was borne 1481. *Introduit de la Marche*, he died a child, and another son also as other historiographers report, named *George*. 6. Or rather the first, for she was married anno 1477. and died 1482. as our author in the 7. chapter of this booke reporteth. She was borne anno 1457. and King *Lewis* christned her, *Mayer. Annal. Burgh.*
7 She died the second of March, in 1482. by reason that through womanly bashfulnesse she would not suffer her thigh which was broken with the fall from her horse to be cured, but chose rather to die.

Chap. 4 How King *Lewis* by the conduct of *Charles* of *Amboise* his lieutenant, recovered diuers townes in Burgundy, which the Prince of Orenge had caused to revolt from him.



He war endured still in Burgundy, where the K. could not atchieue his enterprise, because the P. of Orenge being revolted from him, was made lieutenant of the Burgundians, and had some ayde of the Almains for his money, but not in fauor of Duke *Maximilian*: for as touching him, there neuer came man into the Country for his seruice, at the least during the time I now write of. But these Almains were certaine bands of Swissers that serued the Prince of Orenge as aduenturers, not as *Maximilians* waged soldiers: for the Swissers are not friends, nor well-willers of the house of Austrich: other aide this county of Burgundy had little, notwithstanding inough it might haue had if their paiement had bin good. And as touching aide, no man might better haue giuen it than Duke *Sigismund* of Austrich, Duke *Maximilians* vncler¹, whose Dominions bordered vpon these countries of Burgundy, especially in the county of *Ferette*, which a few yeeres before,² he solde for 100000. gildons, to *Charles* Duke of Burgundie, and tooke it afterwarde againe without paying backe the money³, by the

1471.

¹ This *Sigismund* was not vncler to *Maximilian*, as other histories report, but co-singermane to his father, for *Ernestus* father to the Emperor *Friederick*, and *Friederick* Senior this Duke *Sigismund* father were brethren, sonnes to *Leopold* D. of Austrich,

flaine in battell by the Swissers, anno 1386. 3. Others write, that the money was payde to a Merchant of Basil to the Duke of Burgundies vse, and the payment signified to the said Duke, who would not accept it vnlesse it were paid at *Bezancon*.

which title he yet possesseth it. He was a man of small wisdom, and little regarding his honor, and in such friends men finde but small reliefe. Further, he was one of those Princes aboue mentioned, that vnderstand nothing of their owne affaires further than it pleaseth their seruants to acquaint them with, who are euer plagued for their beastlinesse in their age as this Duke *Sigismund* was. For his seruants during these wars, made him take part with whom they listed; so that for the most part he ioyned with the King our master against his nephew, and would haue giuen his inheritance being very large from his own kindred to a strange house: for he neuer had child, notwithstanding that hee were twice married. But now within these three moneths by the perswasion of another faction of his seruants, he had conueighed a present estate of his whole patrimony to the said *Maximilian* his Nephew King of Romanis, reseruing to himselfe a pension onely amounting to the third part of his reuenues, without any further power or authority in the country. But (as I haue heard) he hath often repented him thereof; and if I haue heard a lie, yet it is like enough to bee true. Such is the end of all Princes that liue like beasts, against whom I inueigh thus vehemently, because of the great office and charge that God hath giuen them in this world. Notwithstanding, those that are bereft of their wits, ought to be free from all reproch; but sure those that haue good wits and healthfull bodies, and yet imploy their time in nothing but folly and idlenesse, are not to be moaned when any misfortune falleth vpon them: as on the other side those that spend their time according to their age, sometime in wisdom and counsell, and sometime in honest recreation, are greatly to be commended, and happy be the subjects that liue vnder such a Prince.

This war in Burgundy endured long, because of the Swissers small aide aboue mentioned: notwithstanding the kinges force was much too strong for them: besides, that the Burgundians lacked money; for the which cause the garrisons that were in the strong places turned by intelligence. Monsieur *de Cran* the kings Lieutenant there, laid the siege before *Dolle* the chief city of the county of Burgundy, the force within it being so small, that he despised it, which turned to his losse: for they sallied forth, and assaulted him on a sodaine, and tooke part of his artillery, and slew certaine of his men, which was a great dishonour to him, and put him also into the Kings disgrace, who being troubled with this accident, determined to send a new gouernour into Burgundy, partly because of his misfortune, and partly because of the great pillings and pollings the said *de Cran* had vsed in the country, which were in deede too excessiue. Notwithstanding before his departure he ouerthrew a band of *Almaines* and Burgundians, and took prisoner Monsieur *de Chasteauguion* 4, the greatest L. in Burgundie. Other exploite none was done that I haue heard of, notwithstanding the report went, that the said *de Cran* behaued himselfe there very valiantly, as touching his own person. The King (as before I said) determined for the reasons aboue alleadged to place a new gouernor in Burgundy, not diminishing any whit of the said *de Crans*, profits, offices, or estates, saue onely that he tooke from him all his men of arms, except halfe a dosen, or a dosen archers, left to accompany him home. This Monsieur *de Cran* was a very grosse man, and willingly departed to his owne house, where he liued at ease. The King placed in his roome Master *Charles* of *Amboise* Lord of *Chaumont*, a valiant, wise, and diligent gentleman. Moreover, he practised to win all the *Almaines* that made warre against him in Burgundy, to his seruice, not so much to vse their helpe, as thereby to conquer the easilier the rest of the country. The king sent also to the Swissers, whom hee called the

Lords

This was the Prince of Orenge's brother, who came to leuy the siege that Monsieur *de Cran* held before Gy, where he had besieged the said Prince of Orenge with him were Aune 14. or 15. hundred.

Lords of these Almaine leagues, making them many goodly offers; for he promised a yeerely pension of 20000. franks to their towns, which be foure, Bern, Lucerne, Zurich, and I thinke Fribourg was the fourth. Their Cantons also, as I suppose, receiued part of this pension, which bee three villages situate in the mountaines,, namely Swisse, (whereof the whole country is named;) Soleurre and Ondreuall: other 2000. franks he promised yeerly to the said Swissers gouernors, and to certaine particular men that should further his affaires. Moreouer, he enrolled himselfe one of their Burgessees, and desired to be their principall confederate, and to haue writings thereof; wherein though they made some difficulty at the first, because the Duke of Sauoy had euer been their chiefe confederate; yet in the end they granted him his demands, and promised to send continually to his seruice 6000. men vnder this condition, that their entertainment should be monethly foure gildons and a halfe, which band continued in pay till the kings death. A poore Prince had not been able to doe this, but sure it turned greatly to the Kings profit, though in the end I thinke it will be their destruction. For now they flow so with money, especially with gold (wherewith before they were vnacquainted) that they are ready to fall at variance among themselves, other wise no man should be able to annoy them. For their country is so poore, and so full of mountaines, and themselves so good souldiers, that few would seeke to inuade them. After these treaties were ended, and all the Almaines in Burgundy woon to the Kings seruice, the Burgundians force was clean broken. To be short, after diuers new enterprises atchieued by the gouernour, the Lord of Chaumont, he besieged Rochfort a castle neare to Dolle, defended by master *Clande de Vanldray*, and yeelded by composition. Afterward he besieged the towne of Dolle, from the liege whereof his predecessor in this office was raised (as before you haue heard) and took it by assault. The report was, that some of these Almaines lately receiued into the kings seruice, thought to haue entred the town to defend it; but so many franke archers thronged in with them, not vnderstanding their treason, but onely for desire of gaine, that after they were once entred, they fell all to the spoile, and burned and destroyed the Towne. A few dayes after the taking wherof, the gouernour besieged Aufsonne a very strong town, but he gad good intelligence within it. And ibefore he brought the siege thither, he writ to the King, desiring that the offices of the town might be bestowed vpon certaine whom he named: which request was forthwith granted. Although I were not present at these actions, yet vnderstoode I of them, both by the reports made therof to the King, and also by the letters written to him; which oftentimes my selfe perused to make answer therunto by his commandement. The force within Aufsonne was but small, and the Captaines had intelligence with the gouernour, by meanes whereof within fve or six daies the place was yeelded. Thus was all Burgundy conquered, saue three or fowre castels situate vpon the mountaines, namely Ieu, and certain others, & the town of Bezancon which is imperially, not subiect to the county of Burgundie, but environed therewith; and therefore at the commandement of the Prince thereof. The gouernor entred into it for the king, and came forth againe; they of the towne doing vnto him all such seruices, as they were accustomed in times past to doe to the Princes of Burgundy. Thus was al Burgundy subdued by the gouernors great diligence, whereunto the King earnestly pressed him, doubting that he would leaue some place vnconquered, to the end his help might be needed there still, and he not be called from thence to serue the king in som other place. For Burgundie is a fruitfull country, whereof he disposed as of his owne;

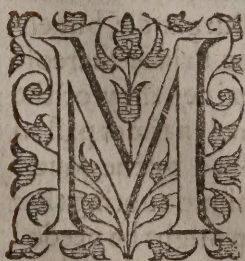
Before lib. 4. cap. 2. he reporteth these 40000. franks to be florens, & so in mine opinion it should bee read here.

When these Swissers began first to be entertained, then were the franke archers called, which was anno 1480.

7 The olde
copy saith
Verdun, and
hath Semur
which the
Annales
of France call
Sennier, saying
that both this
and Verdun al-
so rebelled.

so that both the Lord of Cran before named, and this gouernor also, filled their bags well there. The country remained quiet a while vnder the gouernement of the said Lord of Chaumont: notwithstanding certaine places. namely Beaune, Verdun, and others 7 rebelled soone after: at the which time my selfe was there, sent thither by the king, with the pensioners of his house, who neuer had captain ouer them before, but sithens continually. The said places aboue rehearsed, were soone recovered by the wisdom and conduct of the gouernour, and by his enemies lacke of conduct and good order. Whereby you may perceiue, what difference God of his goodnesse hath set betweene man and man: for to that parte which he meaneth to protect and defend, he giueth the wisest men, and likewise wisdom to those that are in authority to imploy the wisest. Further, he hath alwayes shewed, & doth daily shew himself in all things a defender and protector of our Kings, not only of our Master that dead is, but of the King likewise now reigning, notwithstanding that somtime they taste also of his scourges. They that lost againe these towns thus reuolted, were force sufficient to haue defended the, if they had with speed put themselves into them: but through their negligence they gaue the gouernour leisure to leuy men, which was great folly; for they knew well enough his estate, considering the great fauour all the country bare them. Wherefore they ought to haue entred with speed into Beaune, beeing a strong towne, and of defence, as the others were not. The selfe same day that the gonernor went to besiege a little beggerly towne called Verdun, being well informed of the state thereof: these Burgundians entred there, minding to put themselves into Beaune. They were 600. choise men, horsemen and footemen, partly Almaines, and partly of the county of Perette, led by certain expert gentlemen of Burgundy, of the which *Simon* of Quingy was one. But they spent time at Verdun, while they might haue entred into Beaune, which the gouernor could neuer haue recovered, if they had once been within it. But for lack of good counsell; they staid a night too long in Verdun, where they were besieged and taken by assault. Afterward Beaune was also besieged, and all that was lost, recovered, since the which time our enemies were neuer of any force in Burgundy. I was at this present in the country with the Kings pensioners (as you haue heard) from whence the King reuoked me, because of a certaine letter written to him, wherein he was aduertised that I forbore to lodge our men of armes in certaine Burgesse houses of Dyion. This with an other small suspicion conceiued of me caused him suddenly to send me to Florence: to which his commandement I obeyed as reason was, and departed so soon as I had my dispatch.

Chap. 5 How Monsieur de Argenton during these wars of the conquest of Burgundy, was sent to Florence, and how he receiueth homage of the Duke of Milan in the Kinges name for the Duchie of Genua.



Y voyage into Italy was about a quarrell that arose betweene two great houses, very famous in those dayes, the one, the house of Medicis, the other the house of Pacci, the which Pacci by the supportation of the Pope and *Ferrand* king of Naples, thought to haue slaine *Laurence* of Medicis, and all his adherents: notwithstanding of him they failed; but his brother *Iulian*, they slew in the great Church of Florence, and with him one called *Francis Noly*, a seruant of this house of Medicis, who stepped forth before the saide *Iulian* to saue him. *Laurence*

Laurence de Medicis beeing sore hurt, retired into the vestry of the Church, the dores whereof are of copper, and were made by his fathers commandement. A seruant whom he deliuered out of Prison but two daies before, did him good seruice that day, and receiued many wounds for him. This murder was committed while high masse was sung: for the time agreed vpon for the execution was, when the Priest that sung masse began *Sanctus*. But the successe of the enterprise answered not their expectation. For supposing all to haue beene fully accomplished: certaine of them went vp to the Pallace, minding there to haue slaine all the Lords of the towne being to the number of nine, which haue the whole gouernment of the city, and change at euery three monthes end. But they that attempted this enterprise were euill followed by their companions, by means whereof when they came to the top of the pallace staires, one shut a dore after them: wherupon they seeing themselves not past foure or fiue were astonished and wist not what to say; which the Lords of the towne that were aboue and their seruants perceiuing looked out at the windowes, and saw all the towne in an vprorc and heard Master *James* of Pacci with his companions cry in the midst of the Market place before the pallace, *Liberta Liberta*, and *Populo Populo*: which were words whereby they thought to allure the people to take part with them, which notwithstanding the people did not, but held themselves quiet. Whereupon Master *James de Pacci* and his companions seeing the euill successe of their enterprise, fled out of the place as men astonished. Which when the Lords and gouernors of the towne being within the pallace perceiued: they tooke immediately those fiue or sixe that were come vp euil accompanied, and euil followed with intent to haue slaine them and taken their gouernment into their hands; and commanded them presently to be hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes, the Archbishop of Pise being one of them. Further the said gouernors perceiuing all the city to take part with them and the house of *Medicis*: gaue commandement foorthwith, that all men found flying should be staied at the passages and brought backe to the towne; at the which instant Master *James* of Pacci was taken, and with him one sent thither by Pope *Sixtus*, being a captaine of certaine bands vnder the Earle, *Hieronimo*, which Earle was also of the conspiracy. The said Pacci with his companions was in like manner immediately hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes: the Popes seruant was beheaded; and besides these diuers were taken in the towne, who were all hanged in this heate, of the which *Francis de Pacci*, was one. There was as I gesse hanged in all foureteene great personages, besides certaine seruants slaine in the towne. A few daies after this vprorc, I arrived at Florence from the king, hauing vsed great diligence after my departur out of Burgundie, for I staied no where but two or three daies with the Duchesse of Sauoy the kings sister, who entertained mee very honorably. From thence I went to Milan, where I sojourned also two or three daies, and demanded aid of them to succour the Florentines, with whom at that time they were in league, which my request they willingly granted, both because of the Kings demand, and also for their leagues sake, wherefore they sent foorth at that present three hundred men of armes, and soon after other bandes. But to proceed, the Pope excommunicated the Florentines immediately after this fact committed, and caused forth with his owne forces and the King of Naples forces to march. Their army was strong and great, and they had in pay a number of good souldiers. They besieged first a little fort, nere to Senes, called the Chastellenny, which they tooke with diuers other places: so that the Florentines were in great distresse: for because they had liued long in peace, they were vnacquain-

This Archbishopps name was Francis Saluat, and this vprorc was the 27. of Aprill anno 1478.

quainted with the warres, neither vnderstood the danger they were in. *Laurence de Medicis* their chiefe gouernour in the towne was but young, and ruled altogether by yong men, yet the whole city rested vpon his opinion. Moreouer, they had but few Captaines, and their force was very small: but the Generall of the Popes and King *Ferrand* of Naples army, was the Duke of Vrbin, a valiant and wise Prince, and a good Captaine. In their campe were also the Lord *Robert* of Arimini, who since hath beene a man of great estimation, the Lord *Constantine* of Pesaro, and diuers others that accompanied the King of Naples two sonnes, the Duke of Calabria, and the Lord Dom *Frederic*, (who are all yet alie;) besides a great number of other valiant Soldiers. Thus they tooke al the places that they besieged; but not so speedily as we would haue done in France, because they vnderstood not what appertained neither to the siege nor defence of a towne so well as we: But sure as touching the leading of an army, and giuing order both for victuals and all other things necessary for a campe, they passe vs farre. The fauour the King shewed the Florentines stood them in some stead, though not so much as I wished; but I had no forces there to aide them with, saue onely my traine. I stayed at Florence and in their dominions about a yeere, altogether vpon their charge: they vsed me very honorably, and till the last day my entertainment rather amended then impaired. Then the King called me home, and I passed through Milan, I receiued homage for the Duchy of Genua of the Duke of Milan, called *John Galeas*, at the least of the Duchesse his mother, who did homage to me as the Kings deputy in her Sonnes name. From thence I returned to the King our Master, who receiued me very graciously and acquainted me with his affaires more then euer before, and appointed me also to bee his bedfellow, notwithstanding that I were vnworthy of that honour, and that diuers others were fitter for that place then my selfe: but he was so wise that no man could faile to please him if he executed his commandements, without adding ought therto of his owne braine.

Chap. 6 Of Monsieur d'Argentons returne out of Italie into France,
and of the battell of Guinegate.



At my returne the King our Master looked somewhat aged, and his body was disposed to sickenes, but his disease brake not forth as yet. His affaires he gouerned with great wisdom, and the war endured still in Picardy, wherewith hee was not a little discontented, as were his enemies also in the said countrie: but they could not remedy it. The Duke of Austriche now King of Romans hauing the Flemmings this yeare at his deuotion, laid the siege before Therouenne: but Monsieur *de Cordes* the Kings lieutenant in Picardy, leuied all the forces the King had in that countrie, and the frontiers thereabout, to the number of eight thousand franke archers, and went to succour the place. Whom when the Duke of Austriche perceived to appoach, he leuied his siege, and marched against him: the two armies met at a place called Guinegate. The Duke had of Flemmings the number of twenty thousand or better, and certaine Almaines together with three hundred Englishmen, led by an English Knight that had serued *Charles* Duke of Burgundy, called sir *Thomas Abrigan*. The Kings horsemen being much stronger then their enemies, brake the Dukes horsemen, and pursued them, and Master *Philip* of Rauestain their captaine as farre as Ayre, whereupon the Duke ioined himselfe

selfe with his footemen. The King had in this army at the least 1100. men of armes of his ordinarie retinue¹: all the which followed not the chase; but Monsieur de Cordes who was generall did, and Monsieur de Torcy with him, which was a valiant deed, but against the law of armes; for the captaines of the vaward and rereward ought not to follow the chase. Some of the Dukes horsemen retired, vnder colour of defending the strong places; but others fled in good earnest. The Dukes footmen fled not, yet were they vpon the point so to doe; but they had with them on foot two hundred valiant gentlemen their leaders, among whom were the Lord of Romont of the house of Sauoy, the Earle of Nassaw, and diuers others yet liuing. The courage of these gentlemen staied the footmen, which was a wonder, considering they saw their horsemen broken. The Kings franke archers fell to spoile the Dukes carriage, and the straglers that followed it, as victualers, and such like: but certaine of the Dukes footmen set vpon them discomfited them, and slue some of them. The Dukes losse was greater then ours; for more of his men were taken, and more slaine²: but the honor of the field was his. And I thinke verily if hee had returned to Therouenne, he had not fonnd a man neither in it, nor in Arras; and it was greatly to his losse, that he durst not attempt so to do. But in such cases men are not alwaies informed of the best: and to say the truth, great cause he had to feare that enterprise. I speake of this battell but by hearesay; for I was not present at it: notwithstanding to continue the order of my history, somewhat I was forced to write thereof. I was with the King when these newes were brought him, which vndoubtedly nipped him at the very heart; for he was not accustomed to lose, but had such successe in all his attempts, that fortune seemed to be at his commandement, which vndoubtedly his wisdom greatly furthered. For he would hazard nothing, neither feared anything more then a battell; and as touching this now mentioned, it was fought without his knowledge. His armies he made so strong, that few princes were able to encounter them; he was better furnished of artillery, then any King that euer raigned in France; he attempted alwaies to take places vpon a sudden, especially such as he perceiued to be euill fortified; which after he had once gotten, he furnished so well both of men and artillery, that it was impossible for his enemies to recouer them. Further, if the captaine of any strong place, or any other within it would practise to yeeld it for money, he was sure of a copes mate, neither would he shrink were the summe demanded neuer so great, but liberally giue it. He was afeard at the first when news was brought him of this battell, supposing the truth had not beene told him, but that his whole force had beene ouerthrowne, knowing, if it were so, all to be lost that he had conquered ouer this house of Burgundy in those parts, and the rest in great danger: but when he vnderstood the truth, he tooke the matter patiently, and was well enough contented with Monsieur de Cordes. Notwithstanding he purposed to giue order, that no more such enterprises should be attempted without his knowledge. From this day forward he resolved to treat of peace with the Duke of Austriche, so that it might be wholly to his owne aduantage, and that he might thereby so bridle the said Duke, by meanes of his owne proper subjects (whom he knew to be inclined to practise against their Prince) that hee should neuer be able to doe him harme. Moreouer, he was very desirous to redresse all disorders in his realme, especially the long delaies of processees and sutes in law which thing the better to compasse, hee minded to bridle the Court of Parliament, not by diminishing their number of authority, but many things were done there against his minde, for the which he hated it. He was also desirous

¹ The old copie saith but 500. men of armes.

² There were slaine at the battell of Guinegate 11000. Burgundians, and 5000 French Gaguin.

rous to reduce his whole realme to one custome, and one kinde of waight and measure: and further, that all the lawes and customes should be written in the French tongue; in a faire booke to auoid the pilling and pollings of the Counselors in Law, which are more excessiue in this Realme then in any other, as the nobility hath good cause to know. And vndoubtly if God had spared him life and health fure or fixe yeres longer, he would haue done much good in the realme, as great cause he had to do; for he had more oppressed it then euer had any of his predecessors: but neither authority nor perswasions could haue wooon him to vnburden his people til it had come of it selfe, as in his latter daies sure it would if God had preserued him from sicknesse. Wherefore it is requisit to do good while a man hath leasure, health, and vnderstanding. The treaty the K. desired to make with the Duke & Duchesse of Austrich, and their dominions, was this: he meant by meanes of the citizens of Gaunt to treat of a marriage between the Daulphin his Son now our King, and the daughter of the said Duke & Duchesse, vnder these conditions, that if the marriage were accomplished, they should permit him quietly to enioy the counties of Burgundy, Auxerrois, Malconnois, & Charolois; and he for his part would restore vnto them Artois, reseruing only to himselfe the city of Arras, in such sort as he had fortified it: for the towne was now nothing woorth, considering the fortification of the city. For before the King tooke Arras, the town was fortified with ditch and rampare against the city; but now the city was fortified against the towne, and held for the King by the Bishop: wherein the King did contrary to the Princes of this house of Burgundy. For they alwaies at the least by the space of these hundred yeres, made Bishop whom they listed, and placed a capitaine in the towne besides: but the King to increase his authority did cleane contrary, and caused also the towne wals to be beaten downe and the citie to be fortified: so that now the city shutteth vpon the town, a great ditch being betweene both. Wherefore the King indeed offered nothing; for who so hath the city, hath the towne at commandement. Of the Duchy of Burgundy, the county of Bollion, the townes situate vpon the riuier of Som, the territories of Peroone, Roy and Montdidier no mention was made. After these ouertures were once set on foot, they of Gaunt furthered them to the vttermost of their power, and vsed very rudely the duke & dutchesse his wife, as did also diuers other great townes of Flanders & Brabant, which were fully bent to follow the proceedings of them of Gaunt, especially Brucels, which was growne so wealthy, because of the continual residence that D. Philip and D. Charles of Burgundy had made there: (as did also at this present the Duke and Dutchesse of Austrich) that the wealth & quietnes wherein they had liued vnder these two D. aboue named, made them forget God and their dutie to their Prince: so that they procured to themselues that misfortune, which after ward, as you haue seene, fell vpon them.

Chap. 7 How King Lewis being visited with sicknesse, lost his wits, and lay speechlesse, sometime recouering, and eftsoones falling into his disease againe: and how he behaued himselfe in his Castle of Plessis neere to Tours.



Bout this time in the yeere 1479. in the month of March truce was made betweene these two Princes. The King was very desirous of peace especially in those parts, so that it might be altogether for his aduantage. For he began now to waxe old and sickly; so far forth that once being at dinner at Forges neere to Chiron, he was suddenly taken in all parts of his body and lost his speech-

Speech: he was lifted vp from the table and held to the fire, and the windowes shut; to the which notwithstanding that he desired to go, yet some of his friends held him and would not suffer him so to do, meaning all for the best. This disease tooke him in the yeere of our Lord 1480. in the moneth of March: he lay altogether speechlesse, he knew no man, and his memorie was wholly taken away. At the which instant you (my Lord of Vienna) came thither, and serued him at that time in stead of a phisition: for you gaue him a glister, and caused the windowes to be opened, and the aire to be let in; whereupon immediately hee recovered his speech and his memory after a sort, and tooke horse and returned to Forges: for this disease tooke him in a village a quarter of a league thence whither he went to heare masse. He was diligently tended and made signes what he would haue done: among other things hee desired that the officiall of Tours might be called to shriue him, and made signes also that I should be sent for, for I was gone to Argenton being ten leagues thence: when I came, I found him at the table with Master *Adam Eumee*, (who sometime had bene King *Charles* the seuenths Phisition, and was at that present Master of the requests,) and another Phisition called Master *Claude*: he vnderstood little what any man said, notwithstanding grieffe he felt none, he spake plainly almost neuer a word, but made signes that I should be in his chamber. I waited vpon him the space of 15. daies at his table, and about his person as one of the groomes of his chamber, which I accounted great honor to me, and thought my selfe in duty bound so to do. After two daies he recovered his speech and his memory after a sort: and because he thought no man vnderstood him so wel as my selfe, his pleasure was that I should alwaies be by him, and he confessed himselfe to the Officiall in my presence, otherwise they would neuer haue vnderstood one an other. He had not much to say, for he was shriuen not long before, because the Kings of Fraunce vse alwaies to confesse themselves when they touch those that be sick of the Kings euill, which he neuer failed to do once a weeke. If other Princes do not the like, they are to blame, for continuall a great number are troubled with that disease. After he was somewhat recovered, he began to enquire who they were that held him by force from going to the windowes, whose name when he heard, foorthwith he banished them the Court; so that they neuer came afterward to his presence, and some of them also he put out of office. From others, namely the Lord of Segre and *Gilbert de Grasse* Lord of Champeroux he tooke nothing, but commaunded them to depart. Many wondered at this toie, blaming him for so vsing them, considering that all that they did was for the best, and they said truth: but Princes imaginations are strange, and a number are bold to prattle of them that vnderstand them not. The King feared nothing so much as the diminishing of his authoritie being marvellous great, for the which cause hee would not be disobeyed in any point. Further, he remembred that when King *Charles* his father fell into the disease whereof he died, hee entred into suspition that his seruants sought to poison him at his sonnes request: which fanisie sanke so deepe into his head that he refused his meate. Wherefore it was concluded by the aduise of his Phisitions, and of his chiefeest and trustiest seruants, that he should be forced to eate: the which was executed very orderly and aduisedly by those that serued him, for cooliz was powred into his mouth, but soone after this force he died. The King our Master who had euer misliked this ordering of his father, stomacked maruellously that he had been held thus perforce; but yet made shew of much greater displeasure than indeede he had conceiued thereof. The chiefe cause that mooued him so to do was feare, least they should Master him in all o-

1480.

¹ It was fortie daies: but because the old copie hath 15. daies, and that him selfe also afterward in this very chapter saith thus; *This sickness held him about fifteene daies*, I haue bene bold to amend it.

² King *Lewis* was suspected to haue poisoned his father by *Adam Eumee* his fathers Phisition, who was imprisoned by King *Charles*, but soon after aduanced to honor by King *Lewis*, who so maruellously reioiced at the first newes of his fathers death (being the selfe same day that his father died, which was strange, King *Lewis* being then at Genappe in Brabant) that in the selfe same place he built a chapel to our Lady.

ther

ther things, especially in the expedition of his waightie affaires, vnder colour of the imperfection of his wits.

After he had dealt thus roughly with these aboue named, hee inquired what his Counsell had done during the time of his sickenes, and what dispatches they had made, whereof the Bishop of Alby, his brother the gouernor of Burgundie, the Marshall of Gié, and the Lord of Lude had the whole charge: for these were present when his sickenes tooke him, and lodged all in two little chambers vnderneath him. Further, he would needes see the letters and packets that had beene brought and came howerly. The principall whereof were shewed him, and I read them before him: he made a countenance as though hee vnderstood them, and tooke them into his hands, fayning that he read them, notwithstanding that indeede he vnderstood neuer a word. Sometime also hee spake a word or two, or made signes what should be the answer to these letters; but little or nothing was dispatched, for we expected an end of his disease, because hee was a Master before whom it behoued vs not to tread awrie. This sickenes held him about fiftene daies, and then his wits and speech he recovered perfectly, but his body was maruellous weake; for the which cause we feared greatly a relapse, the rather because naturally he was inclined to giue but smal credit to Phisitions. Immediately after he was well recovered, he restored Cardinall Ballue (whom he had held in prison fowerteene yeeres) to libertie. Whereunto notwithstanding that he had beene required oftentimes before, both by the Sea Apostolike and others, and all in vaine: yet now he purchased the absolution of that fault himselfe, by a bull sent from our holy father the Pope by his owne procurement. When his disease first tooke him, they that at that present were about him held him for dead, and sent forth diuers commandements for the reuoking of an excessive and cruell subsidie lately laid vpon his subiects by the aduise of the Lord of Cordes his lieutenant in Picardie, wherewith were waged ten thousand footmen, to be alwaies in a readines, and 2500. pioners, the which were called the *Soldiers of the campe*. Moreouer, he appointed fiftene hundred of his ordinarie men of armes to accompany them, and to fight on foote when neede so required. He caused also a great number of carts to be made to inclose them, and tents and pauillions, imitating therein the Duke of Burgundies campe. The charge of this army amounted yeerely to 1500000. franks 3. When these soldiers were in a readines and furnished of all things necessary, he went to see them muster in a valley neere to Pont del Arche in Normandie, where the band of the sixe thousand Swissers aboue mentioned mustered also, the which neuer saw the King but at this time only. After all was ended, the King remoued to Tours, where hee fell againe into his former disease, and lost his speech as before, and was by the space of two houres in such case that all men held him for dead. He lay in a gallery vpon a mattresse of straw, diuers standing about him. Monsieur de Bouchage and I vowed him to Saint Claude, and all the rest that were present vowed him also. Immediately whereupon he recovered his speech, and soone after arose and walked vp and downe the house, but his body was maruellous feeble. This second fit of sicknes tooke him in the yeere 1481. notwithstanding hee rode vppe and downe the countrie as before, and went to Argenton to my house, where he lay a moneth maruellous sicke. From thence hee went to Tours, where (notwithstanding that he still remained sicke) he tooke vpon him his voiage to S. Claude, to whom as you haue heard he was vowed, and at his departure thence commanded me to go into Sauoye against the Lords of Chambre, Miolant, and Bresse, because they had taken prisoner the Lord of Lins in Daulphin, whom hee had appointed

It was
15000. but the
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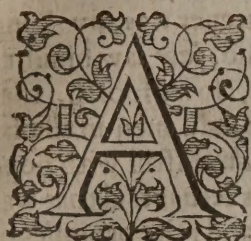
1481.

appointed gouvernour of D. *Philibert* his nephew, yet notwithstanding couertly he aided these Lords, against whom I went. He sent also a great band of Soldiers after me, whom I led to Malcon against the Lord of Bresse, but he and I agreed well ynough secretly. Further, the L. of Chambre made a composition with the D. of Sauoy at Thurin in Piedmont where he lay, whereof he aduertised me; and immediately thereupon I caused my force to retire. Hee led the said D. to Grenoble, whether the Marshall of Burgundy, the Marquesse of Rothelin, and my selfe went to receiue him. The K. commanded me to returne home, & to meete him at Beauieu in Beauuolois, where when I arriued, I wondred to see him so leane and bare, much more to ride vp and down the country, but his noble hart caried him. At Beauieu he receiued letters, that the Duchesse of Austrich was dead of a fall from her horse; for she rid a fierce hobby that threw her vpon a blocke, notwithstanding some say, she died not of the fall, but of an ague; but howsoeuer it were, she died soon after the fall, to the great dammage of her Subjects & friends, who since her death neuer had quietnesse nor good successe. For this people of Gaunt and the other towns bare much more reuerence to hir than to her husband, because she was Lady of the land. She died in the yeare, 1482. The K. told me these newes in great ioy, adding, that the two children remained in the citizens of Gaunts custody, whom he knew to be enclined to sedition, & rebellion against this house of Burgundy. Further, he thought the time now come when he might do some great exploit, seeing the D. of Austrich was but young, his father yet liuing, his countries troubled on euery side with wars, and himselfe a stranger & weakely accompanied. For the Emperor his father was too extreemly couetous; for the which cause his son found the lesse fauour. The K. immediately after the Duchesse death, began to practise with the gouernors of Gaunt, by meanes of Monsieur *de Cords*, & to treat of a mariage between the Daulphin his son, & the said D. daughter, called *Margaret* at this present our Queen. The said *de Cords* addressed himselfe wholly to two men, the one a Pensioner of the town called *William Rine*, a subtile crafty fellow; the other the clarke of their Senate, named *Coupe Nole*, who was a Hosier, but in great credite with the people: for such men of occupation, when they are most vnruely, are there best esteemed. The K. returned to Tours and kept himselfe very close, so that few saw him; for he waxed iealous of all men, fearing that they would take the gouernment from him, or diminish his authority; for the which cause hee remooued all those from him that he had most fauored, & had been nearest about him, not diminishing their Estates in any respect; but he sent them away some to their offices and charges, & some to their houses, but this endured not long, for soon after he died. He did diuers strange things, which caused as many as saw them to thinke him out of his wits; but they were not thoroughly acquainted with his conditions. As touching suspitions, all great Princes are suspitious, especially those that be wise, and haue had many enemies, and haue offended many as the King our Master had. Further, he knew himselfe not to be beloued of the Nobility of his Realme, nor of a great number of the commonalty. Besides this, he had more charged his people than euer any of his predecessors: notwithstanding he was desirous now in his latter dayes, (as before I said) to haue eased them, but he should haue begun sooner. King *Charles* the seuenth by the perswasion of diuers wise and valiant Knights that had serued him in the conquest of Normandy and Guyenne, (which the Englishmen held) was the first that began to leny subsidies at his pleasure, without the consent of the states of his Realme: and to say the trueth, cause there was then so to do: for the charges were excessiue, as well for the manning of the countries newly conquered, as also for the defeating of the com-

1482.

panies of robbers, which went about spoiling the realm. For the which cause the nobility of France consented to the King, and had certaine pen sions promised them in consideration of the sums of money, that should be leuied vpon their lands. If this King had alwaies liued & those of his counsell that were about him, he would sure greatly haue enlarged his realm. But considering what hath ensued since his death, & is like further to ensue, he charged maruellously his soule & the soules of his successors by this fact: for he gaue his realme a cruell wound, which will bleed this many a yeare, by entertaining in continuall pay a terrible band of men of armes, after the manner of the Italian Princes. The said king *Charles* leuied in his realm at the houre of his death but 1800000. franks all manner of waies, and had in ordinary about seuenteen hundred men of armes, the which he kept in good order, and so placed in diuers prouinces for the defence of his realme, that many yeares before his death they rid not spoiling vp and down the country, to the great quietnes and comfort of his people. But the King our Master leuied at his death 4700000. franks, he had in pay foure or fife thousand men of armes, and of footmen for the campe and in garrison, aboue fife and twenty thousand: wherefore it is not to be maruelled if he had many phancies & imaginations in his head; and thought himself not welbeloued. But sure as these matters caused him greatly to feare some, so had he a sure confidence in many of those whom he had brought vp and highly aduanced, of the which, I think there were a number, whom death it selfe could neuer haue withdrawne from doing their duty. There came into *Plessis du Parc* which was the place where he lay) very few beside his household seruants, and the archers of his guard being foure hundred, of whom a great number all the day long kept watch and ward at the gate, walking vp and downe the place. No noble man or great personage lodged within the castel, neither might be suffered to enter in, saue only the Lord of *Beauuieu* D. of *Bourbon* his son in law. The said castell of *Plessis* he made to be enuironed with a grate of great iron bars, and at the entry into the ditches thereof had caused sharpe speares of iron, euery one of them hauing many heads, to bee mansoned into the wall; he caused also foure strong watchhouses of iron to bee built, and a place to be made in them where men might stand and shoote at ease, which was a sumptuous thing to behold, & cost aboue 20000. franks. In the end he put into these houses forty crossebow men, which were day and night in the ditches, and had commission to shoote at euery man that approched neare the castell after the shutting of the gates, till they opened in the morning. Further, he had an imagination that his subiects wold be very ready to take the gouernment into their own hands where they should see conuenient time. And sure some there were that consulted to enter into *Plessis*, & dispatch the affairs at their pleasure, because nothing was dispatched; but they durst not attempt it, wherin they did wisely, for the King had giuen good order for the matter. He changed often both the grooms of his chamber, & all his other seruants, saying, that nature delighteth in variety; and he had with him to bear him company, one or two very mean men, and of euill report, who might well haue thought: if they had beene wise, that immediatly after his death they should at the least be put out of office, and spoiled of all they had, as also it hapned. These informed him of no message that was sent him, nor of any matter that was written to him, were it neuer so important, vnlesse it touched the preservation of the state, or the defence of his realme: for that was his onely care to be in truce & peace with all men. He gaue to his Phisition ordinarily euery moneth then thousand crowns, & in 5. months he receiued of him 54000. He gaue also goodly lands to Churches; but this gift was made void, and not without cause, for the Clergy men had too much.

Chap. 8. How the King caused the holy man of Calabria to come to Tours, thinking that hee could heale him: and what strange things the said King did to maintaine his authority during his sicknesse.



AMong men famous for deuotion, hee sent into Calabria for one Frier Robert, whom he called the holy man, because of his holy life, and in whose honor the King that now is, caused a Church to be built at Pleffis du Parc, in place of the Chappell neare to Pleffis at the bridge foot. This Hermit being twelue yeares of age entred into a rocke, where he remained till he was forty three years old, or thereabout, to wit, euen till this present that the King sent for him by one of the stewards of his house, whom the Prince of Tarente the King of Naples sonne accompanied thither. For the said Hermite would not depart thence, without permission both of the Pope and of his Prince; which was great wisdom in so simple a man. He builded in the place where he liued two Churches, and neuer ate since the time hee entred into this straight kind of life, either fish, flesh, eggs, any kind of White-meate, or offat. I neuer saw in my time a man of so holy life, nor by whose mouth the holy Ghost seemed rather to speake: for he neuer had been Scholler, but was vtterly vnlearned: true it is that his Italian tongue caused somewhat the greater admiration of him. This Hermite passed through Naples, being honored and receiued, as if he had been a great Legate sent from the Sea Apostolike, both by the King and by his children; with whom he communed of the affairs of the Court, as if he had beene a Courtier all the dayes of his life. From thence he went to Rome, where he was uisited by all the Cardinals, and had audience giuen him thrice of the Pope, communing with him alones; and sitting each time heard by him in a goodly chaire three or foure houres together; which was great honour to so simple a person. His answers were so wise that all men wondered at them; so far forth that our holy Father gaue him leaue to erect a new order, called the Hermits of S. Francis. From thence he came to the King, who honored him, as if he had been the Pope himselfe, falling down before him, & desiring him to prolong his life: wherunto he answered as a wise man should. I haue often heard him talke with the K. that now is, in presence of all the nobility of the realm, and that within these two monethes, & sure he seemed by his words to be inspired with the holy Ghost, otherwise he could neuer haue communed of such matters as he did. He is yet liuing, and may change eyther to better or worse; wherefore I will speak no further of him. Som mocked at his Hermits comming, whom they called the holy man; but they knew not the deepe cogitations of this wise King, neither had seen the occasions that moued him to send for him.

The King lay in his castell of Pleffis accompanied with few besides the archers of his guard, and troubled with these suspicions aboue rehearsed. Notwithstanding he had giuen good order for this inconuenience, for he left none of those whom he suspected either in the towne or country, but made his archers to cause them to depart, and to conueigh them away. No man debated any matter with him, vnlesse it were of some great importance that concerned himselfe, hee seemed rather a dead corps then a liuing creature, for he was leaner then a man would belieue: he apparelled himself sumptuously, yea more sumptuously then in all his life before; for he ware no gown but of crimsin sattin furred with good

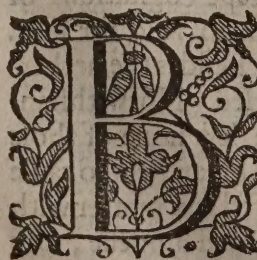
1 *Gesnerus de Quadrupedibus* lib. 1. fol. 1. & *Munster* in the third book of his *Cosmography*, in his treatise of *Præfix.* (where this beast is found) name this beast in Greeke *αἰλῦς*, in Latin *Alces* in Dutch *Elch* *Ellend*, *Ellend*, and *Ellene*, which is not farre from the name here given. The Moscovites name is *Λοξ-ζος*.

2 This beast saith *Munster Cosmog.* l. 4. is found in Lapponia or Lapland, a country in Sweden. The Lappons call it *Reen*, as he writeth in the same place & *Gesner* also de *Q. a. trup.* l. 1. fol. 950. The Romaines saith *Gesner*, name it *Rongiferus*, the Germanes *Rein* (and *Reinen*, saith *Munster*) *Reiner*, *Ringer*. *Reinschieren*, the French men *Ringier*, (as is here named) or *Renglier*.

marterns, he gaue gifts to whom it pleased him without any sute; for no man durst moue any sute to him, nor debate any matter with him: hee punished faults sharply to the end he might be feared, and not lose his authority as himselfe tolde me: he changed officers, cassed companies of men of arms, diminished pensions, or tooke them clean away, and told me but a few daies before his death that he passed away the time in making and marring of men. To be short, hee caused himselfe to be more spoken of within his realme then euer was any King and all for feare lest men should thinke him dead. For as I said, few saw him; but when they heard of his doings, all men stood in feare of him, so far forth, that they hardly beleueed him to be sicke. Out of the realme he had men in all places, as for example in England, he had some to feed King *Edward* still with hope of his daughters marriage, and he paid truly both him & his seruants al that was due vnto them. Out of Spaine he receiued goodly words and faire promises of perfect friendship and amity, and great presents from all places: he made a good horse or a good mule to be bought for him whatsoeuer it cost; but this hee did not in this realme, but in some strange country to perswade men that he was in health. Dogges he sent for round about, into Spaine for a kind of Spanish greyhound, called in French *Allans*; into Britaine for little beagles, greyhounds, & spaniels, which he paid deare for; into Valence for little rugged dogs which hee made to be bought about the owners owne price: into Sicily hee sent for good mules, especially to some officer of the country, for the which he payed double the value; to Naples for horses, and for diuers strange beasts into diuers Countries, as into Barbary for a kind of little lions, no greater then little foxes, which he called *Adites*, into Denmarke and Sweden for two kind of strange beasts, one of the which we called *Helles*¹, being of shape like a Hart, and of the greatnes of a buffe, with hornes short and thicke; the other *Rengiers*² being of the bignesse and colour of a boucke, saue that their hornes be much greater; for each of the which two beasts he gaue to the merchants that solde them 4500. guildons. But when all these strange things were brought him he made no account of them, no, very seldom spake with those that broght them. To be short, he did so many such like strange things that he was more feared now both of his neighbours and subiects than euer before, which was his only desire, for to that end did he al this.

1 *Gesner*, name it *Rongiferus*, the Germanes *Rein* (and *Reinen*, saith *Munster*) *Reiner*, *Ringer*. *Reinschieren*, the French men *Ringier*, (as is here named) or *Renglier*.

Chap. 9. How the marriage betweene the Daulphin and the Lady Magaret of Flaunders was concluded, and how shee was brought into France: whereupon Edward King of England died for sorrow.



But to returne to the principall matter, namely the perfect conclusion of this our history of K. *Lewis*, and of his affairs of al those great Princes that liued in his time: we must shew how the treaty of marriage was concluded betweene the King that now is, then Daulphin, and the daughter of the Duke and Duchesse of Austrich, by meanes of the Citizens of Gaunt, to the King of Englands great grieve who then well perceiued the hope to bee frustrate, which hee had conceiued of the mariage betweene his daughter & the said Daulphin now K. of France: which he and the Queen his wife had so greatly desired, that they wold neuer

never credit any man that aduertised them to the contrarie, were he an English man or stranger. For the Councell of England had debated this matter with him, at the same time that the King conquered that part of Picardie that ioineeth to Calice, alleaging, that after he had subdued that, hee might easily attempt to take Calice and Guisnes. The like was also told him, by the ambassadors resident in England for the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche, and by the Britons, and diuers others: but he beleueed no whit of all this, which incredulity turned much to his preiudice. Notwithstanding I suppose, it proceeded rather of couetousnes than ignorance: for he feared the losse of the fifty thousand crownes the King paid him: besides that, he was loath to leaue his ease and pleasures, whereunto he was maruellously addicted. About the conclusion of this marriage, an assembly was held at Halots in Flaunders, whereat the Duke of Austriche now King of Romans, was present, together with certaine deputies for the three estates of Flaunders, Brabant, and the other countries belonging to the said D. & his children. The citizens of Gaunt did many things there contrary to the D. minde; for some they banished, and some they remoued from about his son: in the end they told him how great desire they had to see this marriage accomplished, thereby to obtaine peace, & forced him to consent therunto. The D. was very yoong, and accompanied with few noble men: for all the subiects of this house of Burgundie (very few excepted, I meane of great personages, that could haue giuen him counsell or aide in these affaires) were, as you haue heard, either dead, or reuolued to the King. As touching himselfe, he was come thither very slenderly accompanied, and now hauing lost his wife, being Lady of the Country, he durst not giue them so stout language, as before he was accustomed. To be short, the King being aduertised of all these actions by Monsieur de Cordes, reioyced much thereat, and a day was appointed when this Lady should be brought to Hesdin.

Now long before the conclusion of this marriage, to wit, in the yeere 1481. the towne of Ayre was yeelded for a sum of mony to Monsieur de Cordes, by the Lord of Croy of the countrie of Artois, who held it for the Duke of Austrich, and the Lord of Beures his captaine. The towne is very strong, situate in the country of Artois, and the deliuerie thereof increased the Flemmings desire to further this marriage, because it standeth vpon the very entrance into Flanders. For notwithstanding that they wished the weakening of their Prince, yet were they not willing to haue the King so neere a neighbor to their frontiers. After these matters aboue mentioned were fully concluded, and ambassadors came to the King out of Flaunders and Brabant, but all depended vpon them of Gaunt; both because of their force, because the children were in their hands, and for that they were alwaies the ring leaders of all tumults. There came also from the King of Romanes for the pacifying of his dominions certaine Knights, yoong men like himselfe, and of small experience, whose names were Master *John de Bergues* and Master *Baudouin de Launoy*, and certaine Secretaries. The King was brought maruellous low with sickenes, so that hardly he suffered himselfe to be seene, and made great difficultie to sweare the treatie, because he was loath to come abrode in sight: notwithstanding in the end he sware it. It was very aduantageous for him; for in all assemblies that had beene held heeretofore about this marriage, hee neuer required but the countie of Artois or Burgundie, one of the two: but now the Lords of Gaunt (as hee termed them) caused them both to be yeelded vnto him, together with the counties of Masconois Charolois, & Auxerrois; yea and if it had lien in them to haue put into his handes, Hainault and Namur, and all the seniories of this house of Burgundie, being of the French

language, they would willingly haue done it, thereby to affeeble their Prince. The King our Master being a wise Prince vnderstood well, that no account was to be made of Flaunders, nor the Earle thereof, without hee had the countrie of Artois, which lying betweene the King of Fraunce and the Flemmings, is as it were a bridle to them. For in the countrie of Artois are leuied very good soldiers, to scourge the Flemmings when they play the fooles. Wherefore by taking away from the Earle of Flaunders the countrie of Artois, he left him the poorest Prince in the world, and without all obedience of his subiects, saue onely at the pleasure of them of Gaunt. After this ambassage was returned home, the saide Lady was led to Hedin, and deliuered into the hands of Monsieur de Cordes in the yeere 1483. She was conueied thither by the Lady of Rauastain, bastard daughter to Duke *Philip* of Burgundie, and was receiued there by the D. and Duchesse of Bourbon that now are, and by the Lord of Albert, and diuers others sent thither by the King; who led her to Amboise where the Daulphin lay. If the Duke of Austriche could haue rescued her before she was passed out of his dominions from them that conueied her, hee would willingly haue done it: but they of Gaunt had sent her well accompanied. And as touching the saide Duke, all his subiects began to disobey him, so far forth that a great number tooke part with them of Gaunt, because they had his sonne in their hands, and remooued from him, and placed about him such as pleased them: and among the rest that were resident at Gaunt, was the Lord of Rauastain brother to the Duke of Cleues, principall gouernor of the saide yoong infant called Duke *Philip*, who is yet liuing and like to be a great Prince, if God spare him life. Whosoever reioiced at this marriage, the King of England was highly displeased therewith; for he accounted it great reproch and dishonor to be thus deluded, and feared both the losse of the pension the King paid him, which the English men called tribute; and also that the contempt hereof would stirre his subiects to rebellion against him, because he would giue no eare to good aduice. Further, he saw the King with great force neere to his dominions: for the which causes hee conceived such inward griefe when he heard these newes, that soone after he ended his life, some say of a catarrhe. But whatsoever his disease were, the report goeth, that the sorrow conceived of this marriage caused the disease, whereof hee died soone after in the moneth of Aprill, anno 1483. It is a foule fault in a Prince, to trust more to his owne braine, then to the aduice of a great number: for it causeth oftentimes both great sorrow, and also losse irrecoverable.

Immediately after King *Edwards* death, the King our Master was aduertised thereof, and seemed nothing ioyfull of the Newes: but soone after receiued letters from the D. of Glocester, who had vsurped the crowne of England (signing his letters by the name of *Richard*,) & cruelly murdered the K. his brothers two children. This King *Richard* sought the Kings friendship, and was desirous, as I suppose, to haue this pension paid also vnto him. But the King would make no answer to his letters, neither giue his messenger audience, but esteemed him a wicked and cruell tyrant. For after K. *Edwards* death, the saide D. of Glocester had done homage to his nephew as to his soueraigne Lord and King, and yet immediately thereupon committed this murder, and caused in open parliament the saide King *Edwards* two daughters to bee degraded and proclaimed bastards. vnder colour of a certaine matter which hee proued by the testimonie of the Bishop of Bath, who sometime had been in great credit with K. *Edward*, but afterward fel into his disgrace, & was laid in prison, & made to fine for his deliuerance. This Bishop affirmed that K. *Edward* being in loue with a certaine gentlewoman

in

in England (whom he named) promised hir mariage to haue his pleasure of hir, which promise he said was made in his presence, and thereupon the King lay with hir, minding only to abuse hir. Such pastimes are very dangerous, especially when such prooffe may be brought forth: But I haue knowne many a courtier that would not haue lost a good aduenture that liked him in such a case for want of promise. This wicked Bishop buried reuenge in his heart the space of twenty yeeres. But God plagued him for his wickednesse: for he had a sonne whom he loued entirely, and whom King *Richard* so much fauoured, that he meant to giue him to wife one of these two daughters, degraded from their dignitie, at this present Queene of England and mother of two goodly children. The said sonne being in a ship of warre by King *Richard* his Masters commandement, was taken vpon the coast of Normandie, and because of the contention that fell between those that tooke him, led to the court parliament of Paris, and there put in prison in the petit Chastellet, where in the end he starued for hunger and pouertie. As touching King *Richard* he liued not long vnpunished: for God raised vp an enimie against him at that very instant being poore, hauing no right to the crowne of England, as I suppose, and of no estimation, saue that as touching his owne person he was well conditioned, and had endured many troubles. For the greatest part of his life he had been prisoner in Britaine to Duke *Francis*, who entertained him well for a prisoner from the eighteenth yeere of his age. This Earle of Richmond being furnished by the King with a small summe of money, and threethousand men leuied in Normandie, of the vnthriftest persons in the countrey, passed ouer into Wales: where his father in law the Lord *Stanley* met him with six and twenty thousand men at the least, and within three or fower daies after he encountred this cruell King *Richard*, who was slaine in the field, and the Earle crowned King, and raigneth yet at this day in England. Of this matter I haue made mention before, but it was not amisse to rehearse it heere againe, to shew thereby how God hath plagued in our time such crueltie almost immediatly after the fault comitted. Diuers other such like punishments hath he shewed also in this our age, if a man would stand to rehearse them all.

This error you are admonished of before.

Chap. 10. How the King behaued himselfe towards his neighbors and subiects during the time of his sicknesse, and how diuers things were sent him from diuers places for the recouerie of his health.

His mariage of Flaunders so much desired by the King was thus accomplished, as you haue heard, by meanes whereof hee had the Flemmings at his commandement. Britaine which he so much hated was in peace with him, but liued in continuall ielousie because of the great number of soldiers he had in garrison vpon their frontiers. Spaine was quiet, and the King and Queene therof desired nothing more than his amitie and friendship: for he kept them in continuall feare and charge, because of the countrey of Roussillon which he withheld from the house of Arragon, being engaged to him by Iohn King of Arragon, father to the King of Castile now raigning, vnder certaine conditions yet vnperformed. As touching the Princes and Seniories of Italie, they desired to haue him their friend, and were in league with him, and sent often their ambassadors to him. In Almaine he had the Swislers as obedient to him as his owne subiects. The Kings of Scotland and Portugale were his confederates: part of the realme of Nauarre was wholly

wholy at his deuotion : his subiects trembled before him , and his commandements were executed incontinent without delay or excuse. As touching those things that were thought necessarie for his health , they were sent him out of all parts of the world. Pope *Sixtus* that last died , being informed that the King of deuotion desired to haue the corporall vpon the which Saint *Peter* song masse, sent it him incontinent, with diuers other relickes, which were conueied backe againe to Rome. The holy viole which is at Reims and had neuer been remoo-ued thence, was brought into his chamber to Pleffis, and stood vpon his cupbord at the hower of his death : he was determined to be annointed therewith as at his coronation. But many supposed that he would haue annointed all his body with it, which is vnlikely, for the said holy viole is very small, and containeth not much oile. I saw it both at the time I now speake of, and also when the King was buried at Nostre-dame-de-Clery. The Turke that now raigenth sent an ambaf-

¹ It was *Reims* in the French, but that vn- doubtedly was false: the old copie hath *Rhine* or *Rhine*: others *Rims*: the Italian *Ries*.

² King *Lewis* dranke chil- drens blood to recouer his health. *Gaguin*.

sador to him, who came as far as Rhine in Prouence¹: but the King would not heare his message, neither permit him to passe any further. The said ambassador brought him a great role of relicks remaining yet at Constantinople in the Turks hands, all the which he offered him together with a great summe of money, if he would keep in safe custodie the said Turks brother, who was then in this realm in the hands of the knights of the Rhodes, and is now at Rome in the Popes keeping. By all this aboue rehearsed a man may perceiue how great the King our Masters wisdom and authoritie was, how he was esteemed through the world, and how all things² as well spirituall of deuotion and religion; as also temporall, were imployed for the prolonging of his life. But all would not helpe, there was no remedie, needs must he goe the way his predecessors went before him, one great grace God shewed him, that as he created him wiser, liberaller, and more vertuous in all things than the Princes that raigned in his time, being his enemies and neighbors; and as he surmounted them in all good things: so did he also passe them in long life though not much. For Duke *Charles* of Burgundie, the Duchesse his daughter, King *Edward*, Duke *Galeas* of Milan, King *Iohn* of Arragon, were all dead a few yeeres before him: but between the death of the said Duchesse of Austrich, of King *Edward*, and of him, there was no space to speake of. In all these Princes there was both good and euill, for they were all men; but to speake vprightly, there were in him many mo vertues and ornaments appertaining to the office of a King, than in any of the rest. I haue seen them in manner all, and knew what was in them, and therefore speake not at randon.

Chap. II. How King *Lewis* the XI. caused *Charles* the Daulphin his sonne to come to him a little before his death, and of the commandements and precepts he gaue both him and certaine others.

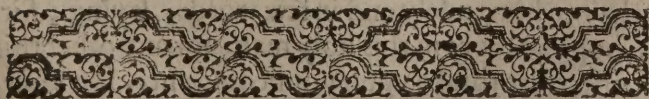
¹ Others write that he was 16. yeeres olde: this war was an. 1439. & King *Lewis* was borne anno 1423. so that he was 16. yeeres olde when the *Praguerie* began, and so vndoubtedly it should be read heere.



In this yeere 1483. the King desired to see the Daulphin his sonne, whom he had not seen of long time; for he kept him close and permitted no man to come to him, both because of the childes health, and also for feare lest he should be taken from the place where he remained, and vnder colour of him some rebellion arise in the realme. For so had certaine noble men in times past by meanes of himselfe made an assembly against King *Charles* the seuenth his father, he being then but eleuen yeeres of age¹: which war was called *la Praguerie*, but it soon ended, for it was rather a broile of court than a war.

Above

Above all things he recommended vnto his said sonne the Daulphin certaine of his seruants, and commanded him expressely not to change certaine officers: rehearsing to him how after King *Charles* his fathers death, he comming to the state put out of office all the valiant and worthy knights of this realme that had serued his father in the conquest of Normandy and Guienne, in chasing the English men out of France, and restoring the Realme to peace and quietnesse, (for himselfe found it both quiet and rich:) which his hard dealing with the said Knights, turned greatly to his preiudice, for thereof sprang the war called the *WEALEPVBLIKE* in this storie aboue mentioned, which had almost set him besides his crowne. Soone after his communication with the Daulphin his sonne, and the accomplishment of this mariage aboue mentioned; he fell vpon a monday into the disease whereof he died: his sicknesse endured till the Saturday after being the 30. of August, in the yeere 1483. And because I was present at his death, I minde to speake somewhat thereof. When this disease tooke him he lost his speech as heretofore he had done, which being recovered, he felt his body weaker then euer it was, notwithstanding that he were so low brought before, that hee could hardly lift his hand to his mouth, and looked so poorely and miserably, that it pitied euery mans heart that saw him; he accounted himselfe now as dead. Wherefore he sent them incontinent for the Lord of Beauieu now Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law, commanding him to goe to Amboise to the King his sonne, (for so he termed him:) he recommended also vnto him diuers of his seruants, and gaue him the whole charge and gouernment of the young King, and commanded expressely that certaine whom he named should not come neere his sonne, alleaging diuers good reasons one that behalfe. And if the said Lord of Beauieu had obserued his commandements, at the least, part of them (for some were vreasonable & not to be obserued) I thinke he should thereby haue benefited both the realme and himselfe, considering what hath happened since in France. Soone after hee sent also the Chancellor, and all the officers of the law to the said King his sonne, and in like manner part of the archers of his guard, and his Captaines, and all his hawkes and hounds with all that appertained thereunto. Further, as many as came to visit him, he commanded to goe to Amboise to the King (for so hee termed him) desiring them to serue him faithfully, and by euery one of them hee sent him some message or other; but especially by *Steuens de Vers*, who brought vp the said young King, and was the first groom of his Chamber, and already advanced to the bailiwick of Meaux, by the King our Master. His speech neuer failed him after he recovered it, neither were his wits so fresh at any time as then: for hee purged continually, by meanes whereof all fumes voided that troubled his head. In all the time of his sicknesse he neuer complained as other men do when they feelee paine: at the least my selfe am of that nature, and so haue I knowne diuers others, and men say, that complaining asswageth grieve.



Chap. 12. *A comparison betweene the sorrowes and troubles that King Lewis suffered, and those he caused diuers others to suffer: with a rehearfall of all that he did, and all that was done to him, till his death.*



HE discoursed continually of some matter or other, and that very grauely, and his disease endured from monday till saturday night. Wherefore I will now make comparison betweene the troubles and sorrowes he caused others to suffer, and those he suffered himselfe before his death, because I trust they haue carried him into paradise, and been part of his purgatorie. For notwithstanding that they were not so grieuous, neither endured so long, as those which he caused diuers others to suffer: yet because his vocation in this world was higher then theirs, by meanes whereof he had neuer been contraried, but so well obeyed that he seemed a Prince able to haue gouerned all Europe: this litle trouble that he endured contrary to his accustomed nature, was to him a great torment. He hoped euer in this good heremite that was at Plessis, whom he caused to come to him out of Calabria, & continually sent to him: saying, that if it pleased him he could prolong his life. For notwithstanding all these commandements giuen to those whom he sent to the Daulphin his sonne, yet came his spirits againe to him, in such sort that he was in hope to recouer: and if it had so hapned, he would easily haue disparkled the assembly sent to this new king. But because of the vaine hope he had in this heremite, a Doctor of diuinity and certaine other thought good to aduertise him that his onely hope must bee in the mercy of God: and they deuised that Master *James Cothier* his Phisition, in whom he had reposed his whole confidence, and to whom he gaue monthly ten thousand crownes in hope he would prolong his life: should bee present when this speech should be vsed to him. This was Master *Oliuer* his barbers deuise, to the end he might wholly thinke vpon his conscience, and leaue all his other imaginations conceiued of this holy man, and of the said Master *James* his Phisition. But euen like as he had aduanced the said Master *Oliuer* and others too suddenly, without any desert, to a higher estate then was fit for them: euen so they tooke vpon them boldly to do such a message to so great a Prince otherwise then became them, not vsing that reuerence and humility that was to be vsed in such a case, and such as they should haue vsed, whom he had brought vp of a long time, and lately commanded out of his presence for the suspicions conceiued of them. And againe, like as vnto two great personages whom he had put to death in his time, (to wit, the Duke of Nemours, and the Earle of Saint Paule: for one of the which he repented him at his death, and for the other not;) he had sent a sharpe message of death by Commissioners appointed thereunto; who briefly pronounced their sentence vnto them, and forthwith gaue them confessors, and but a very short space to dispose of their consciences: euen so the aboue named signified his death vnto him rudely and in few words, saying; Sir it is reason wee do our duties, hope no more in this holy man, nor any other thing, for sure you are but dead: therefore thinke vpon your conscience, for your houre is come, and euery one of them said somewhat briefly to him to that effect. But hee answered, I trust God will helpe me, and peraduenrue I am not so sicke as you suppose. What a sharpe corosife was it to him to heare these newes and this cruell sentence? for neuer man feared death more then he, nor sought so many waies

to

to auoid it as he did. Moreouer, in all his life time he had giuen commandement to all his seruants, as well my selte as others, that when we should see him in danger of death, we should onely moue him to confesse himselfe and dispose of his conscience, not sounding in his eare this dreadfull word *Death*, knowing that he should not be able patiently to heare that cruell sentence: notwithstanding he endured both that and diuers other punishments till the very houre of death more patiently then euer I saw any man. To his sonne whom he called King, he sent many messages and confessed himselfe very deuoutly, and said diuers prayers answerable to the Sacraments he receiued, which also himselfe demanded. He spake as hartily as if he had not been sicke, and talked of all matters touching the King his sonnes estate; and among other things gaue commandement that the Lord of Cordes should not depart from his sonne by the space of halfe a yeare after his death: and further, that he should be intreated to attempt nothing against Calice, nor elsewhere; saying, that notwithstanding he had deuised these enterprises for the Kings profit, and the benefit of the Realme: yet were they very dangerous, especially that of Calice, for feare of mouing the Englishmen thereby to warre. Further, he willed especially that after his death the Realme should rest in peace the space of fiue or six yeres, a matter which he would neuer yeeld vnto during his life, though very needfull: for notwithstanding it were great and large, yet was it in poore and miserable estate, especially because of the passing to and fro of the men of armes, who continually remooued from one country to another. He gaue order also that no quarrell should be picked in Britaine but that Duke *Francis* should be suffered to liue in quiet, and not be put in any doubt or feare of war, neither yet any other neighbour bordering vpon the realme, to the end the King and the realme might rest in peace till the King were of yeares to dispose thereof at his owne pleasure.

Thus you see how vndiscreetly his death was signified to him, which I haue rehearsed because I began to make a comparison between those euils which he had caused diuers of his subiects to suffer, and those himselfe suffered before his death, to the end you may perceiue that notwithstanding they were not so greuous, nor so long (as I haue said:) yet were they greuous to him considering his nature, which demanded obedience, and had beene better obeyed then any Prince in his time; so that one halfe word contrarying his minde was to him a greuous punishment. Fiue or six daies before his death he had all men in suspicion, especially all that were worthy of credit and authority, yea, hee grew iealous of his owne sonne, and caused him to be straightly guarded, neither did any man see him or speake with him but by his commandement: at the length he began to stand in doubt also of his daughter, and of his sonne in law now Duke of Bourbon, and would needs know what men entred into Pleffis with them, and in the end brake off an assembly that the Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law held there by his commandement. Moreouer, at the same time that his said sonne in law and the Earle of Dunois (returning from the conuoy of the ambassage that came to Amboise to the mariage of the King his sonne and the Queene) entred into the castle of Pleffis, with a great band of men: the King who caused the gates to be straightly kept, being in the gallery that looketh into the court of the said castle; caused one of the captaines of his gaurd to come to him, whom they commanded to feele as he talked with the said noble mens seruants whether they ware any brigandines vnder their cloakes, not making shew as though he came purposely for that intent. hereby you may perceiue if he caused diuers others to liue in feare and suspicion vnder him: whether he were paid now with the like him

himselfe; for of whom could he be assured, mistrusting his sonne, his daughter, and his sonne in law? Wherefore thus much I will say not onely of him, but of all other Princes that desire to be feared: that they neuer feele the reuenge thereof till their age, and then their penance is to feare all men. What great griefe thinke you was it to this poore King to be troubled with these passions? He had a Phisition called Master *James Coshier*, to whom he gaue in five months 54000. crownes after the rate of 10000. the month, and 4000. ouer, besides the Bishopricke of Amiens for his nephew, and other offices and Lands for him and his friends. The said Phisition vsed him so roughly, that a man would not giue his seruant so sharpe language as he gaue the King; and yet the King so much feared him, that he durst not command him out of his presence: for notwithstanding that he complained to diuers of him, yet durst he not change him as he did all his other seruants, because this Phisition once said thus boldly to him; I know that one day you will command me away as you doe all your other seruant, but you shall not liue eight daies after, binding it with a great oath. Which words put the King in such feare, that euer after he flattered him, and bestowed gifts vpon him, which was a maruellous purgatory to him in this world, considering of how many noble men and gentlemen he had been obeied.

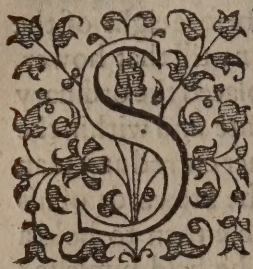
Moreouer, he had caused diuers cruel prisons to be made; as for example, cages being eight foot square, and one foot more then a mans height, some of iron, and some of wood, plated with iron both within and without with horrible iron workes. He that first deuised them was the Bishop of Verdun, who incontinent was himselfe put into the first that was made, where hee remained fourteene yeeres. Many haue cursed him for his deuise, and among others my selfe, for I lay in one of them vnder the King that now raigenth the space of eight months. He had also caused certaine Almaines to make terrible heauy irons to lay men in, among the which there was a fetter to put on their feet very hard to be opened like to a carquan, with a weighty chaine, and a great iron ball at the end thereof, heauy beyond all measure. These irons were called the Kings nets. Notwithstanding I haue scene diuers gentlemen lie in them as prisoners, who came forth afterward with great honour, and were aduanced by him to high estate: as for example, a sonne of the Lord of Grutuze in Flanders, taken prisoner in the wars, whom the King afterward richly married, and made one of his Chamber, and Seneschal of Aniou, and gaue him charge of a hundred launces; and in like manner the Lord of Piennes and the Lord of Vergy taken prisoners also in the wars, who both had charge of men of armes vnder the King and other goodly offices, and were of the priuy chamber either to him or his sonne. The like happened also to the Lord of Richbourg the Constables brother, and to one *Roquebertin* of the countrey of Cathelony, being likewise taken prisoners in the warres, whom he afterward highly aduanced with diuers others of diuers countries too long to rehearse. But now to returne to the matter. As in his time these diuers and sundry cruell prisons were deuised: euen so he before his death lay in the like, yea in much crueller prison then any of them, and was in greater feare then they that stood in feare of him, which I account as a great grace towards him, & as part of his purgatory, and rehearse it onely to shew that euery man of what estate or condition soeuer he be, is punished either secretly or openly, especially, those that punish others. Further, the King a little before his death inclosed his castle of Pleffis with a grate of iron barres, and at the foure corners of the said castell caused foure strong watch houses of iron to be built. The said grate was made directly ouer against the castle wall round about the castell on the outer side

side of the ditch, which was verie steepe. He caused also to be masoned into the wall a great number of iron speares, each of them hauing diuers heads set close together. Moreouer, he appointed ten crossebow men to be continually in the said ditches, and to lie in the fower iron houses built in the bottome of the said ditches, and gaue them commandement to shoote at every man that approached neere to the gate, before the gate opened. He knew well that this fortification was to no purpose, against a great force or an army, but that he doubted not: his only feare was, that certaine noble men of his realme hauing intelligence in the castell, would attempt to enter into it in the night, partly by loue and partly by force, and take the gouernement vpon them, and make him liue as a man bereft of his wits, and vnworthy to rule. The castell gate neuer opened before eight of the clocke in the morning, neither was the drawe bridge let downe till that hower, and then entred his officers, and the captaines of his garde placed the ordinary warders, and appointed archers to the watch both at the gate and within the court, as if it had beene a frontire towne straightly kept: neither entred any man without the Kings commandement but by the wicket, saue the Stewards of his house, and such like officers that went not to him. Is it possible then to hold a King (I meane vsing him like a Prince) in a straiter prison than he held himselfe? The cages wherein he held others were about eight foote square, and he beeing so great a Prince had but a little court in the castell to walke in, yea and sildome came he into that: for vsually he kept himselfe in the gallery, from whence he neuer stirred but when he went to masse, at which time he passed through the chambers, and not through the Court. Thinke you that he was not in feare as well as others, seeing he locked himselfe in after this sort, kept himselfe thus close, stood in such feare of his children and neereft kinsmen, and changed and remooued his seruants from day to day, whom he had brought vp and whose good estate depended wholly vpon him, in such sort that he durst trust none of them, but bound himselfe in these strange chaines and bands? The place I confesse was larger than a common prison, so was his estate greater then a common prisoners. But a man will say peradventure, that other Princes haue beene more suspicious than he, whereunto I agree: but none sure in our time, neither any so wise as he, nor that had so good subiects as he had: & as touching them, peradventure they were cruell tyrants, but he neuer punished any without desert. All this aboue written I haue rehearsed, not so much to publish the suspicions of the King our Master: as partly to prooue that the patient enduring of these passions, being equall with those he had caused others to endure; and of this sicknes being sharp and troublesome to him, and the which he feared greatly before he fell into it; is to be accotinted as a punishment God gaue him in this world; to ease him in the world to come, and partly to giue an example to those that shall come after him, to haue some more compassion on their people than he had, and to be lesse rigorous in punishing than he was. Notwithstanding for my part I am not able to accuse him, neither saw I euer a better Prince; for though himselfe pressed his subiects, yet would he suffer none other so to do, friend or foe.

After all these feares, sorrowes, and suspicions, God (according to his accustomed goodnes) wrought a miracle vpon him; healing him both in soule and body: for he tooke him out of this miserable world, being perfect of sense, vnderstanding, and memory, hauing receiued all his sacraments without all grieve to mans iudgement, and talking continually euen within a Pater noster while of his death; so that he gaue order for his funerall, and named those that should accompany his body to the graue: saying euer, that he trusted to die on no day but

saturday, and that our Lady, in whom he had euer put his confidence, and alwaies deuoutly serued, had purchased him this grace, & sure so it happened: for he ended his life vpon saturday the 30. of August in the year 1483. at eight of the clock at night, in the said castell of Pleffis, where he fell sicke the monday before. His soule, I trust, is with God, and resteth in his blessed realme of paradise.

Chap. 13. A discourse vpon the miserie of mans life, by the examples of those Princes that liued in the authors time, and first of King Lewis.



Mall trust ought meane and poore men to repose in worldly wealth and honours, seeing this mighty King, after so long trouble and trauell for the obtrayning of them, forsook them all, and could not prolong his life one hower for all that he could do. I knew him and serued him in the flower of his age and in his great prosperity, yet neuer saw I him free from toile of body and trouble of mind. Aboue all pastimes he loued hunting & hauking in their seasons, hunting especially.

As touching women, he was free from that vice all the time that I serued him: for a little before in y coming to him, he lost one of his sonnes, whose death he took very heauily; and soone after made a solemne vow to God in my presence, neuer to accompany with women but the Queen his wife. Whereunto notwithstanding that he were bound by the lawes of mariage; yet was it much that he had such stay of himselfe, especially the Queen being none of those in whose beauty a man could take great delight, but otherwise a very vertuous Lady. In this pastime of hunting he took almost as much pain as pleasure; for the toile was great, because he ranne the Hart to death by force. Besides that, he arose very earely in the morning and oftentimes went far, neither could any weather make him leaue his sport. Sometime also he returned very weary and in manner euer displeased with one or other: for this game is not alwaies made as they wish that haue the ordering thereof; notwithstanding in all mens opinions, he for his part vnderstood it better than any man in his time. In this pastime he exercised himselfe continually, lodging about in the villages till warres began. For almost euery sommer there was somewhat to doe between Duke Charles of Burgundie and him: but when winter approched they vsed to make truce. He had great warres also for the countie of Roussillon with King John of Arragon, the King of Spaines father that now liueth. For notwithstanding that they were very poor, and in war with their subiects, namely them of Barселonne and others, and that the sonne were of no force: (for he expected the inheritance of King Friderike of Castile his wiues brother, which afterward fell to him) yet because they had the hearts of the subiects, of the said county of Roussillon, they made great resistance against him, which cost the King and his realme full deere: for many a good man died and was slaine there, and infinite treasure was consumed in those wars; for they endured long.

Thus you see that the pleasure the King had was but one small time in the yeere, and that ioined with great toile and trauell of his person: when his body was at rest, his minde was occupied, for he had to do in many places, and busied himselfe as much with his neighbors affairs, as with his own, seeking to place men in their houses², and to bestow the offices therein at his pleasure. When he was in war he desired peace or truce, which notwithstanding when he had obtained, he could

¹For ought I can read in any history, this Frederike should be Henrique, and so appeareth by our author himselfe, lib. 5. cap. 7. & cap. 18.

²As in Britaine, Sauoye, and Prouince vnder King Rene.

could not long away with. He medled with many trifling matters in his realme, which he might well haue passed ouer: but such was his disposition & life. And to say the truth, his memorie was so excellent that he forgot nothing; but knew all the world, all countries, and all men of estimation round about him; so that he seemed a Prince worthier to gouern the whole world than one realme alone. Of his youth I am able to say nothing, for I was not with him at that time; notwithstanding what I haue heard, that I will report. Being but eleuen yeeres of age he was busied by certain Princes and other of the realme, in a war against K. Charles his father, called *la Praguerie*, which endured not long. And when he was growen to mans estate he married the King of Scotlands daughter³, and during hir life neuer ioyed with hir⁴: after hir death because of the factions and troubles that were in the King his fathers court, he retired into his owne countrey of Daulphine, whither a great number of gentlemen accompanied him; yea many mo than he was able to maintaine. While he was in Daulphine he married the D. of Sauoies daughter, and soon after fell at variance with his father in law, so that sharp war arose between them. K. Charles seeing his son so well accompanied with gentlemen and men of armes, determined to go against him in person with great force, and to chase him out of the country by strong hand: wherfore he put himselfe vpon the way, and endeouored to withdraw his sonnes men from him, commanding them as his subiects vnder paine of his displeasure to repaire vnto him. Wherunto diuers obeyed, to the King our Masters great griefe; who seeing his fathers indignation against him, determined (notwithstanding that his force were great) to depart thence, and leane the countrey to his fathers disposing. And in this estate trauelled he through Burgundie with a small traine to Duke Philip, who receiued him very honorably, furnished him with money to maintaine his estate, and gaue yeerely pensions to his principall seruants, namely to the Earle of Comminges, the L. of Montauban, and others, and bestowed also during his being there diuers large gifts vpon his other seruants. Notwithstanding because he entertained such a number, his mony failed often to his great griefe, so that he was forced to borrow some where or other, otherwise his men would haue forsaken him; which vndoubtedly is a great trouble to a Prince vncustomed thereunto. Thus you see that he was not without vexation & anguish of mind during his abode in this house of Burgundie: for he was forced to faigne both vpon the Duke and his principall seruants, least they should waxe weary of him, for he was there a long time, to wit, the space of six yeeres. Besides that, his father sent ambassadors continually to the Duke, requiring him either to put him foorth of his dominions or send him back to him. Wherfore it is to be thought that he was not idle nor without great vexation of mind. All these things considered: when may a man say that he liued in ioy & pleasure? Sure in mine opinion from his childhood till his death he was in continuall toile & trouble, so that if all his pleasant & ioyfull daies were numbred, I think they should be found but few: yea I am fully perswaded, that for one pleasant there should be found twenty displeasing. He liued about 61 yeeres; notwithstanding that he had conceived an imagination that he should neuer passe threescore, saying, that no King of France of long time passed that age, some say none since Charles the great. Notwithstanding the King our Master when he died was well forward in the threescore and one yeere.

³Others write that he was but 14 yeeres olde when he married her, which was in the year 1437, and she died ann. 1448.

⁴This Ladies name was Margaret she was sister to James the second King of Scotland: she was of a lothsome complexion, and had an vnflattering breath; wherfore the King loued hir not.

the Duke of Burgundie what rest or quietnes had he more than the King our Master? True it is that in his youth he was not much troubled, for he attempted nothing till the two and twentieth yeere of his age, but liued till that time in

health and at ease. But then he began to busie himselfe with his fathers officers, whom his father maintained against him : for the which cause he absented himselfe and went into Holland, where he was well receiued and had intelligence with them of Gaunt, and sometime also went thither himselfe. He had not one penny of his father, but this countrey of Holland was marvellous rich and gaue him goodly presents, as did also diuers great townes of his other Seniories, hoping thereby to win his fauour in time to come. For it is a common thing, especially among the vulgar sort, to loue better, and seeke rather to him whose power is growing, than to him who is already so great that he can be no greater. For the which cause D. *Philip*, when men told him that they of Gaunt loued his son marvellous well, and that he could skill of their humor : was wont to answer, that their Prince in expectation they euer loued deerely, but their Prince in possession they hated euer extremely, which saying prooued true. For after Duke *Charles* began to reigne ouer them they neuer loued him, and that they well declared as before I haue rehearsed : he also for his part bare them as little good will, notwithstanding they did his posteritie more harme than they could doe him. But to proceed, after the time that D. *Charles* mooued war for the towns in Picardie, which the King our Master had redeemed of D. *Philip* his father, and ioyned himselfe with the Princes of this realme, in the war called **THE WEALE PVBLIKE** : he neuer was quiet, but in continuall trauell both of body and minde. For his heart was so inflamed with desire of glory, that he attempted to conquer all that lay about him. All sommer he kept the field with great danger of his person, and tooke vpon himselfe the charge & care of the whole army : all which trouble seemed not yet sufficient to him. He was the first vp and the last downe, as if he had been the poorest soldier in his campe. If he rested from warres any time in winter, yet was he busied all day long from six of the clocke in the morning, either in leuying of money, or receiuing ambassadors, or giuing them audience. In this trauell and miserie ended he his daies, and was slaine of the Swis- sers before Nancy, as you haue heard ; so that a man may iustly say, that he neuer had good day from the time that ambition first entred into his minde, till the hower of his death. And what got he by all this trauell ? what needed he thus to haue toiled himselfe, being so rich a Prince, and hauing so many goodly townes and seniories vnder his subiection, where he might haue liued in great ioy and prosperitie, if it had so pleased him.

5 This is agreeable with Pompeies saying to Sulla, that the Romans did *Orientem potius quam occidentem solem uenerari.*

6 The Earle of Warwicks father was *Richard Neuill* Earle of Salisburie, who was not slaine at the battell of Wakefield with *Richard* Duke of York, but taken, and within a day or two after beheaded, and his head sent to York, as the said Dukes had been. By this place I haue amended the other. lib. 1. cap. 7. figur. 3.

I must now speake of *Edward* King of England, who was so great and mighty a Prince. In his youth he saw the Duke of Yorke his father discomfited, and slaine in battell, and with him the Earle of Warwicks father, the which Earle of Warwicke gouerned King *Edward* in his youth, and all his affaires ; yea to say the truth made him King, and was the onely man that defeated his enimie King *Henry*, who had raigned many yeeres in England, and was lawfull King both in mine opinion, and in the iudgement of the whole world. But as touching great realmes and seniories, God holdeth them in his hand, and disposeth of them at his pleasure ; for all proceedeth of him. The cause that mooued the Earle of Warwicke to serue the house of Yorke against King *Henry*, who was of the house of Lancaster, was this. The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Sommerfet fell at variance in King *Henries* court, who was a very simple man : the Queene his wife being of the house of Aniou, daughter to *Rene* King of Sicilie, tooke part with the Duke of Sommerfet against the Earle. But considering that they had all acknowledged both King *Henry* and his father and grandfather for their lawfull Princes : the said Lady should haue done much better to haue

taken

taken vpon hir the office of Iudge or mediator between them, than to take part with either of them, as the sequele well declared. For hereupon arose war, which continued nine and twenty yeeres: during the which space many bloody battels were fought, and in the end, all in manner both of the one part and the other slaine. Now to speake a word or two of factions: surely they are marvellous dangerous, especially among great men, who are naturally inclined to nourish and maintaine them. But you will say peradventure, that by this meanes the Prince shall haue intelligence of all things that passe, and thereby hold both the parties in the greater feare. In truth I can well agree that a yoong Prince vse this order among Ladies: for by this meanes he shall haue pleasure and sport inough, and vnderstand of all their newes: but to nourish factions among men, yea among Princes and men of vertue and courage, nothing can be more dangerous, because by that meanes he shall kindle an vnquencheable fire in his house: for forthwith one of the parties will suppose the King to be against them, and then to fortifie themselves will enter into intelligence with his enemies. The factions of Orleans and Burgundie prooue this point sufficiently; for the warres that sprang thereof continued threescore and twelue yeeres, the English men being parties in them, who thought to haue conquered the whole realme. But to returne to King Edward, he was very yoong when his father was slaine, and the beautifullest Prince in the world: but after he had vanquished all his enemies, he gaue himselfe wholly to pleasures, as to dames, feasting, banketting, and hunting; in the which delicacies he continued about sixteen yeeres⁷, to wit, till the Earle of Warwicke and he fell at variance, in the which wars, notwithstanding that the King were chased out of his realme, yet continued he not long in that estate: for he soone returned, and hauing obtained the victorie, more abandoned himselfe to all pleasures than before. He feared no man, but fed himselfe marvellous fat, by meanes whereof in the flower of his age diseases grew vpon him, so that he died in a manner suddenly, of an Apoplexie, and his heires males lost the crown, as before you haue heard.

In this our age reigned also two valiant and wise Princes, namely *Mathias* King of Hungarie, and *Mahomet Ottoman* Emperor of Turkie. This King *Mathias* was sonne to a valiant knight called the white knight of Valachie⁸, a gentleman of great wisdom and vertue, who gouerned long the realme of Hungarie, and obtained many goodly victories against the Turkes⁹, who border vpon the said realme, by reason of the Seniories they haue vsurped in Greece and Slauonie¹⁰. Soone after his death King *Lancelot* came to mans estate¹¹, who was right heire not onely of the realme of Hungarie, but also of Bohemia and Polonia. He by the counsell of certaine caused the white knights two sonnes to be apprehended, alleaging that their father had vsurped too great rule and authoritie in the realme, and that the sonnes being gentlemen of great courage might peradventure attempt the like. Wherefore the said King *Lancelot* resolved to lay them both in prison, and incontinent put the elder to death¹², and sent the said *Mathias* prisoner to Bude the chiefe towne of Hungarie,

⁷ *Commines* saith here, that King Edward had liued sixteen yeeres in delicacies when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of his realme: yet before lib. 3. he saith 12. or 13. yeeres, somewhat nearer to the truth; for indeed he was chased the 10. yeere of his reigne.

⁸ This white knight is named *Iohannes Huniades Cornutus*, his fathers name was *Bub*, of the country of Valachie, corruptly printed in the French *Vallagnie*.

⁹ To wit, 20. and fought in one day against *Amurat* and his Basbaes six great battels, and obtained victorie in them all.

¹⁰ *Slauonie* is the country of Illyria.

¹¹ Some write that this *Lancelot* called in Latin stories *Ladislaus* came to full yeeres before *Huniades* death, and gaue him in recompence of his seruice the Earledome of Bistrich, and yet afterward sought to kill him by the perswasion of *Vrlich* Earle of Cilie the said *Ladislaus* vncke: but *Huniades* valiantly defended himselfe, and loone after died. But indeed the truth is, that *Ladislaus* was borne the 21. of February 1440. and *Huniades* died the 10. of September 1456. so that at *Huniades* death, *Ladislaus* was almost 17. yeeres of age, and by the perswasion of this Earle *Vrlich* had taken the gouernment vpon himselfe. ¹² The elder brothers name was *Ladislaus*. The cause of his death was, for that in defence of himselfe he had slaine the Earle *Vrlich*, who assaulted him, as before he had done his father, and continually fought both his blood and his brothers. Wherefore the King caused both the brethren deceitfully to be taken, and beheaded the elder being five or six and twenty yeeres of age. It is written, that the hangman gaue him three strokes with the sword, before he could pierce his skin.

where

where he remained not long. And I suppose that God tooke in good part the great seruices his father had done. For soone after King *Lancelot* was poisoned at Prage in Bohemia¹³, by a gentlewoman of a good house (whose brother my selfe haue seen) of whom he was enamored, and she likewise of him; so far forth that she being displeased with his mariage with the daughter of *Charles* the V II. King of Fraunce now called Princeesse of Vienna (against his promise made to hir) poisoned him in a bathe, as shee gaue him a peece of apple to eat, hauing conueighed the poison into the hant of hir knife. Immediately after King *Lancelots* death, the Barons and Nobles of the realme assembled to choose a new King: for the custome of the countrey is, when the King dieth without issue, that the Nobles may proceed to an election. And while they were there in great diuision about their choice, the white Knights widow mother to *Mathias* came into the towne with a goodly traine: for because she had great treasure left hir by hir husband, shee was soone able to leuie great forces: and further, I thinke she had good intelligence both in the towne and also among the Nobilitie, because of the great sway hir husband had borne in the realme. She rode straight to the prison and tooke hir sonne out of it¹⁴. Whereupon part of the Barons and Prelates there assembled for the election, fled for feare, the rest chose the said *Mathias* King, who raigned in the realme with as great prosperitie as any King these many yeeres, and hath been as highly praised and commended, yea more in some points than any of his predecessors. He was one of the valiantest men that liued in his time, and obtayned great victories against the Turkes, without all damage to his owne realme, the which he enlarged on all sides, as well towards Bohemia (the greatest part whereof he held) as also towards Valachie where he was borne, and towards Sclauonie. In like manner vpon the frontiers of Almain he wan the greatest part of Austrich from the Emperor *Fredericke* now rainging, and possessed it till his death, which hapned in the yeere 1491 in Vienna the chiefe towne of Austrich. This King gouerned his affaires with great wisdom, as well in peace as war: but a little before his death perceiuing himselfe to be feared of his enimies, he grew maruellous pompous and sumptuous in his Court, and amassed an infinite quantitie of goodly stufte, iewels and plate, for the furniture of his house. All his affaires were dispatched by himselfe or by his direction. Before his death his subiects stood in great feare of him, for he waxed cruell, and soon after fell into a greuous and incurable disease being but yoong, to wit, eight and twenty yeeres of age¹⁵, or thereabout. He died hauing spent his life in much more labour and trauell than pleasure.

The Turke aboue mentioned¹⁶ was a wise and noble Prince, but vsing wiles and subtiltie more than courage and valour. True it is, that his father left him great, for he had been a hardy Prince, and wan Adrianople¹⁷, which is as much to say, as the citie of Adrian. This Turke that I now write of, tooke in the three and twentieth yeere of his age the citie of Constantinople¹⁸. I haue seene his pourtraiture when he was of those yeeres, the lineaments whereof made shew of an excellent wit. It was a shame for all Christendome to suffer the towne so to be lost: for he tooke it by assault, and the Emperour of the East

¹³ King *Ladislaus* died of poison the 21. of Nouember 1457.

¹⁴ Other histories varie much in this point from *Commines*: for they make no mention of *Mathias* deliuerie by his mothers meanes, but say that King *Ladislaus* being hated in Hungarie for *Huniades* elder sonnes death, departed in o Bohemia, leading *Mathias* with him as prisoner, where soone after this *Ladislaus* died of poyson, as heere by our author mention is made.

After his death *George Boiebrac* usurped the realm of Bohemia. This *Mathias* being still prisoner at Prage: but the nobles of Hungarie, because of his fathers great seruices, chose him their King, and sent to the said *Boiebrac* requiring his deliuerie: who not onely accomplished

their request on that behalfe, but also gaue the said *Mathias* his daughter in mariage, and sent him into Hungarie nobly accompanied. ¹⁹ This place is maruellously corrupted; for King *Mathias* was borne the 24. of February 1443. and died the fift of Aprill at Vienna of an Apoplexie the yeere 1490. or as our author saith 1491. so that by this computation he liued about 48. yeeres, and so vndoubtedly this 28. must be read 48. ¹⁶ This Turke is *Mahomet* the second. ¹⁷ Others write that *Amurathes* the third Emperour of Turkie wan Adrianople, and it may be that the name deceiued our author: for this Turkes fathers name was also *Amurathes*; but this was *Amurathes* the second, and he that wan Adrianople *Amurathes* the first.

¹⁸ Constantinople was taken anno 1453. the 29. of May.

whom

whom we call Emperor of Constantinople, was slaine himselfe at the breach¹⁹, with a number of valiant men, and diuers women of great estate and noble houses rauished: to be short, no cruelty was omitted. This was his first exploit, but not his last, for he continued till his death in atchieuing great enterprises: so that I heard once an ambassador of Venice tell Duke Charles of Burgundie that he had conquered two Empires, fower realmes, and two hundred cities. He meant the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezond²⁰; the realmes of Bosne²¹, Syria, Armenia, and I thinke Morea²² was the fowerth, in the which the Venetians held two places. He conquered also diuers goodly Iles in the sea, called Archipel²³, neere to the said Morea, with the Iles of Nigrepont²⁴ and Mitilene: hee subdued in like manner the greatest part of Albanie and Sclauonie. And as his conquests were great against the Christians, so were they also against them of his owne law, of whom he destroyed many a great Prince, as the Caraman²⁵ and diuers others. The greatest part of his affaires he gouerned by his owne wisdom, as did our King and the King of Hungarie also: who were three of the greatest Princes that reigned these hundred yeeres. But the curtesie and course of life of the King our Master, and his good vsage both of his owne seruants and strangers far passed both the others; and no maruell, for he was the most Christian King. As touching worldly pleasures this Turke had his fill; for he spent the greatest part of his life in them, and had he not beene so much addicted to them, vndoubtedly he would haue done much more mischief. There was no fleshly vice that he was free from, but in gluttony he passed, and according to his diet diseases fell vpon him: for euery spring (as I haue heard those report that haue seene him) his legs swelled as big as a mans body, notwithstanding they brake not, but the swelling asswaged of it selfe. No surgeon could tell the cause of this disease saue onely that it proceeded of gluttony, and it may be that it was some speciall punishment of God. This said disease was the cause he came so seldome abroade, and kept himselfe so close in his chariot, fearing that the miserable estate he was in, would cause his subiects to dispise him. He died being two and fiftie yeeres of age²⁶ or there about, in manner suddenly: notwithstanding, hee made his Testament, which my selfe haue seene, wherein he made conscience of a subsidelately leuied vpon his subiects, if the said Testament be true. Let Christian Princes then weigh well what they ought to do, considering that they haue no authoritie in right and reason to leuie any thing vpon their subiects without their permission and consent.

Some of them the Carnian, some the Carmanian, and some (because they will be sure not to erre) nothing. But vndoubtedly it is to be read as I haue here translated it. For further declaration whereof we must vnderstand, that about the yeere 1250. fower noble houses came out of Persia with their captaines and armies, the Othomans, Assemees, Scandelors or Candelors, and the Caramans. All these fower houses subdued euery one of them some region: the Othomans vnan Bythima, Phrygia, Galatia. The Assemees Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia. The Scandelors held the greatest part of Pontus: and the Caramans Cilicia, Licia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia. But the house of Othoman in the end denoured all the other three. The Assemees were vanquished by this Mahomet ann. 1459. For you shall vnderstand, that *Vsumcausanes* King of the Assemees fought three great battles with this Mahomet. In the two first he ouerthrew him, but in the third he was vtterly ouerthrowen, by reason that Mahomet had great artillery in his campe, which noueltie (vknownen before to the easterly nations) discomfited *Vsumcausanes* army, who in this battle lost also his sonne Zeinalde. After this battle Mahomet vnan all Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and tooke Trapezonde the seate of the Assemees empire, with the greatest part of Armenia and Syria, as mention is heere made. Further, after this battell Mahomet tooke from *Pyramitus* Prince of the Caramans, the greatest part of Cilicia: and after this Mahomet's death *Baiazet* his sonne slue in battle *Abraham* the last Prince of the Caramans, and vtterly destroyed that house. As touching the Scandelors, after the Assemees and Caramans were destroyed, the Prince of the Scandelors yielded his countrie to *Baiazet*, and in exchange thereof had certaine reuenues giuen him in Natolia. And thus were all the three houses subdued by the house of Othoman: which discourse for the better vnderstanding of this place, I haue beene forced to write somewhat at large. Others write 58. and other write 56. but sure our author reporteth his age truest: for he was borne ann. 1430. the 24. of March, and died of the collicke 1481. the third of May, so that he was entred into his two and fiftith yeere.

The conclusion of the Author.

Y ou see heere a number of great personages dead in short space, who trauelled so mightily, and endured so many anguishes and sorrowes to purchase honor and renoume, whereby they abridged their liues, yea and peradventure charged their soules. I speake not this of the Turke, for I make account he is lodged with his predecessors; but our King and the rest, I trust, God hath taken to his mercy. Now to speake of this point as a man vnlearned, but hauing some experience: had it not been better both for these great Princes themselues and all their subiects that liued vnder them, and shall liue vnder their successors, to haue held a meane in all things, that is to say, to haue attempted fewer enterprises, to haue feared more to offend God, and persecute their subiects and neighbors so many sundry waies aboue rehearsed, and to haue vsed honest pleasures and recreation? Yes sure. For by that meanes their liues should haue been prolonged, diseases should not so soone haue assailed them, their death should haue been more lamented, and lesse desired; yea, and they should haue had lesse cause to feare death. What goodlier examples can we finde to teach vs that man is but a shadow, that our life is miserable and short, and that we are nothing, neither great nor small? For immediately after our death, all men abhorre and loath our bodies, and so soone as the soule is seuered from the body, it goeth to receiue iudgement; yea vndoubtedly at the very instant that the soule and body part, the iudgement of God is giuen according to our merits and deserts, which is called the particular iudgement of God.



A SUPPLY TO THE HISTORIE OF PHILIP DE COMMINES FROM THE

death of King Lewis the x. I. till the beginning of the wars of Naples, to wit, from 1483. till 1493. of all the which time Commines writeth nothing.

Chap. 1. Of King Charles his coming to the crowne, of the death of Oliuer King Lewis his Barber and others, and of the reuoking of King Lewis his superfluous gifts.



After the death of Lewis the eleuenth, Charles the 8. his only sonne being 13. yeeres of age and two moneths, succeeded to the crowne: notwithstanding his coronation was deferred till the moneth of Iune in the next yeere, to the end he might be full fowerteene when he should be crowned. The King his father had brought him vp at Amboise in such solitarines, that none besides his ordinary seruants could haue accesse vnto him; neither permitted he him to learne any more Latine than this one sentence: *He that cannot dissemble cannot raigne.* which he did not for that he hated learning, but

because he feared that studie would hurt the tender and delicate complexion of the childe. Notwithstanding King Charles after hee came to the crowne, grew very studious of learning, and gaue himselfe to the reading of stories and bookes of humanity written in the French tongue, and attempted to vnderstand Latine.

Before the Kings coronation, the Princes of the blood and the nobles of the realme, who so often had been iniured in the late King Lewis his time by Oliuer le Dain his barber, by Daniel a Flemming the said Oliuers seruant, and by Iohn D'oyac; (which three had wholly gouerned the said King Lewis,) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them for diuers murders, rapines, and other heinous crimes that they had committed in King Lewis his time, yea and some of them by his commandement: the which information being seene by the court of Parliament, they were forthwith apprehended, their processe made, and in the end all three condemned: and the next yeere being 1484. the said Oliuer and Daniell, his man were hanged at Paris, and D'oyac had his eares cut off, and his tooong bored through with a hot iron. One of the crimes committed by Oliuer and Daniel, for the which they were executed was this: A gentleman was committed to prison by King Lewis his commandement, whose wife being yoong and beautiful, was contented to abandon her selfe to the lust of this Oliuer, vpon promise that he should deliuer her husband out of prison to her; but the next day he caused Daniel his man to put him into a sacke, and to throwe him into the river, where he was miserably drowned. This Oliuer was a Flemming borne, and had been barber to King Lewis, and of greater credit with him than any man in all Fraunce, which his credit grew by vile and slauiish offices that he did about the King, so far forth that he ordinarily sucked the Kings hemorrhoides; where-with he was often troubled, which base seruice he did, not for good will that he bare the King, but onely for couetousnes and to maintaine his credit, which ended

ded soone after the King his Masters death as you have heard; notwithstanding the great charge that the King vpon his death-bed had giuen his sonne to loue the said *Oliuer*, and not to suffer him to be spoiled of that which he had bestowed vpon him, because his seruice had long preserued his life. But howsoever Princes maintaine such lewd ministers in their liues, and how ready soeuer such seruants be to execute their Masters vnlawfull and wilfull commandements, supposing that they shall neuer be called to account therefore: yet in the end they finde that credit in Court is no inheritance, and that God who leaueth nothing unpunished, findeth a time to reward them according to their deserts. Further, soone after King *Lewis* his death, consultation was had of the superfluous and superstitious gifts made by him in his life, all the which were reuoked, and all that was giuen reunited to the crowne.

*Cap. 2. Of the assembly of the States held at Touars of the Duke of Orleans
pursute for the regencie, of the war called the mad war
raised by him, and of his departure
into Britaine.*

1484.

THe King in the moneth of Iuly after his coronation, being the yeere 1484. held a general and free assembly of the States of his realme at Touars, far other wise then had beene vsed in his fathers daies: for none came to these generall assemblies in his time, but such as were of his owne denomination, neither durst any man speake his minde freely, but was forced in all matters to yeeld to the Kings will, which was for the most part vnreasonable and violent. But at this assemblie the presence was great, the voices free, the complaints lamentable: the Nobilitie, Commons and Clergie, euerie one of them presented their griefes, complaining of the burdens that the late King (contrarie to the lawes of the realmes, and customes of their ancestors) had laid vpon them. In this assembly it was enacted that there should be no Regent in Fraunce; but that *Anne* Lady of Beauieu the Kings eldest sister should haue the gouernment of his roiall person, according to the testament of King *Lewis* the x. i. that the priuy Councell should consist of twelue chosen out of the body of the Nobility, by whose aduise all matters should be gouerned and dispatched; but all in the Kings name, and vnder the signature of his hand. Further, *John* Duke of Bourbon was created Constable. But by little and little the whole gouernment was deriued to the said Lady of Beauieu, because the King her brothers person was in her hands.

But *Lewis* Duke of Orleans being the neereft Prince of the blood royall, by the perswasion of those that were about him, who gaped for great preferment if the gouernment were committed to his charge, and especially by the instigation of the Earle of Dunois named *Francis*, sonne to *John* commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, (a man of a subtrill spirit, and of great enterprife) abode still at Paris, and entered daily into the Councell, (notwithstanding the decree of the three estates,) as one that would vnderstand of all that was done there. Where with the Lady of Beauieu was not a little discontented: which when the Prince of Orenge, the Marshall of Rieux, and the rest of the Barons of Britaine that were at that time fugitiues in Fraunce (as hereafter shall bee declared) vnderstood; they came to the said Lady of Beauieu, and offered her and the King their seruice, which the Duke of Orleans greatly stomacked. Further, the said

Duke

Duke fought by all meanes possible to discredite the womanish government of the Lady; but his perswasions little preuailed, because the Duke himselfe being not as yet fower and twentie yeeres old, was vnder the government of his mother, and it seemed no reason to commit the managing of the common wealth to him that was vnable to gouerne his owne priuate estate: so that the same reason barred him from the government now, that excluded his grandfather in times past, during the phrensie of King *Charles* the sixt. But this reason satisfied not the Duke nor his friends. Wherefore the Lady of Beauieu seeing that the Duke of Orleans remaining in Paris, wan daily those that were in authority to his side: seeking by that meanes to obtaine the regency of the realme: sent by the resolution of the Kings counsell, certaine to Paris to arrest the body of the said Duke. Who being aduertised thereof as he was at tenice, withdrew himselfe, and (pretending that he went to his lodging) departed in the company of *Guyot Pot*, and *Iohn* of Louen (one of the gentlemen of his chamber whom hee greatly fauoured) and lodged that night at Pontoise. The next day he went to Vernueil, and from thence to Alencon, where hee remained a certaine space: during the which, he practised to draw to his partie the Earle of Angoulesme, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Lord of Alebret, who in the end declared themselues to be his friends and assistants in this enterprise. But all these because of this their confederacie with him, were forthwith remooued from all their offices and estates, and lost all their pensions, and their charge of men of armes: yet notwithstanding, they leuied a great army of the people of their countries, and found meanes to win to their side the Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Orenge, and the Earle of Foix. Vnder the assurance of all the which Princes, the Duke of Orleans assembled his army at Blois, to march therewith to Orleans: but the citizens of the towne perceiuing that their Duke came thither with a purpose to surprise it, and to make it the seate of the wars, shut their gates vpon him, and would not suffer him to enter. Wherefore with an army of fower hundred launces, and a great number of foote men, he went to Bougencie, accompanied with the Earles of Dunois and Foix, and with Carqueleuant, and other French Captaines, where they remained a certaine space, and thither the King sent to besiege them. But because they saw the place not to be of defence; and further, that the Malcontents of the realme flocked not to them as they supposed they would: they made a sudden peace with the King, whereby it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should repaire to the King, and so he did, and that the Earle of Dunois the contriuer of all this enterprise should depart the realme, which also he did, and retired himselfe to Ast. But this notwithstanding, the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulesme, who had leuied their armies to succor the Duke of Orleans, marched toward Bourges, whither the King went with a great armie, accompanied with the said Duke of Orleans, who was constrained to arme himselfe against his late allies and confederates. Notwithstanding by the wisdom of the Marshall of Gie and the Lord of Grauille (which two had great authoritie in the Court vnder the Lady of Beauieu,) peace was concluded betweene the King and his nobles, wherein the Lord of Albret was also comprehended; and thus departed all these armies without any bloodshed, and the King went to Amboise; the Duke of Orleans to Orleans; and the Earle of Foix and the Cardinall his brother to Nantes to the Duke of Britaine who had married their sister. This tumult was called the mad war, and hapned in the yeere 1485.

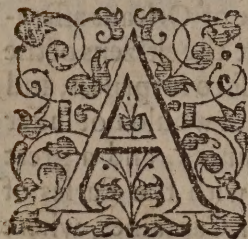
1485.

After all this, the Earle of Dunois returned from Ast, and went to his owne towne of Partenay in Poitou, which was then a strong towne with a double ditch

If you begin
the yeeres at
Newyeeres day,
it was 1486.

ditch, and a triple wall. Hereof the King being aduertised, and withall that he fortified himselfe in the said towne, and knowing the said Earle of Dunois to be full of practise, and a man of great enterprife: hee sent to the Duke of Orleans (who was at Orleans holding solemne iusts and turneies) to come to him at Amboise. And after three or fower messengers, the last whereof was the Marshall of Gié, the Duke of Orleans went to Blois, and the next day being twelfe even in the said yeere 1485. hee departed out of Blois early in the morning with his haukes, faining that he went to flie in the field, and without any baite rode that night to Fronteuaulx, whereof his sister was then Abesse; from thence he went to Clifson, and from Clifson to Nantes, where he was very honorably receiued of the Duke. This was the Duke of Orleans second comming into Britaine, as by that which followeth hereafter shall more plainly appeare. The King being aduertised of his departure, determined to besiege the Earle of Dunois in his town of Partenay, and found meanes (before any brute was made thereof) to drawe to his seruice the Marshall of Rieux, and the other Barons of Britaine that were then retired to Chasteaubrian to the Lady of Laual, who was Lady thereof, because the Duke of Britaine by aide of the Duke of Orleans and the Earle of Dunois sought to auenge himselfe of the said Barons, for the death of *Peter Landois* Treasurer of Britaine, whereof I will now begin to speake.

Chap. 3. Of the troubles that happened in Britaine betweene the Duke and his Nobles, and of Peter Landois death.



Bout the same time, or somewhat before, that the madde tumult about mentioned happened in Fraunce: a like sturre chanced also in Britaine, though not with the like euent; the feedes of the which were priuily sown in the life of *Lewis* the x. i. but sprang not vp for feare of forren war (with the which the said King *Lewis* continually threatned the Britaines) till after his death. But when all forren feare, which had hitherto preserued their peace, being remooued: the fire flamed out, which vpon this occasion was first kindled. *Chauuin* Chauncellor of Britaine (a very worthy man) died miserably in prison in the castell of L'hermite, where the D. had imprisoned him at the request of his Treasurer *Peter Landois* a hosiers sonne of Touars, who after the said *Chauuins* death wholly possessed the Duke. But the nobility, namely the Prince of Orenge, and the Martiall of Rieux (who were then at Nantes, and hated this *Landois*, as author of the others death) conspired together to his destruction: for the executing of which their purpose, they watched a time when they thought to surprise him either in the castell of Nantes with the Duke, or in a house of his owne called Pabotiere a mile from the towne. Wherefore they diuided their company, and part they sent to besiege the said house, and with the rest entred into the castell: and to the end hee should by no meanes escape, they shut vp the castell gates, they searched every corner of the castell, yea they rushed into the Dukes chamber, supposing that the said *Landois* might happily haue retired himselfe thither, in hope to make the Dukes presence the buckler of his defence. But he being a mile from Nantes in his owne house about mentioned, escaped at a backe gate before the house was throughly beset, and so saued himselfe. But presently a great vprore began in the towne: for one of the Dukes seruants, at the noble mens first entrie into the castell, being let downe the castell wall by a rope, made a great outcrie in the towne, aggrauating the

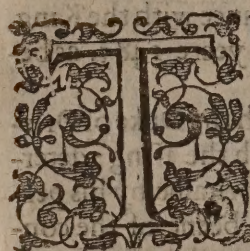
the hainousnes of the fact, and affirming that the castell was forced, the Duke assaulted, and his life in great danger vnlesse he were speedily succoured. The citizens (ignorant that this attempt was made onely for the surprising of *Peter Landois*) armed themselues, and ran to the castell threatning all the nobilitie with death, of whom not one durst shew himselfe vpon the wall to speake to the furious multitude, because the people had planted thot against the castell, meaning to spare no man so soone as he should appeare, but the Duke alone. The Duke being in the hands of his nobles, shewed himselfe vnto his people, who presently kneeled downe before him, congratulating with him for his safety, and so the tumult ceased.

But the nobility for this bold attempt were banished, though their liues were pardoned, who presently retired themselues into Fraunce to King *Charles*, as before you haue heard. Then *Peter* recouered his former credit with the Duke, and caused him to write to the D. of Orleans his cosin germaine, that it would please him to come to him into Britaine; which the Duke of Orleans did by the perswasion of the Earle of Dunois, who sought to diuorce him from the Kings sister, and to marrie him to *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and heire, which also happened after the said Duke of Orleans was King, though it were not now accomplished. The Duke of Orleans accompanied with the Duke of Alençon arriued at Nantes, in the moneth of Aprill after this tumult, being the yeere 1484. where they were honorably receiued of the Duke of Britaine, who complained to them of the outrage done vnto him by the Prince of Orenge and the Marshall of Ricux, for the reuenge whereof he desired their aide, which they promised him in generall termes, and then departed to go to Reimes to the coronation of King *Charles*. After the which the Duke of Orleans fell at variance with the King, and yet in the end peace was concluded between them in the yeere 1485. as before you haue heard.

Then *Peter Landois* seeing the Duke his Master in league with the Duke of Orleans, and the said Duke of Orleans and his faction in peace with the King: determined to be reuenged of his enemies: wherefore the Duke of Britaine, by his perswasion made an edict, that all the noblemens houses that had beene of the conspiracie aboue mentioned, should be rased. For the execution wherof an armie was leuiued in the Dukes name to rase Ancenix, where the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges then remained, who being aduertised thereof, by the aide of their friends and of the banished Barons that were returned out of exile to defend their patrimonies, leuiued likewise an armie to withstand *Landois* attempts: but when these two armies were come the one in face of the other, the remembrance and loue to their common countrie altered their mindes in such sort, that they disarmed themselues, and each embraced other as friends. Then went the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges to the Duke, and recouered his fauour and the gouernment: by meanes wherefore all the storme fell vppon *Peter Landois* alone, whom when the nobles knew to bee within the castell, with one consent they went thither, being fully resolved to seize vppon him, though he were in the Dukes armes. Then one whom both the nobility and commons had by common consent chosen their new Chauncellor, by their constraint spake to the Duke, and adnertised him that without the deliery of *Peter* the tumult could not be appeased, against whom they would proceede onely by order of lawe, without executing any thing vppon him before his cause were heard & throughly examined. Thus was he yeilded into their hands, & presently imprisoned, and for fashions sake examined: many hainous crimes were objected against

against him. To conclude, hee was condemned and hanged before the Duke knew his cause to be tried, who was purposed to haue granted him his pardon, howsoever law proceeded against him: for the preventing whereof the execution was hastened. But this fact of the nobilitie (which the Duke accounted as a most hainous iniurie done to himselfe) made them ten times more odious to the Duke then they were before. The Duke created a new Chauncellor, and to make head against his nobles, receiued very curteously the Duke of Orleans, who about this present fled to him out of Fraunce with a great company of his partakers: which when the said nobles of Britaine saw, they were greatly astonied, and fled for feare the second time into Fraunce, where the King (meaning to make warre vpon the Duke of Britaine, for receiuing the Duke of Orleans being fled from him) welcommed them, and entred into league with them, as in the end of the last chapter you haue heard. The report went that the Duke of Orleans had a plot in his head to diuorce himselfe from the Lady *Iane* the Kings sister, as forced vpon him against his will by King *Lewis* x i. and to marrie with *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and heire, the hope whereof was the cause of this his voiage into Britaine: but the selfe same hope entertained also Monsieur *d' Alebret*, and drew him to the Duke of Britaines part, the rather because hee had receiued assurance of the marriage in writing, vnder the hands of all the noble men that were about the said Duke of Britaine, saue of the Duke of Orleans alone.

Cap. 4. Of the warre the King made in Britaine, and of the Earle of Dunois ambassage to the King for peace.



1486.

He only care of the banished nobles of Britain was to returne and remaine in safety in their country, and the Kings onely desire was to be reuenged of the Duke of Britaine for receiuing the Duke of Orleans. Wherefore the King, as before is said, entred into league with these nobles, and in their fauour leuied an armie, and began war vpon the Duke of Britaine in the yeere 1486. This armie inuaded Britaine three seuerall waies; for the Lord of Saint André with fower hundred launces, and fise or sixe thousand footemen entred on one side; the Earle of Montpensier with a great band vpon another side, and *Lewis* of Trimouille, Vicount of Fouars, (who had married *Gabriell* of Bourbon the said Earle of Montpensiers sister) vpon the third, in such sort that the countrie of Britaine was couered with French soldiers, with whom also the Barons of Britaine aboue mentioned, were ioined, who caused diuers castels in Britaine to bee yeilded to the Kings armie by those that were of their faction: whereat the D. of Britaine was greatly astonied. But the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois, and the Earle of Comminges being with him comforted him, and vnder colour of a marriage to be made betweene the Lady *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and the Lord of Alebret, who had a hundred launces vnder his charge, and was able to leuie great forces of footemen in Gascoine and Guienne, where he was mighty and of goodly reuenues, the Earle of Dunois wan the said Lord of Alebret to ioine with them: who presently forsooke the Kings seruice, and tooke part with them accordingly: yet that notwithstanding the Duke of Britaine leauing Nantes in the hands of his cosin the Prince of Orenge, retired himselfe to the castell of Malestroit, being a strong place, where hee leuied an armie of sixe hundred launces, and 16000. footmen to succour Ploermel (distant three or fower leagues from Malestroit) which

which the Kings armie then besieged. But as this Britaine armie marched thitherward, one of the company brake forth into these speeches, and asked what this war meant, and what was the end thereof, alleaging that their D. was wholly gouerned by the French, and that the French made the Britaines at their pleasure reuenge French quarrels vpon the French: wherefore hee perswaded them to returne home to their wiues and children, and not to spend their liues for other mens quarrels. Whereupon all the armie disparkled, and returned home: by meanes whereof Ploermell seeing no hope of succours yeelded by composition, and yet notwithstanding was spoiled, and the rich men taken prisoners, and put to ranfome. The Dukes of Britaine and Orleans, and the other Lords that were with them at Malestroit, being aduertised of the departure of their armie, and of the taking of Ploermel, went to Vennes vpon Whitson euen being the yeere 1487. whither the Kings army so speedily followed them, that hardly they escaped by sea, and went to Croisick, and from thence by the riuer of Loire to Nantes, being constrained to leaue part of their carriage in the said town of Vennes, which presently after their departure yeelded without any resistance. Further, not long after the taking of this towne, the French in a skirmish at a place called Ioue betweene Chasteaubrian and Nantes, defeated a great band of Britaines, led by *Amaulry* of la Mossay towards Nantes, at the which time the King in person lay at Ancenix. After the taking of Vennes, the Kings army marched to Nantes, & laid the siege before the towne the 19. day of Iune in the said yeere 1487. Within the towne were the Duke of Britaine and his two daughters *Anne* and *Isabell*, the D. of Orleans, the Prince of Orenge, the Lady of Lauall and of Chasteaubrian, the Bishop of Nantes called *du Chaffault*, a man of holy life, the Earle of Comminges, and diuers other Lords: all the which dislodged out of the castell, and lodged in the towne. And because the company had some ielousie of the said Bishop of Nantes, and the Lady of Lauall that they were not thoroughly to be trusted: they were put in garde into certaine of the townes mens hands. At this siege were ten thousand French men, and great store of artillerie, where-with the wals, towers, and vantage of the castell and towne were thoroughly battered; but they without were as well plied by them within, both with shot and with salies of valiant men, where many a goodly feate of armes was done, both on the one side and the other. Further, you shall vnderstand, that the Earle of Dunois being in base Britaine there to embarke towards England to haue aide from thence, & perceiuing that the winde would not suffer him so to do, brought with him to succour the towne of Nantes aboue fiftie thousand of the commons of Britaine, which the French suffered to passe, supposing them not to be men of seruice. But the K. seeing the extreame heate of the weather, and perceiuing that he could do no good before the towne, leuied his siege the sixt day of August, & departed. Then marched the Kings armie before the towne of Dolle, which they rooke without resistance and spoiled, and all the Britaines and soldiers that were within it were taken prisoners. Further, the Kings armie spoiled all the countrie, flue the people, and draue away their cattell. But the Marshall of Rieux and the greatest part of the banished nobles of Britaine that were in the Kings seruice, lamenting the miserable estate of their countrie; waxed wearie of the warrs, and alleaged that their league with the King was onely to this ende, that they might recouer their countrey, and the French that liued in Britaine be constrained to returne home into theirs. Wherefore seeing the French nobles being in Britaine, protested, that they would willingly returne home if the King would pardon their departure to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other

1487.

side, with the consent of all his subiects, had offered these banished nobles of Britaine pardone, and restitution to all their goods and lands, they saw no cause why the wars should endure, but that each party should returne home in peace : but the French, and diuers also of the Britaines themselues were little mooued with these allegations. Wherefore the said Marshall being Lord of Ancenix, a towne-very commodious for the maintenance of the Kings wars, and the which (not withstanding that he held it for the King) he had manned with his owne tenants and seruants : yeelded the place to the Duke of Britaine, and sware the townesmen to be true to him. And Further, before the fame of his reuolt was spred abroad, he went with a great company to Chasteaubrian, which was also held for the King, and being receiued into the towne as a friend, he placed a garrison of his owne soldiers in it, and banished all that refused to returne to the obedience of the Duke. From thence he went and laid the siege before Vennes the 25. day of February, which was held by the French vnder the gouernment of *Gilbert of Grassay*, and *Philip of Moulins* valiant captaines, who yeelded the place by composition the third day of March following.

If you begin the
yeere at Newe-
yeeres day heere
beginneeth.

1488.

On the other side the Kings armie slept not : for Ancenix they tooke by assault, and rased the wals, towers, and houses by the Kings commandement, so that one stone was not left vpon another, which the King did in spite of the Marshall of *Rieux*, whose the towne was, and who was newly reuolted from him as you haue heard. Chasteaubrian was also recovered by the Kings forces, and the castell rased. From thence the Kings army marched to *Fougieres*, being a frontier towne strong and of good resistance, and laid the siege before the place, whereupon the Duke of Britaine being stroken with a new feare, determined to send the Earle of *Dunois* in ambassage to the King, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

About this time being in the beginning of the yeere 1488. the Lord of *Albret* who long had beene resident in the Court of Spaine, came by sea and landed in base Britaine with fower thousand men of war : his men went to *Rennes*, but himselfe to *Nantes* to the Duke of Britaine, where at his first comming he demanded to haue the marriage betweene him and the Lady *Anne* the Dukes eldest daughter accomplished. But the said Lady would not consent thereunto, greatly to her fathers discontentation, who knew nothing that she had cast her phansie vpon the Duke of *Orleans*, by the practise and perswasion of the Earle of *Dunois*. For the which cause the said Earle of *Dunois* (to saue his honor) endeouored to withdraw his seale giuen for the accomplishment of the said marriage, being in the hands of the Lady *Lauall* sister to the said *Alembret*, among the seales of all the other Britaine Lords: which also in the end very cunningly he brought to passe. For he gaue the said Lady to vnderstand that this mariage could neuer be accomplished without the Duke of Britaines seale could be obtained, whereunto he (as he said) had mooued the Duke, whose answere was that he could willingly giue his seale, provided that the instrument that he should seale, were written word for word by that which the Earle of *Dunois*, had already sealed : wherefore if she would cause his writing to be deliuered to him, he would make his secretarie to write that which should be presented to the Duke, word for word by his, and to get the Dukes seale to it. Ethe Lady of *Lauall* supposing that he had meant good faith, deliuered him the writing, which afterward he neuer restored : for presently after (as you shall now heare) he was sent with certaine lawyers in Ambassage to *Angiers* to the King, to vnderstand what the King demanded in the Duchy of Britaine, and why he destroyed the castels and townes thereof.

The Duke of Britaine as aboue is mentioned, being in great feare when he sawe the

the Kings army before Fougiers, sent the Earle of Dunois with the consent of his Nobles in ambassage to Angiers to the King. The said Earle in his journey thitherward, so preached in all places the great commodities that concord and peace bring with them, that all mens eyes were fixed vpon him. When he came to the King being eightene yeeres of age, he very eloquently pleaded the cause of the Duke of Britaine, and of the other French Noble men that were retired to him, alleadging that the Duke being worne with yeeres, consumed with diseases, hauing buried his wife, being destitute of issue male, his eldest daughter being hardly 12. yeeres of age, and his yonger lesse, and lastly, being forsaken of his Nobility for the hatred they bare to *Peter Landois*, and not for any euil desert of his owne; began to languish in sorrow and griefe: for the which cause the noble men of France that were of kin and allied to him, being moued with very naturall affection, were retired to him to comfort him in this distresse. Among whom, none were nearer to him (his owne children excepted) than the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orenge, the one being his vncles sonne, the other his sisters, and that these and others his neare kinsmen were yet with him onely to this end; adding, that the Duke was not to be accused, because he forbade them not his countries, when they came to comfort him in his miseries, or they for comming to relieue him in his distresse. But quoth he, it will bee objected that there are besides these, diuers others with him of the Nobility of France, that haue leuied war against the King: but what war? Forsooth, as the Britaines marched with force to leuy the siege of Ploermel, being aduertised, that they could not so do without a battell with the French: the reuerence they bare to the kings Maiesty was such, that willingly they gaue place, and forbore to fight, and rather suffered their towns to be taken and spoiled, than they would encounter with the Kings troupes. Further, so soone as the Duke vnderstood the Kings desire to be, that the banished Nobles of Britaine should returne home, he forthwith receiued them into his fauour, and restored them to their former estate. What offence then (said he) hath the Duke made? What cause or war against him? Truly none. But on the contrary side many causes of commiseration, and many causes why the King should grant the Duke of Britaine peace. This was the effect of the speech he was commanded (as he said) to deliuer to the King, which charge he would not haue taken vpon him, but that he knew the Duke of Britaine to carry a minde singularly well affected to the Kings Maiesty, and the French Nobles that were in Britaine to be the Kings deuout seruants and Subiectes, and ready to shed their blood in the defence of him and his estate. This the Earles speech moued the King to encline to peace, whereof the treaty was already begun, when the sudden report of a battell whereof you shall now heare as suddenly breake it off.



Cap. 5. Of the battell of Saint Albin, wherein the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner, of the treaty of peace betweene the King and the Duke of Britaine, and of the said Duke of Britaines death.



Y ou haue heard of the siege of Fougieres, which endured still, notwithstanding the Earle of Dunois ambassage in such sort that the towne began to bee greatly distressed: wherefore the Duke of Orleans and the rest of the Noble men of Britaine fearing the losse of the towne, departed from Nants, and went to the Rennes; where they assembled their forces to leuy the siege. Their men of armes were fower hundred, and their footmen of their owne countries twelue thousand, as some write; as others, but eight thousand, besides three hundred English men, and eight hundred Swissers, and of artillery they had great plenty. Then in very good order they encamped abroad in the fields. The names of the Noble men of the army were these: the Duke of Orleans, the Lord of Alebret, the Marshall of Rieux, the Lord of Chasteaubrian, the Lord Scales an Englishman, the Lord of Leon, the Lord of Rohans eldest sonne, the Lord of Crenettes, the Lord of Pont l' Abbe, the Lord of Pleffis, the Lord of Balyne, the Lord of Montigny, the Lord of Montuet: all the which Lords with their companies, and whole forces encamped at a village called Andouille, the wednesday being the 23. of Iuly, the yeare, 1488. aboute mentioned in the night there was an Alarme among the Gasconies, whereof it was feared some quarrell would haue growne betweene the Duke of Orleans, and the Lord of Alebret, but the matter was soone pacified. In the mean time came newes to these Lords at the said village of Andouille the saturday the sixe and twenty of the sayde moneth of Iuly, that the French had taken Fougiers by composition, with these conditions, that the soldiers should depart in safety with bag and baggage: vpon which newes the Britaines army determined to march to S. Albin, hoping easily to take the towne, because the French garrison within it was but small, and that in the meane time the souldiers that were departed out of Fougiers should ioyne with them, and increase their forces. On the other side the French army marched also towards Saint Albin meaning to be there before the Britaines; but it so fell out that neither of them entered the towne, because before they came thither they met and fought. For you shall vnderstand that the same saturday that the Britaines receiued newes of the taking of Fougiers, they marched to a village called Orenge two leagues from Saint Albin, where they were aduertised that the K. Army marched against them with a ful resolution to fight with them.

The Sunday morning the Britaines consulted of the order of their battell, & because the footmen were iealous of the French horsemen that were in their campe, and namely of the Duke of Orleans himselfe: it was thought good that he and the Prince of Orenge should leaue their horses, and put themselves on foote in the battell among the Swissers, and so they did. The vaward was led by the Marshall of Rieux, the battell by the Lord of Alebret, and the rereward by the Lord of Chasteaubrian: vpon one of their wings was placed their artillery and their carriage. And the more to terrifie the French with the great number of Englishmen, whereas there were in truth but three hundred Englishmen lead by the Lord Talbot, seuentene hundred Britaine footmen were ioined

ioyned to them, armed with iacks and red crosses English like: and the monday morning they ranged themselves in battell in this order aboue rehearsed, heard by a groue of wood attending the French army. The Kings army (whereof master *Lewis* of Trimouille Vicount of Touars, being five or six and twenty yeeres of age, was general,) departed out of Fougieres with a full resolution to fight with the Brittaines. The vaward was led by *Adrian de l'hospitall*, and *Gabriel* of Montfalzois; before the which, ten or twelue valiant French knights aduanced themselves to discouer the Brittaines actions, whose good order when they had viewed, they retyred to their company, and then being in troupe all close ioined together, approached the Brittaines army, the artillery in the meane time playing on both sides, and greatly endamaging both the parties. The French marched very couragiously, and charged the Brittaines vaward, where the Marshal of Rieux valiantly receiued them, and acquit himselfe so well, both he and his company, that the French left the vaward, and marched straight vpon the Britains battell, where the Britaine horsemen recoiled by meanes whereof their rereward being discouraged fled. Then the French pursued them, and slue all the footmen they could ouertake: which disorder when the Britaine vaward perceiued, they also disparkled and fought to saue themselves. To conclude, the French obtained the victory, and slue all those that bare the red crosse, supposing them all to be Englishmen, together with twelue or thirteene hundred Brittaines, as well horsemen as footmen. The Duke of Orleans was taken by the footmen, and likewise the Prince of Orenge, who had pulled away his blacke crosse from him, and had laid himselfe flat vpon the ground among the dead bodies, faining himselfe to be slaine; but he was known by a French archer, and both he and the Duke of Orleans led prisoners to Saint Albin vnder sure guard. The Lord of Alebret seeing all ouerthrowne, fled away and escaped. The Marshall of Rieux also saved himselfe, and retired to Dinan. The Lord of Leon, the Lord du Pont l'Abbe, the Lord of Mortfort, and diuers other noble men of Britaine were slaine; and of other souldiers to the number of sixe thousand: of the Kings part was slaine *James Galeot* a valiant and renowned captaine, and to the number of a thousand or twelue hundred common souldiers. This battell was fought vpon monday the 28. of Iuly the yeere 1488. Soone after the Duke of Orleans was led to the castle of Luzignen, and from thence to Poictiers, where he remained a certaine space, and lastly to the great towne of Bourges.

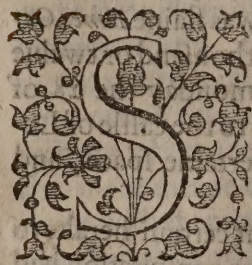
The second day after the battell, the Lord of Trimouille sent certain heraults to Rennes to summon the towne to yeeld to the King: who after consultation had answered the said heraults, that the King had no right to the towne, and that wrongfully and without cause he made war vpon the country of Brittain, & that notwithstanding his great army, could not ouerrunne the countrey as he hoped: for God who defended the Brittaines right, was able to doe as much to him as he did to King *John* before Poictiers, and to King *Philip* of Valois at Crecy: adding further, that they would not yeeld the Towne; and that if Monsieur de la Trimouille came thither he should find forty thousand men in the towne, wherof twenty thousand were men of defence. This answer was reported to the said Trimouille who stayed a long while without replying one word thereunto and afterwards by the same heraults aduertised the King thereof being at Angiers. Whereupon the King assembled his Councell to determine what was to be done in this case. Some, yea almost all were of opinion that the towne should be besieged: but Master *Masler* of Rochfort Chauncellor of France held the contrary opinion, grounding himselfe vpon the Kings tittle to the said Duchy of Brittain, which

was

was said to grow by meanes of a certaine conueiance that Master *John* of Brosse Lord of Bouffiac husband to dame *Nicole* of Britaine, daughter and heire to *Charles* of Blois, Earle of Ponthieure, had made to the Kings ancestors, together with diuers other titles, which were not yet proued good: adding, that if the King had no right thereunto, it should be a damnable and a tytannous act to vsurpe another mans countrey that appertained not to him. Wherefore his aduice was, that according to the request of the Ambassadors of Britaine being at Angiers, certaine graue and learned men should be appointed to examine the right of both sides. This opinion tooke place, and according thereunto the king agreed with the ambassadors of Britaine, that both he and the Duke would appoint some graue men of their Councell, who should meet in some indifferent towne, with the Charters and writings of both sides, to determine in conscience to whom the said Duchy appertained, and that in the meane time the King should hold all the places in the said Duchy, that already he possessed. The duke of Britaine liked this agreement well, and because the plague was vehement at Nantes, he departed thence with his two daughters, the Lady of Laval, the Lord of Alebret, the Earle of Dunoys, the Marshal of Rieux, the Earle of Comminges, and diuers other Lords, to Coiron vpon the Riuer of Loyre three leauges beneath Nantes, where soone after namely vpon Wednesday the seventh of September in the same yeere 1488, he ended his life thorow a sickenes which he got by a fall, leaving the gouernement both of his Duchy of Britaine, and of his two daughters to the Marshall of Rieux, to whom he appointed the Earle of Comminges for assistant. His body was carried to Nantes and buried in the Church of the Carmelites.

Chap. 6. Of the Kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Britaine, whereby Britaine was united to the Crowne of France.

1489.



Oone after the Duke of Britaines death, died also *Isabell* his younger daughter, by reason whereof the Lady *Anne* remained his sole heire: about whose marriage the nobles of Britaine, fell at great variance, for part of them inclined to the Lord of Alebret, a great Lord in Guinne, who also as it was reported, (but falsly) was contracted to this young Princeesse with the Duke her fathers consent, but the day before the Duke died; but this faction was soone danted, because the young Lady her selfe vterly refused this match: part onely fauoured and furthered *Maximilian* the Emperor *Fredericks* sonne, alleaging that he would not onely be a protector of the liberty of their country, but also a strong rampier against all French attempts. Neither was the King of France ignorant of this treaty, but knew right well that ambassadors had passed to and fro between *Maximilian* and them, so far soorth that the said *Maximilian* supposing all matters to be thoroughly concluded and agreed on, beganne to embrace all Britaine in his mind, and thought no enterprise too high for him if to his low low countries obtained by his first marriage, he could now ioinethe Duchy of Britaine by his second. Great consultation was had in France how to repulse this terrible storme, but *Maximilians* owne slacknesse most furthered their deuises. The Kings Councell in the end resolved that the King should refuse his wife being *Maximilians* daughter, and seeke with all expedition the marriage of the Lady *Anne* of Britaine, alleaging that the neighbourhood of so mighty a Prince as *Maximilian* was

was, could not be but dangerous to his estate, of whom he could hope for nothing but dissembled friendship presently, and assured war in time to come, considering that the said *Maximilian* forgetting already his league and affinity with the King, stirred vp continually one war after another against him, and by that meanes professed himselfe an open enemy to him and his realme. Wherefore ambassadors were presently sent to treat of this mariage, with the Lady *Anne*. She at the first wondered at the matter, and alleadged that she had giuen her faith to *Maximilian*, which she might not breake; and further, that she had been solemnly married to him (according to the accustomed manner of Princes) by *Wolfgangus Poleme* of Austrich his proctor, purposely sent by him into Britaine to that end. But the Lady of Laual and other noble women of Britaine, whose company and familiarity this yong Princes vsed and greatly delighted in, being corrupted with French rewards and promises, perswaded her that this French match should be most for her safety and aduancement; alleadging that if she married with *Maximilian* he should hardly be able to defend Britaine, whereof already they had good prooffe, considering that he had euer disappointed them of the succours he had promised to send them. And as touching her scruple of conscience, they said that the Pope who had power ouer all lawes Ecclesiasticall, would easily be brought to dispence therewith, the rather because this match should be best for her safety, and for the preseruacion of her estate. The yong Princeesse though she were of a singular wit and rare vertues, yet being vanquished by these perswasions, yeelded to their request, and deliuered both her selfe and her country into the Kings hands, and soone after was the mariage solemnly accomplished to the great reioicing of the French. And thus receiued Britaine the French yoake, to the great griefe of all the subiects, who desired to be gouerned by a particular Duke of their owne, as they had euer been in times past.

Not long after this mariage, the Earle of Dunois who had been the principall instrument of the peace, and a great furtherer of the mariage, and thereby throughly reconciled to the King suddenly died, as he was on horseback for want of meat as it was said. When the King had set all things in good order in Britain, he returned into Fraunce and appointed that the Lady *Margaret* of Flaunders should remaine, accompanied with the Princes of Tarente in the castell of Melun vpon the riuer of Seine.

Maximilian was forewarned of all these French practises, and seemed to make no account of them; but when he perceiued this mariage to be accomplished, it doubled his hatred against the King, so far forth, that he openly railed vpon him and vowed himselfe to destroy Fraunce with fire and sword, and presently inuaded Picardy. But the Lord of Cordes gouernor thereof, made head against him, and valiantly defended the country, to his owne honor and the profit of France. Further, *Maximilian* meaning a thorow reuenge vpon this realme, stirred vp the English men the ancient enemies of the crowne to passe into France, promising them great aide both of men and money out of his dominions. Wherefore I will here speake a word or two of the affaires of England, because the Englishmen are our next neighbors, and both in peace and war haue euer to doe with vs, and we with them.

Chap. 7. Of the troubles in England, and how the King of England passed the sea, and besieged Bolloin, and of the peace between the King and him, and of the surprising of Arras and Saint Omers by the King of Romaines men.



King Edward the fourth, the same that met with King Lewis the eleuent at Picquigny, dying in the yeere 1483. left behind him two sonnes being very yoong, and diuers daughters, the gouernment of the which sonnes together with the realme was committed to the Duke of Glocester King Edwards brother: but he most vnnaturally murdered his two nephewes, slew those of the nobility that he thought would impugne his proceedings, and vsurped the crowne. In the end the Duke of Buckingham who had taken part with the Duke of Glocester, (who intituled himselfe King Richard) in all his actions fell at variance with him, and solicited Henry Earle of Richmond that had liued many yeeres in Britaine as a banished man; to passe ouer into England, promising him a great army to ioine with him so soone as he should be landed. The Earle communicated this matter with Peter Landois, who wholly at that time gouerned the Duke of Britaine. The said Landois hoping that the Earle if by his meanes he obtained the realme of England, would giue him aide to reuenge him of his enemies; perswaded the Duke of Britaine to succour him in his enterprise, who furnished him of three great ships well manned with soldiers, which tooke sea and sailed towards England: but when they were ready to land, the Earle was aduertised that the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, his army defeated, and all his faction ouerthrown, and that King Richard lay with a great army vpon the sea coast attending his landing. Vpon which newes the Earle of Richmond returned, thinking to recouer the coast of Britaine from whence he was departed, but tempest draue him vpon the coast of Normandy, where he was forced to take land. The Lady of Beauieu being aduertised thereof, sent vnto him, desiring him to come to speake with the King, and so he did. The King curteously receiued him, and entertained him wel. Afterward he returned to Vannes in Britaine there to remaine as before, attending some better opportunity. But Peter Landois seeing himselfe disappointed of his purpose, altered his mind, and practised with King Richard to deliuer the Earle of Richmond into his hands: who being aduertised thereof, vnder colour of going a hauking one morning with ten or twelue horses fled into France to King Charles, who not long after furnished the Earle of ships, and a good number of soldiers to accompany him into England, whereby the helpe of the French and of diuers of his owne kinsmen, who had called him into England and tooke part with him, he slew King Richard in the field, and was himselfe crowned King in his place. This good turne of King Charles together with the desire the King of England had to liue quietly at home in his country, and to gather wealth, was the cause that King Henry during all the wars and troubles in Britaine aboue mentioned, had not passed his forces into France: notwithstanding that he had been often earnestly solicited thereunto, both by the Duke of Britaine, and the Earle of Dunois and others of that faction. For ordinarily when any troubles arise in France, our neighbors, especially the Englishmen, within a yeere are bidden to the banquet, and so was King Henry inuited, and had come long ago, if the reasons aboue rehearsed together with some other respects, namely feare of domesticall

sticall troubles had not staied him at home.

But notwithstanding the King of Englands backwardnes heretofore to invade France: yet in the yeere 1490. partly by the earnest solicitation of *Maximilian*, who promised him great aide in his wars, and yet performed nothing: partly to content his owne people, who began to account him as too much affectionate to the French in that he had suffered them to the great preiudice of the realme of England, to vnite to the Crowne of France the Dutchie of Britaine: he passed ouer his army to Calice, and from thence marched and laide his siege before Bolloine, whither the Lord of Cordes and the bastard of Cardonne Capitaine of Arras, with a small army went to make resistance. Further, the King leuied his forces to succour the place, but because his army proceeded but slowly forward: the said *de Cordes* and *Cardonne* tooke vpon them the defence of the towne. This siege was nothing hot, for the which cause a herault was sent into the English campe to treat of peace, from the which King *Henry* seemed nothing strange as well for the affection that he bare to the King, who had aided him to obtaine the realme of England; as also for that he feared sedition at home, and durst not long be absent out of his realme, because *Maximilian* had broken promise with him, and lastly because he hoped by this peace to receiue of the King a great summe of money, which he loued as well as any Prince in his time. *De Cordes* finding the King of Englands inclination to peace, went and communed with him in his campe, his demands were, first a great summe of money that he said he had lent the late Duke of Britaine: and secundarily, that the King should defray all the charges that he had been at in these wars. All the which the King yeelded vnto, and order was given that the King of England should yeerly receiue a certaine summe of money, till all the summes by him demanded were cleerly paid and discharged, and thus returned the King of England home.

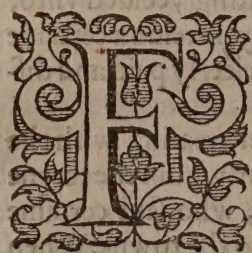
In the meane while *de Cordes* and *Cardonne* were at Bolloin treating with the King of England: the citizens of Arras knowing the garrison within the towne to be but weake, practised to yeeld it into *Maximilians* hands, who sent certaine bands thither, the which in great diligence approached neere to the towne. When all things were in a readines, and the gates being so negligently guarded, that the traitors with their counterfeited keies had opened them, they began a song, whereby they willed the enemies to make haste, who presently repaired to the gates, and were receiued into the towne. *Paul Carqueleuant* a Briton, gouernour of the towne in the absence of the bastard of Gardonne, at the enemies first entry retired himselfe with his soldiers into the castell; but fearing least it should be taken by assault, he soone abandoned it, greatly to his reproch: for if he had held it but till the next day, diuers French bands had come thither to his reliefe. The towne was spoiled, and many slaine, neither were the Churches spared nor the traitors houses. The author of this treason was a poore smith that dwelled vpon the towne wall, and had been the only man that was suffered to remaine in the towne by *Lewis* the eleuenth, when he transported the townes men as a colonie into France. *Carqueleuant* the gouernor, when the towne was surprisid lay fast a sleepe, drowned in drinke and good cheere as it is said. The towne was spoiled by the soldiers because *Maximilian* was behind with them for certaine moneths pay. Saint Omers was also taken at the same time, though some refer it to another time, but whensoever it was taken, this is most certaine that the negligence of the watch was the losse thereof. For the enemies being led by *George Dabecsin* made shew at their first comming before the towne, as though they would haue scaled it, at which time the French soldiers were ready to withstand them vpon the
wals,

wals, being strong and very defensible both by Nature and by Arte: whereupon the enemies vnder pretence of feare, retired into their campe; yea and further, when the French issued forth to skirmish with them, they euer retired faining the like feare, which dissimulation they vsed by the space of eight daies, and by this their pollicy, caused the French to remit much of their accustomed industry and diligence: which when the Burgundians and Almaines perceiued, they with great expedition reared ladders against the wals and bulwarks of the town, which they easily entered, that watch being fast a sleepe, and in some place no watch at all. Then brake they open the gates, slew the French soldiers and the citizens, and so became Masters of the towne.

At the sametime was Amiens also attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to haue been surpris'd by the like negligence of the watch: but *Katherine de Liques* (a woman of manlike courage) awaked the watch out of their dead sleep, by meanes whereof the alarme was sounded, and all the town arose in arms, and part went to defend the wals, and the rest issued forth and skirmished, and put to flight *Maximilians* bands, who plainly confessed that the diligence and industry of one woman had wroong the victory out of their hands.

Chap. 8. Of the restitution of the Counties of Roussillon and Parpignan to the King of Spaine, of the Emperor Fredericks death, of the peace between the King of Romaines and the King, and of the Duke of Orleans deliuary out of Prison.

1492.



Erdinand king of Arragon desired nothing more than to recouer out of the Kings hands the counties of Roussillon and Parpignan, engaged by him (as he said) to King *Lewis* the eleuenth for fifty thousand crownes. But the nobles of France would not condescend to this restitution, because these two Counties were a rampier for the realme on that side towards Spaine: adding that they were not engaged to King *Lewis*, but absolutely solde. And notwithstanding that the King of Spaine alleadged that King *Lewis* by his last will and Testament had commanded the said Counties to be restored, knowing that they were wrongfully withheld: yet his perswasions and allegations little auailed. Wherefore he perceiuing that this way no good would be done, fell to practise with them of religion, hoping by their preaching of conscience to King *Charles* to win that of him that otherwise he saw no meanes to obtaine. Wherefore he corrupted with a great summe of money *Oliuer Maillaird*, or as others write *John de Mauleon*, a frier Franciscane, confessor to the Lady of Beauieu the Kings sister, who vnder his coule of religion cloking his hypocrisie and couetousnes, perswaded her, that except restitution were made of these territories to the King of Spaine, the King her brothers gouernment could not prosper nor please God. She being moued in conscience by this friers perswasions, brake this matter to *Lewis* of Amboise bishop of Alby, the Kings schoolmaster, who together with her so terrified the Kings conscience, that he did not only make restitution of the said territories by the hands of the said bishop, whom he sent thither to deliuer them: but also freely released to the King of Arragon, all the money that King *Lewis* his father had paid for them; with these conditions, that the said King of Arragon and his successors, should euer after loue and honor the realme of France, that he should make no war against it, nor aide with money, victuals, or counsell any of the enemies

mies thereof, nor permit them to haue passage through his dominions. And thus were these countries restored, greatly to the French mens griefe and damage; but in truth the King the rather inclined to restore them, because he began already by the perswasion of those that were about him to phansie a voiage into Italy, for the recouerie of the realme of Naples, which afterward tooke effect, though the King both now and long after this, kept his purpose secret to himselfe, and one or two more, which voyage I thinke was the principall cause that induced him to restore the foresaid countries, thereby to tie the King of Spaine to him, that he should not trouble him in his enterprise; but he misreckoned himselfe, for he was no sooner past the mountaines, but the King of Spaine forgot all his kindnesse, and fell to practise a league with his enimies.

While these matters passed thus in Fraunce, *Fridericke* the Emperour died, to whom his sonne *Maximilian* succeeded, who notwithstanding was neuer crowned neither greatly desired so to be, although with a small request he might haue obtained it. The Emperor *Maximilian* purposing to quiet the state of the Empire troubled by his fathers death, seemed more inclined to peace with the King than heretofore he had been, which hapned very fortunately for the Kings affaires: for without *Maximilian* were pacified, his voiage into Italie must of force haue staid; but both the parties by this meanes inclining to concord, the peace was soone concluded: the Emperors daughter was restored vnto him, and the countie of Artois together with all the townes he quarrelled. And thus the King being in peace with all his neighbors: namely, with the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spaine, and possessing the Duchie of Britaine quietly by his marriage, and by that meanes hauing no body to feare, began wholly to dispose himselfe to his voiage into Italie, whereupon his minde was altogether fixed.

The Emperor
Fridericke died
the 19. of Au-
gust, 1493.

This peace was
concluded at
Senlis, anno
1494.

Further, about this very time the King at the earnest sute and continuall teares of his sister *Jane* a Lady of singular pietie and chastitie, restored not onely to libertie, but also to his fauour and familiaritie, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans (husband to the said Lady,) taken prisoner at the battell of Saint Albin in Britaine, as before you haue heard: whereby as the King deserued great commendation for his clemencie, in preserving his enimie taken in battell, and restoring him to his former dignitie and honour: so did he also thereby prouide that no discontented subiect at home should trouble his estate in his absence in his voyage to Naples: whereunto the historie of *Commines* now calleth vs, which from the death of King *Lewis* the eleuenth till this present, I haue supplied out of other good authors, because the said *Commines* being imprisoned, or in disgrace almost euer since thence King *Lewis* his death, till the said voiage of Naples, (whereat he was present) was silent and left nothing in writing to the posteritie of all those yeeres.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF PHILIP DE COMMINES, TREATING OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF KING CHARLES THE EIGHT, SONNE TO LEWIS THE ELEVENTH. THE PROLOGVE OF THE AVTHOR,

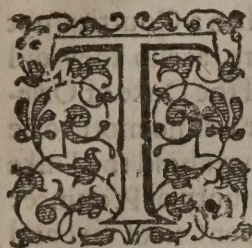
containing that which he mindeth to treat of in
this history following.



O continue the History written by me *Philip de Commi-
nes* of the raigne of King *Lewis* the eleuenth (whom God
assoile,) I will now declare the occasion that mooued
King *Charles* the eight his sonne to make his voiage into
Italy, wherat my selfe was present. The said King depar-
ted from Vienna in Daulphin the 23. of August, the year
1494. and returned into his realme about October,
the year 1495. Before the enterprise was fully resolved
on: the matter was often debated whether he should
go or not: for the voiage seemed very dangerous to all
men of wisdom and experience, neither did any allow thereof, but the King
himselfe, and one *Stephen de Vers* borne in Languedoc, a man of meane parentage,
and vtterly vnacquainted with the wars, and all things thereunto appertaining.
One other also being of the receit was a furtherer thereof till his heart failed him,
namely the generall *Brisanet*, who afterward by occasion of this voiage, was pre-
ferred to many goodly dignities and spirituall promotions, and created a Cardi-
nall. The former had already gotten goodly possessions, for he was Seneschall of
of Beaucaire, and president of the Compts at Paris: he had serued the King in
his youth very faithfully, being a groome of his chamber, and by his meanes
the generall was woon to fauour this voiage; so that they two were the onely
authors thereof; for the which, few commended, but many blamed them: for
all things necessarie for so great an enterprise were wanting. The King was
yoong, a weake body, wedded to his owne will, slenderly accompanied with
wise men or good captaines, and so vtterly vnfurnished of money, that before
his departure, he borrowed of the banke of Soly at Genua a hundred thousand
franks vpon great interest, from Mart to Mart¹. In diuers other places also he
borrowed money as hereafter you shall heare. His army was vnprouided of
tents and pauillions, and winter was begun when he entred into Lombardy.
One onely good thing had he, to wit, a couragious company of yoong gentle-
men: yet not in such militarie discipline as was requisite. Wherefore we must
of necessitie conclude, that this voiage was gouerned by God alone, both at our
going forth, and our returne home; for the wisdom of the authors thereof
about mentioned, serued to no great purpose: notwithstanding they might
iustly vaunt themselves to be the occasion of the great honor and renowme their
Master wan thereby.

¹ The interest
of this mony,
as he saith in
the end of the
fourth Chap-
ter, amounted
in fower mo-
neths to four-
teen thousand
franks. Fur-
ther, there are
at Genua cer-
taine Marts in
the yere, from
the one of the
which to the
other, they let
out their mo-
ney: it is be-
tween euery
Marte fower
monethes.

Chap. I. How Rhene Duke of Lorraine came into France to demand the Duchie of Bar, and the Earledome of Prouence which K. Charles held, and how he failed to enter into the Realme of Naples, whereunto he pretended title as the King did, and what right both of them had thereunto.



THE year of the Kings coronation¹, being the 14 or 15. of his age, the Duke of Lorrain came into France, to demand the Dutchy of Bar, which King *Lewis* the eleuenth had withholden from him, and likewise the Earledome of Prouence, left to the said King *Lewis* by the last Will and Testament of King *Charles* of Aniou his cosen germain², who died without issue. The Duke of Lorrain pretended title to it, as son and heire to the daughter of of *Rene* King of Sicily, Duke of Aniou, and Earl of Prouence, alleading that the said King *Rene* had done him wrong³, in preferring King *Charles* of Aniou, being but his brother the Earle of Maines sonne, before him being his daughters sonne⁴. The other answered, that by their ancestors testaments, Prouence could not descend to the female. In the end Bar was yeelded to him, for the which the King demanded only a summe of money. Further, because the said Duke of Lorrain was highly fauoured and friended by diuers of great authority in France, (especially by *John* Duke of Bourbon, who was old and desirous to marry his sister) it was agreed that during the space of foure years, in the which his title to the Earledome of Prouence should be examined, his estate should be wholly defraied by the King, and that he should haue charge of an hundred lauces, together with an yearly pension of sixe and thirty thousand franks during the said foure yeares. My selfe was present at the debating and ending of all these controuerfies, being one of the commissioners purposely chosen for the determination thereof, both by the kings nearest kinsmen, and by the three estates of his realme: so was also *Stephen de Vers* aboue mentioned, who because he had gotten certaine possessions in Prouence, caused the king (as yong as he was) in the presence of his sister, the Duchesse of Bourbon, to say, to Monsieur de *Comminges*, and to Monsieur de *Lau* (who were both also in the said commission) and to my selfe, that we should do our endeouour that he might not lose the Earledome of Prouence; which words he vttered before the agreement aboue mentioned was made.

Before the foure yeares expired, certaine Lawyers of Prouence brought forth the testaments of King *Charles* the first, brother to Saint *Lewis*, and of other Kings of Sicilie of the house of France. These Lawyers, (among other proofes) alleadged that not only the Earledome of Prouence, but also the realme of Sicily, with all the house of Anious other possessions, appertained of right to the King, and that the Duke of Lorrain had no right thereto, notwithstanding others maintained the contrary. All these Lawyers depended wholly vpon *Stephen de Vers*, who nourished his master in this language, that King *Charles* Earle of Prouence last deceased, sonneto *Charles* of Aniou, Earle of Main, and Nephew⁶ to King *Rene*, left Prouence to King *Lewis* by his last Will and Testament, and that King *Rene* before his death made the said *Charles* his heire, preferring him before the Duke of Lorrain his daughters sonne, because of the Testaments of King *Charles* the first, and his wife Countesse of Prouence: wherein they had willed that the Realme⁷ and the County of Prouence shoulde not

¹ King *Charles* was crowned anno 1484. in iune.

² This cousin germain must be referred to K. *Lewis*.

³ For King *Rene* made *Charles* his brothers son his heire, omitting this Duke of Lorraine his daughters son

⁴ The pedigree in the end of the worke will make this title plaine.

⁵ The author vnder the name of Sicily comprehendeth the realm of Naples also, because both the realmes bare the name of Sicily, the one beyond the other on this side the far.

⁶ By nephew he meaneth brothers son.

⁷ Vnderstand this of the realme of Sicily and Naples.

8. This *de*
Granille was
after Admi-
ral of France.

9. Madam *de*
Beauieu Du-
chess of
Bourbon was
appointed by
King *Lewis* &
the three e-
states gover-
nor of King
Charles her
brother; but
the Duke of
Orleans cal-
led after *Lewis*
the 12. with-
stood the de-
cree, and was
in arms with
diuers noble
men, deman-
ding the go-
vernment as
the first prince
of blood, as in
my supply is
mentioned at
large, against
these they here
named, called
the Duke of
Lorraine.

10. For *Philip*
de Comines
was a follow-
er of the Duke
of Orleans, as
himselfe writ-
eth in the last
chapter of
the last booke

be seuered nor descend to the heire female, so long as there was issue male remain-
ing. The like testaments they alleadged also to haue been made, by their next
successors in the said realme, namely by *Charles* the second. During these foure
yeares space; those that gouerned the King, that is to say, the Duke & Duchesse
of Bourbon, and certaine of the kings chamber, namely *Monsieur de Granille*
8 and others, who at that time bare great sway in France, called to the Court to
high authority and estimation, the said duke of Lorraine to haue him for their
support and aide: (for he was a hardy gentleman and more than a Courtier) not
doubting but easily to rid their hands of him at their pleasure, as also they did
when they found themselves strong enough, and the force of the Duke of Orle-
ans 9 and others (whom I need not name) so weakened, that it was no more to be
feared. But after the foure yeares expired, they could no longer hold the Duke
of Lorraine, vnlesse they would put him in possession of the county of Prouince:
or assure him of it by writing at a day, and continue still his pension of sixe and
thirty thousand franks, whereunto because they would not condescend, he de-
parted the Court greatly discontented.

Foure or five months before his departure, a good ouerture was made vnto
him, if he would haue embraced it: for the whole realme of Naples rebelled a-
gainst King *Ferrande*, because of his great tyranny and his childrens, so far forth,
that all the nobles and the third part of the realme yeelded themselves to the
Church: Notwithstanding King *Ferrand* being aided by the Florentines pressed
them sore: for the which cause, the Pope and the said Nobles of the Realme that
had rebelled, sent for the Duke of Lorraine purposing to crown him King, and
so forward the enterprise was, that the Gallies and the Cardinall Saint *Peter de*
Vincula (who should haue conueighed him thither) stayed for him a long time
at Genua: during the which space he was busied with these broiles in Court, and
delayed his departure, notwithstanding that he had messengers with him from
all the Nobles of the said realm, earnestly pressing him to come with speed. To
be short, the King and his Councell shewed themselves willing by all meanes
they could to aide and succour him, and gaue him sixty thousand Frankes,
whereof he receiued twenty thousand but lost the rest) and agreed also that he
should leade with him the hundred lances that were vnder his charge, promi-
sing further to send ambassadors round about in his fauour, Notwithstanding
the King was now nineteene years of age or more, and gouerned by those aboue
named, who dayly beat into his head that the Realm of Naples of right apper-
tained to himselfe, which I write because diuers of mean estate raysed great con-
tention about this matter: as I vnderstood both by certaine of the ambassadors
sent to Rome, Florence, Genua and other places in the Duke of Lorrains fauour;
and also by the Duke himselfe, when he passed through Moulins where I then
lay with *John* Duke of Bourbon, because of the troubles in Court. But his enter-
prise was now halfe lost through his long delay. I went forth to receiue him
notwithstanding that he had deserued no such curtesie at my hands: for hee was
one of those that chased me from the Court 10 with rough and discourteous
words: yet now he made the most of me that might be, lamenting much the go-
uernment of the estate. He abode at Moulins two dayes with *John* Duke of Bour-
bon, and then took his iourney towards Lyons.

To conclude, his friends were so wearied and weakned because of his long de-
lay, that the Pope made peace, and the nobles of the realme also, who vnder sure-
ty thereof went to Naples, where they were all taken prisoners: notwithstanding
that both the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentines
had

had vnder taken to see the treaty kept and obserued, and had sworne and promised the Nobles safety. The Prince of Salerne escaped and came into France, refusing to be comprehended in the treaty as one well acquainted with King Ferrands humor: but the Duke of Lorraine returned into his country with dishonor, and lost his credit with the King, lost his men of armes, and lost also the pension of sixe and thirty thousand frankes which he receiued for Prouence: and euen at this present being the yeere 1497. he liueth yet in this estate.

Chap. 2. How the Prince of Salerne in the realme of Naples came into France, and how

Lodouic Sforce surnamed the Moore and he sought to perswade the King to make war upon the King of Naples, and for what cause.

TH E Prince of Salerne fled to Venice (where he was wel friended) accompanied with three of his nephewes, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan. There they asked counsell of the Seniorie, (as the Prince himselfe told me) whether it wold please them that they should retire, to the Duke of Lorraine, the King of France, or the King of Spaine. They answered, that the Duke of Lorraine was a dead man vnable to doe them good, and that the King of Spaine should be too strong, if to the yle of Sicilie and the other places which he held in the Venetian gulse he should ioine the realme of Naples; adding, that he was already mighty vpon the sea: wherefore they aduised him to go into France, saying that with the Kings of France that held the said realme, they had euer liued in perfect amity and friendship; and found them alwaies good neighbors. But I suppose, they thought not the enterprise should haue had such successe, as afterward it had. Thus these noble men aboue named came into France, where they were curteously receiued, but their entertainment was small. They followed their sute earnestly, the space of two yeeres, addressing themselves wholly to Stephen de Vers then Seneschall of Beaucaire and of the Kings priuy chamber.

One day they liued in hope, another in despaire; but their friends vsed great diligence in Italie, specially at Milan, whereof Iohn Galeas was Duke; not the great Iohn Galeas that lieth buried in the Charterhouse of Paulia, but he that was sonne to Duke Galeas and the Dutchesse Bonne daughter to the Duke of Sauoy; a man of no great sence. The said Dutchesse had the wardship of her children, and myselfe haue seen her there in great authority, being a widdow, and gouerned by one Cico a Secretarie, and an ancient seruant of that house. This Cico had banished all Duke Galeas brethren for the said Ladies safety and her childrens, and among the rest the Lord Lodouic (afterward Duke of Milan) whom she reuoked being her enemy, and in war against her, together with the Lord Robert of Saint Seuerine a valiant captaine, whom she had also banished by the said Cicos perswasion. To be short, at the request of a yoong man that carued before her called Anthony The sin being a Ferrarian of verie meane parentage, she called them all home through great simplicitie, supposing they would doe the said Cico no harme, and the truth is that so they had sworne and promised. But the third day after their returne, they tooke him notwithstanding their oath, and carried him in an emptie cask through the towne of Milan: he was allied by marriage to one of the Viscomtes, and if the said Viscomt had been in the citie at that present, some say they durst not haue taken him. Moreover, the Lord Lodouic caused this

Antonel of Saint Seuerin Prince of Salerne, and Bernardin Prince of Bisignan, were brethren Guicciar.

He meaneth by Kings of France those Kings of the house of France, that had held the realme of Naples, to wit, the Dukes of Aniou.

Viscomte in both these places, and diuers others, is a proper name not a name of honor, and signifieth as much as Biscomte, that is, twise Earle, because the Viscomti were Lords of Angiera and Milan.

matter so to be ordered, that the said *Robert* of S. Seuerin comming that way, should meet with this *Cico* as he passed through the towne in this estate, because he hated him extreemly. Thus was he led prisoner to the castell of Pany where he died.

They vsed this Lady very honorably in her iudgement, seeking to content her humor in all things; but all matters of importance they two dispatched, making her priuy but to what pleased them, and no greater pleasure could they doe her, than to communicate nothing with her.

They permitted her to giue this *Anthony Thesin* what she would, they lodged him hard by her chamber, he caried her on horseback behind him in the town, and in hir house was nothing but feasting and dancing, but this iollity endured but halfe a yeere. Shee gaue many goodly things to this *Thesin*, and the courtiers packets were adressed to him, which bred great disdain in many, wherein the L. *Lodonic*, vncke to the two children (aspiring to the Duchy, which afterward also he obtained) nourished them as much as in him lay. One morning they tooke her two sonnes from hir, and lodged them in a great tower within the castell called the rocke, whereunto consented the said *Lodonic* the Lord *Robert* of Seuerin, one called *de Palleanoisin* gouernor of the yoong Dukes person, and the captaine of the rocke, who since Duke *Galeas* death had neuer departed out of the place, neither did many yeeres after this, till he was taken prisoner by the Lord *Lodonic*s subtilty, and his masters folly, being of his mothers disposition. After the aboue named had lodged these children in the rocke, they seized vpon the treasure being at that time the richest in Christendome, and made her yeeld account thereof. Moreouer, they caused three keies thereof to be made, one of the which she kept, but the treasure after that day she neuer touched. They made her also to surrender the wardship of her children, and the said *Lodonic* was chosen their guardian. Further, they sent letters into diuers countries especially into France which my selfe saw) written to her great dishonor: for they charged her with this *Anthony Thesin*, whom notwithstanding they sent away vnharmed for the Lord *Robert* saued both his life and goods. These two great men entred not into the rocke at their pleasure, for the captaine had his brother in it with a garrison of a hundred and fifty soldiers or better, and when they entred, the gate was straightly kept, neither entred they accompanied at any time with more than a man or two, and this endured a long space.

In the meane time great variance arose between the Lord *Lodonic* and *Robert* of S. Seuerin, (for vsually two great men cannot long agree:) but *Lodonic* wan the garland, and the other departed to the Venerians seruice. Notwithstanding, afterwards two of his sons returned to the seruice of the said *Lodonic*, and the state of Milan, (namely Master *Galeas*, and the Earle of Caiasse) some say with her fathers consent, others say no: but howsoeuer it were, the said *Lodonic* highly fauoured them, and both hath been and yet is very faithfully serued by them. You shall vnderstand that their father the Lord *Robert* of Saint Seuerin was issued of a base daughter of the house of Saint Seuerin, but in Italie they make no great difference between a bastard and a child legitimate. This I write because they furthered our enterprize in Italy, as well in fauor of the Prince of Salerne chiefe of the said house of Saint Seuerin, as also for diuers other respects, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

The Lord *Lodonic* declared immediatly that he would by all meanes possible maintaine his authority, for he caused money to be coined, on the one side whereof the Dukes image was stamped, and on the other his owne, whereat many murmured.

4 This captaine meant no treason to the children as others did, but consented to this deed, because he thought the children in more safety with him than with their foolish mother.

mured. This Duke was married to the daughter of *Alfonse* Duke of Calabria, and King of Naples after his father King *Ferrandes* death. His said wife was a Lady of a great courage, and would gladly haue increased her husbands authoritie if she could, but her husband lacked wit, and disclosed all her attempts. The captaine also of the rocke of Milan continued long in great authority, and neuer departed out of the place; for many ieaiousies were now arisen, so far forth that when one of the children went abroad, the other abode within. To be short, a yeere or two before we entred into Italy, the Lord *Lodouic* hauing beene abroad with the Duke, and purposing some mischief, waited vpon him at his returne home to the castell according to his accustomed manner. The captaine came vpon the drawbridge with his men about him, to kisse the Dukes hand as their manner is. The Duke at this time was somewhat without the bridge, in such sort that the captaine was forced to step forth a pace or two, where these two sonnes of Saint Seuerin, and others that were about them laid hold vpon him. They within drew vp the bridge, but the Lord *Lodouic* caused an end of a waxe candle to be lighted, and sware that he would smite off their heads if they yeelded not the place before the candle were burned out; whereupon they deliuered it, and then he furnished it well and surely for himselfe, but all in the Dukes name. Further, he endited the captaine of high treason, laying to his charge that hee would haue put the place into the Emperors hands: and staied certaine Almaines, charging them as practisers with the captaine about this enterprife, yet afterward dismissed them without further harme. He beheaded also one of his owne secretaries, charging him in like manner as a dealer in the matter, and yet one other who he said had beene a messenger betweene them. The captaine he held long in prison, yet in the end deliuered him, pretending that Duchesse *Bonne* had once hired a Brother of the captaines to kill the said *Lodouic* as he entred into the castell, whom the captaine withheld from executing the fact, for the which cause he now saued his life. Notwithstanding if he had been guilty of so heinous a crime as a purpose to yeeld the place to the Emperor, who might haue laid claime to it, both as Emperor and Duke of Austrich (for that house pretended some title thereunto:) I thinke he would not haue pardoned him; for it would haue made a great alteration in Italie, and the whole estate of Milaine would haue revolted in one day. For when they liued vnder the Emperor, euery household paid but halfe a ducat for tribute: but now they are cruelly and tyrannously gouerned, both the Spiritualltie, Nobilitie, and Commons.

The sense in mine opinion were better to read it *qu'il luy seroit*, then *qu'il leur seroit* that is, that he would smite off the captaines head, if the place were not yeilded, for they within were out of *Lodouics* power. The French had it in this sense. And another who said that he had beene a messenger betweene them: but vndoubtedly the place is corrupted and to be read as I have amended it.

The Lord *Lodouic* seeing himselfe seized of the castell, and all the force of the countrie at his commandement, determined to attempt further; for he that possesseth Milan possesseth the whole estate, both because the chiefe of the countrie be resident there, and also because those that haue the charge and government of the other places be all Milanois borne. Sure for the quantity of this Duchie, I neuer saw a pleasanter or plentifulter peece of ground. For if the Prince would content himselfe with the yearly reuenues of fise hundred thousand ducats; his subiects should be but too rich, & the Prince liue in safety: but he leuieth yeerely sixe hundred and fifty thousand or seuen hundred thousand which is great tyranny: & therefore the people desire nothing more than change of their Prince. Which the Lord *Lodouic* considering, together with the other reasons abouerehearsed, and being already married to the Duke of Ferraraes daughter, by whom he had many children, determined to accomplish his intent, and endeouored to win friends not only in the said Duchie, but also abroad in Italie. Wherefore first he entred into league with the Venetians for the preseruacion of their estate, whereunto

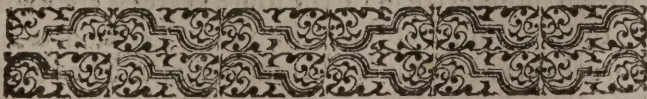
whereunto he was great friend, to his father in lawes preiudice, from whom the said Venetians not long before had taken a little territory called the Polesan, environed with water, and maruellously abounding with all kind of wealth. This country being distant but halfe a league from Ferrara, the Venetians possesse yet at this day. There are in it two pretty townes, which I haue beene in my selfe, the one named Roniguc, the other Labadie. The Duke of Ferrara lost it in the war that himselfe first mooued against the Venetians: for notwithstanding that before the end of those warres, *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria (his father King *Ferrande* yet liuing) the Lord *Lodouic* with the force of Milan, the Florentines, the Pope, and the towne of Bologna came to his aide: by meanes whereof the Venetians were brought altogether vnder foote, or at the least to great extremitie, being vtterly vnfurnished of money, and hauing lost diuers places: yet the said *Lodouic* concluded a treaty to their honor and profit; for euery man was restored to his owne, saue the poore Duke of Ferrara, who was forced to leaue vnto them the Polesan (which they yet hold:) notwithstanding that he had mooued this warre at the request of the Lord *Lodouic*, and of King *Ferrande* whose daughter he had married. The report went that *Lodouic* receiued threescore thousand ducats of the Venetians for making this treatie. Whether it were so or no, I know not, but sure I am that the Duke of Ferrara was once perswaded that it was so: for at that time the said *Lodouic* was not married to his daughter. From that day forward amitie euer continued betweene the Venetians and the said *Lodouic*. No seruant nor kinsman of *John Galeas* Duke of Milan sought to impeach and stoppe the Lord *Lodouic* from seizing the Duchie into his owne hands, saue only the Duchesse his wife, who was yoong, but a very wise Lady. She was daughter to *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria before mentioned, sonne and heire to *Ferrande* King of Naples. In the yeere 1493. the said *Lodouic* sent to King *Charles* the 8. now reigning, to perswade him to come into Italie to conquer the realme of Naples, and to vanquish and subdue those that possesse it: for so long as they flourished and were of force, he durst neuer attempt that which afterward he accomplished. At that time the said *Ferrande* King of Naples and *Alphonse* his sonne were puissant, rich, of great experience in the wars, and accounted Princes of haughty courages, though afterward their actions declared their contrarie. The said *Lodouic* was also a very wise man, but maruellous timorous, and humble when he stood in feare, and voide of all faith, if the breach thereof might turne to his profit. I speake as one that knew him thoroughly well, because I haue dealt with him in many matters. But to proceede, in the yeere 1493. (as before I said) the Lord *Lodouic* began to tike this yoong King *Charles*, being but two and twenty yeeres of age, with the ambitious vaine glories of Italie, shewing him what right he had to this goodly realme of Naples, which I warrant you he skilfully blazed and painted forth. In all these negotiations he addressed himselfe to *Stephan de Vers*, then newly made Seneschall of Beaucaire, and maruellously enriched though not satisfied, and to the Generall *Briffonet*, a rich man, skilfull in matters of the receit, and great friend at that time to the said Seneschall, by whose meanes the Lord *Lodouic* perswaded the said *Briffonet* to become a Priest, promising to make him a Cardinall, but the Seneschall himselfe he promised to make a Duke. And to set all these practises on foote, the said *Lodouic* sent in the same yeere to Paris a goodly ambassage to the King, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of Caiasse sonne and heire to the aboue named *Robert* of Saint Seuerin, who found there the Prince of Salerne his cousin: for the said Prince is chiefe of the house of Saint Seuerin (as I haue already made mention) and liued in Fraunce, being banished by King *Ferrande*

The Duke of Ferrara had married King Ferrandes daughter named Elenor.

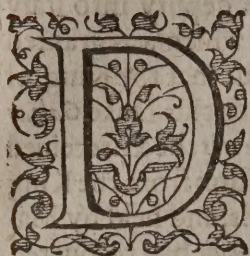
1493.

rande of Naples, as before you haue heard, and therefore trauelled earnestly that this voiage to Naples might goe forward. With the said Earle of Caiazzo came also Charles Earle of Belleioyuse, and Master Galeas Viscount of Milan, who were both in very good order and well accompanied, but openly they vsed salutations onely and generall speeches. This was the first great ambassage that came from the Lord Lodouic to the King. True it is that he had sent before this one of his Secretaries to negotiate with the King, to send his deputy into Italy to receiue homage of his cousin the Duke of Milan for Genua, which was granted him against all reason: notwithstanding I will not deny, but that the King of speciall fauour might assigne one to receiue it of him; for when this Duke Galeas was ward to his mother, I being then ambassador for King Lewis the XI. receiued his homage in the castell of Milan, hauing an expresse commission from the King so to do. But Genua was then out of the Duke of Milans hands, and held by Master Baptiste de Campefour gouse; but at this present the Lord Lodouic had recouered it, and gaue to certaine of the Kings chamber eight thousand ducats for the inuesture thereof, who by receiuing the money greatly preiudiced the King. For before the grant of the said inuesture, they might haue seized Genua to the Kings owne vse, if they had would: but seeing they meant to take money for it they ought to haue demanded more: for Duke Galeas paid at one paiement for it to King Lewis my Master fifty thousand ducats, whereof the King (whose soule God pardon) gaue me thirty thousand crownes in reward. Notwithstanding they said they receiued these eight thousand ducats with the Kings consent, and Stephen de Vers Senescall of Beaucaire was one of those that tooke the money, happily to entertaine the better the Lord Lodouic for this enterprife, which he so much both fauoured and furthered. After audience giuen openly at Paris to the ambassadors aboue mentioned, the Earle of Caiazzo had secret conference with the King. The said Earle was in great credit at Milan, but his brother Master Galeas of Saint Seuerin in greater, especially in martiall affaires. His master could now dispose of the state of Milan as of his owne: for the which cause he offered the King great seruices and aide as well men as money, affirming the enterprife to be of no difficulty. This done he and master Galeas Viscount tooke their leaue and departed, leauing behind them the Earle Charles of Belleioyuse to entertaine the sute, who incontinent put himselfe into French apparel, and trauelled so earnestly in this businesse, that many began to like of the enterprife. The King sent into Italy to Pope Innocentius, to the Venetians, and to the Florentines, one named Peron of Basche, who had bin brought vp in the house of Aniou vnder Duke John of Calabria, and was maruellously affectioned to this voiage. These practises and runnings to and fro continued the space of seuen or eight moneths, and those that vnderstood of this enterprife, communed among themselves diuersly of it, but none thought that the King would goe in person into Italy.

Duke Galeas ought to haue come into France to haue done homage to the King in person, but because Lodouic would not let him depart out of his custody, he should meanes that it should be done to one sent thither by the King as his deputy for that purpose. Genua was forfeited, and vnder colour thereof, the Lord Lodouic had recouered it, but because it was held of the King (for the Genuois had giuen themselves to Charles the sixth anno 1394. who sent thither for gouernour John de Maingre, & afterward to Charles the seventh anno 1446) it could be forfeited to none but to the King, but by giuing away this inuesture, he gaue away his right.



Chap. 3 *How King Charles the eight made peace with the King of Romanes,
and the Archduke of Austrich, restoring to them the Lady
Margaret of Flanders, before he made
his voiage to Naples.*



Vring this delay aboue mentioned, peace was treated of at Senlis between the King and the Archduke of Austriche, heire of the house of Burgundy. For notwithstanding that they were in truce, yet a breach happened betweene them, because the King refused the King of Romanes daughter, sister to the said Archduke (being very young) and married the daughter of *Francis* Duke of Britaine, to enioy peaceably thereby the Duchy of Britaine: all the which at the time of this treaty he held, saue the towne of Renes and the said daughter being within in it; the which was gouerned by the Prince of Orenge her vnckle, who had made a marriage betweene her and the King of Romanes, and openly solemnized it in the Church by a Proctor. All the which happened in the yeere 1492. To this treaty aboue mentioned came a great ambassage in fauour of the Duke of Austrich from the Emperour *Fredericke*, who offered to be a mediator for the peace: The King of Romanes sent thither also, and so did the Palzgraue, and the Suissers to pacifie this controuersie, being all of opinion that it would kindle a great fire: for the King of Romanes seemed aboue all measure to be iniured, hauing at one time her taken from him whom he accounted his wife, and his daughter sent backe to him which many yeeres had been Queene of France: but in the end the matter was quietly shut vp, and peace concluded. For all parties were weary of warre, especially Duke *Philips* subiects, who had sustained so many troubles, partly because of warres with this realme, and partly through their owne domesticall diuisions that they could endure no more. The peace was concluded but for foure yeares, whereunto the king of Romanes agreed, to the end he might repose his subiects, and receiue againe his daughter: whom some that were about the King and the said daughter, made difficulty to restore. At this treaty my selfe was present with the rest of the Kings Commissioners being these, *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orenge, the Lord of Cordes, and diuers other noble personages, and promise was there made to restore to the said Duke *Philip* all that the King held in Artois: for so was it agreed when this mariage was treated of in the yeare, 1482. that if it were not accomplished, all the lands that were giuen with this Lady in marriage should returne againe with her, or be restored to Duke *Philip*. But the said Archdukes men had already surprised Arras and Saint Omer, so that onely Hedin, Aire, and Betune, remained to be restored: the possession and seniorie whereof were presently deliuered them, and they put officers into them: but the King held still the castels, and might place garrisons in them till the foure yeares were expired, which ended at the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist in the yeare 1498. at which time he was bound to restore them also to the said Archduke, and so he promised and sware to doe.

Whether the alteration of these mariages agreed with the laws of holy Church or no, let others iudge: for many Doctors of Diuinity said yea, and many nay: but were they lawfull or vnlawfull, sure all these Ladies were vnfortunate in their issue. Our Queene had three sonnes successiue one after another in foure yeres:

¹ *Annal. Burgund.* write, which *Philip* the King of Romanes sonne, but the best writers agree with our author.
• *Maximilian* was chosen King of Romanes, anno 1486. *Franciscus*

yeeres: one of them³ liued almost three yeeres and then died, and the other two be dead also. The Lady *Margaret* of Auſtriche was afterward married to the Prince of Caſtile onely ſonne to the King and Queene of Caſtile, and heire both of Caſtile and diuers other realmes. The ſaid Prince died the firſt yeere of his marriage in the yeere of our Lord 1497. leauing his wife great bellied⁴ who immediately after her husbands death fell in trauell before her time, and was deliuered of a dead borne childe; which miſfortune the King and Queene of Caſtile and their whole realme lamented a long time. The King of Romanes immediately after this alteration aboue mentioned, married the daughter of *Galeas* D. of Milan, ſiſter to Duke *Iohn Galeas* before named, the which marriage was made by the Lord *Lodouics* onely procurement: but it diſpleaſed greatly both the Princes of the Empire, and many alſo of the King of Romanes friends, becauſe ſhe was not of a houſe noble ynough in their opinion to march with their Emperour. For as touching the Viſcounts of whom the Dukes of Milan are deſcended, ſmall nobilitie is in them, and leſſe yet in the *Sforces*; for the firſt of that houſe was *Francis Sforce* Duke of Milan, whoſe father was a ſhoemaker⁵ dwelling in a little towne called Cotignoles, but a very valiant man, though not ſo valiant as his ſonne, who by meanes of the great fauour the people of Milan bare his wife, being baſe daughter to Duke *Philip Marie*, made himſelfe Duke, and conquered and gouerned the whole countrie not as a tyrant, but as a good and iuſt Prince: ſo that in worthineſſe and vertue, he was comparable to the nobleſt Princes that liued in his daies. Thus much I haue written to ſhew what followed the change of theſe marriages, neither know I what may yet hereafter enſue further thereof.

³ Of this childes death hee writeth, lib. 8. cap. 13.
⁴ Of this Princes death he writeth at large, lib. 8. cap. 17.
⁵ *Francis Sforce* ſome write (as was firſt a cooke in the campe, after he became a ſoldier, and laſtly for his valor was made a captain and a knight.

Chap. 4. *How the King ſent to the Venetians to praſtiſe with them before he enterpriſed his voiage to Naples, and of the preparation that was made for the ſaid voiage.*



OW to returne to the principall matter: you haue heard of the Earle of Caiazze and the other ambaffadors departure from the King of Paris, and of diuers praſtiſes entertained in Italie, and how the King as yoong as he was, greatly affected this voiage, notwithstanding that as yet he diſcouered his meaning but to the Senefchall and generall only. Further, he required the Venetians to giue him aide and counſell in this enterpriſe, who answered him that hee ſhould be welcome into Italie: but that aide him they could not, becauſe they ſtood in doubt of the Turke, (yet were they in peace with him) and as touching counſell, it ſhould be too great preſumption in them to giue counſell to ſo wiſe a Prince, hauing ſo graue a counſell about him; but they promiſed rather to helpe him than hinder him. This they tooke to be a wiſe anſwere, and ſo was it I confeſſe. But notwithstanding that, they gouerne their affaires more circumspectly than any Prince or common wealth in the world; yet God will alwaies haue vs to know that wiſedome and forecaſt of man auaile nought, when he is purpoſed to ſtrike the ſtroke. For hee diſpoſed of this enterpriſe far otherwiſe than they imagined, for they thought not that the King would haue come in perſon into Italy, neither ſtood they in any feare of the Turke, notwithstanding their forged excuſe: for the Turke then raigning was a man of no valor⁶: but they hoped by this meanes to be reuenged of the houſe of Arragon, which they hated extreame-ly,

⁶ This Turke was Baiazed the ſecond

^a *Sodra* in La-
tia a towne in
that part of
Dalmatia,
now called
Albania.

^b This is raine
water he mea-
neth. But the
Venetians vse
also other wa-
ter brought
by boats from
the mayne
land to the
yeerely valew
of 20000.
crownes, and
yet notwith-
standing all
this, are in
great distresse
of water of-
tentimes.

^c Why they
had no title
appeareth by
the Pedegree
in the end of
the worke.

ly, both the father and the sonne, because by their perswasion (as they said) the Turke came to Scutary^a. I meane the father of this Turke, called *Mahumet Ottoman*, who tooke Constantinople, and greatly endamaged the said Venetians. But apart to *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria they had many other quarrels, for they charged him, first as only author of the warre the Duke of Ferrara mooued against them, wherein they consumed such infinite treasure, that it had well neere vndone them (of the which war a word or two hath bene spoken before.) Secondly, that he had sent a man purposely to Venice to poison their cisterns, at the least, as many as might be come vnto, for diuers of them be inclosed and locked. They vse there none other water, for they are inuironed with the sea, and sure that water is very good^c, as my selfe can witnes: for twise I haue bene at Venice, and in my first voiage dranke of it eight moneths together. But the chiefe cause of their hatred against this house of Arragon was none of these aboue rehearsed; but for that the said house kept them from growing great as well in Italie as Greece, on both the which countries they had their eyes fixed: notwithstanding they had lately conquered the Ile of Ciprus vpon no title in the world^d. For all these considerations the Venetians thought it their profit, that war should arise betweene the King and the house of Arragon: but they supposed that it could not haue ended so soone as it did, and that it should but weaken their enemies, not vtterly destroy them: and further, that if the worst fell, either the one partie or the other to haue their helpe, would giue them certaine townes in Pouille, lying vpon their sea coast: as also in the end it hapned, but they had well neere misreckoned themselves. Lastly, as touching the calling of the King into Italie, they thought it could not be laid to their charge, seeing they had giuen him neither counsell nor aide, as appeared by their answer to *Peron* of Balche.

In the yeere 1494. the King went to Lyons to attend to his affaires, but no man thought he would passe the mountaines. Thither came to him the aboue named Master *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, brother to the Earle of Caiazze with a goodly traine, sent from the Lord *Lodonic*, whose lieutenant and principall seruant he was. He brought with him a great number of braue horses and armours to run in, and ran himselfe, and that very well, for he was a yoong and a gallant knight. The King entertained him very honorably, feasted him sumptuously, and gaue him his order. This done, he returned into Italie. But the Earle of Belleyoueuse remained still with the King to sollicite the Voiage. At Genua they began to arme a great nauie, whither the King sent the Lord of Vrsé Master of his horse, with diuers others. In the end he remooued to Vienna in Daulphine, about the beginning of August in the same yeere, whither the nobles of Genua resorted daily to him: wherefore to Genua he sent *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, now King of this realme, a yoong gentleman of goodly personage, but much giuen to his pleasures, of whom in this history ample mention shall bee made. It was then thought that the said Duke of Orleans should haue led this armie by sea to land in the realme of Naples, by the conduct and direction of the aboue named banished Princes of Salerne and Bisignan. The whole nauie was fowerteene ships of Genua, besides a great number of gallies and galleons, and the King was as well obeyed there in this case, as he should haue bene at Paris: for Genua was vnder the state of Milan, where the Lord *Lodonic* gouerned all, hauing none to gaine say him, saue onely the Duchesse his nephewes wife, daughter to King *Alphonse*, (for about this present his father King *Ferrande* died.) But the said Lady preuailed little or nothing, both because men saw the King in a readines either to passe into Italie in person, or to send his forces, and also because her husband was

a very

a very simple man, and disclosed all her doings to the Lord *Lodovic*, his vncler, who had already caused a messenger to be drowned sent by her to her father.

This nauie did no seruice, notwithstanding that the charges therof amounted to three hundred thousand franks, for all the treasure that the K. could leuy was employed that way, by meanes whereof he was vnfurnished as before I said, both of good counsell, of money, and of all things necessarie for such an enterprise: yet God of his meere grace (as manifestly he declared) gaue it good successe. I meane not that the King was not wise of his age, but he was but two and twenty yeeres old, newly crept out of the shel. The two aboue named that gouerned him in all his voiage, to wit, *Stephen de Vers* Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the Generall *Brissonet*, now Cardinall of Saint Malo, were men of meane estate, and of no experience, whereby so much the more appeared the wonderfull worke God: our enemies on the other side, were accounted wise, of great experience in the wars, rich, accompanied with wise men and good Captaines, and in possession of the realme. I meane K. *Alphonse* (lately crowned by Pope *Alexander* a Spaniard, borne in the realme of Arragon) who had the Florentines ioined with him, and great intelligence with the Turke. He had also a son bearing armes, called *Dom Ferrande*, a courteous yong gentleman, of the age of two or three and twenty yerres, who was welbeloued in the realme, and a brother also named *Dom Frederic*, who succeeded the said *Ferrande* in this our age, and was a very wise man, and led their army vpon the sea. He had been long trained vpon this side the mountaines, and of him you had often assured me my Lord of Vienna by your knowledge in Astrology, that he should be King, so that he once promised me foure thousand frankes of yeerely reuenues in the said realme, when that came to passe, which promise was made twenty yeeres before the prophesie tooke effect.

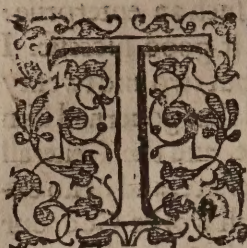
Now to procede, the King altered his mind through the Duke of Milans earnest sollicitation made both by letters, by the Earle *Charles* of Belleioyouse his ambassador, and by the two aboue named. Notwithstanding the Generall in the end began to faint, seeing all men of wisdom and vnderstanding to mislike this voyage for many respects, and especially because the Kings forces lay abroad in campe in August, vnfurnished of money, and all other things necessary: but the Seneschall alone carried the credit from them al, so far forth that the King shewed a countenance of displeasure to the Generall three or foure daies, but he soon recovered his fauour againe. At this present died one of the Seneschalls seruants of the plague, as men said; for the which cause he durst not repaire to the Kings prsence to his great grieve, for no man solicited the voiage: but one the contrarie side the Duke and Dutchesse of Burbon were there, labouring all that in them lay to ouerthrow it, wherunto also the said General encouraged them, by meanes whereof one daie the voiage was dashed, and another reuiued. In the ende the King resolved to goe, and my selfe mounted on horsebacke with the formost, hoping to passe the mountaines the more commodiously with small companie: but I receiued a countermand, whereby I was aduertised that all was altered againe. The selfe same day were borrowed fifty thousand ducates of a merchant of Milan; but the Lord *Lodovic* deliuered the money vpon assurance made to the said merchant for the repaiment: my selfe stood bound for six thousand, and others for the rest; but this money was lent without interest. The King had borrowed before of the banke of Soly at Genua a hundred thousand franks the interest whereof amounted in foure moneths to 14. thousand franks. But some said that the two aboue named had part both in the principall, and also in the interest.

⁵ For he was not minded at the first to haue gone in person.

⁶ That is after the rate of sterling money, 14. pound in the hundred for foure moneths.

Chap. 5. How King Charles departed from Vienna in Daulphine to conquere the realme of Naples in person, and what his nauie vpon the sea did vnder the leading of the Duke of Orleans.

¹ The King came to Ast the 9. of September 1494. Guicciar.



O be short, the King departed from Vienna the 23. of August in the yeere 1494. and marched straight towards Ast ¹. At Suze Master *Galeas* of S. Seuerin came to him in post, from whence the King remooued to Thurin, where he borrowed all the Duchesse of Sauoyes iewels, who was daughter to the late Lord *William* Marques of Montferrat, and Duke *Charles* of Sauoyes widowe, the which he engaged for twelue thousand ducats. A few daies after, he went to Casall to the Marques of Montferrats widow, being a wise yoong Lady, daughter to the King of Seruia. The Turke had conquered her cuntrye, and the Emperour, whose kinswoman shee was (hauing as I suppose, taken her into his protection) had bestowed her in this house of Montferrat. She lent also her iewels, which were in like maner engaged for twelue thousand ducats. Hereby you may perceiue what successe this voiage was like to haue had, if God alone had not guided the enterprife. The King abode at Ast a certaine space ². That yeere all the wines of Italie were sower, which our men much misliked, neither could they away with the great heate of the aire. To Ast came the Lord *Lodowic* and his wife with a goodly train to visite the King, where they abode two daies: and then, the said *Lodowic* departed to a castell of the Duchie of Milan, a league from Ast called Nom, whither the Kings Councell repaired daily to him. King *Alphonse* had two armies abroad in the cuntrye, the one in Romaine ³ towards Ferrara, vnder the leading of his sonne, accompanied with the Lord *Virgill Vrsin*, the Earle of Petilhane, and the Lord *John Iames* of Treuoul, who is now become French. Against these the King sent the Lord *d' Aubigny* ⁴ a valiant and wise Knight, with two hundred men of armes French, and fife hundred men of armes Italians, being in the Kings seruice, vnder the leading of the Earle of Caiazze so often before mentioned, who was there as the Lord *Lodowics* lieutenant, and feared greatly the discomfiture of these forces, which if it had happened, we had repaired home incontinent, and hee should haue had his enemies vpon his necke, whose intelligence was great in the Duchie of Milan.

² The King abode at Ast till the 6. of October. *Annal. Franc. & Aquit.*

³ *Alphonse* in person leuied men in *Abruzzo* to haue fought with *Aubigny*, but in an assembly held betweene him and the Pope at Vicouare the third of Iuly, it was agreed that he should passe no further but giue the charge of the armie to his son, *Guicciar*.

⁴ This *Aubigny* was a Scotish man and a Steward and of him the now King of Scots is by his father lineally descended.

⁵ Genua was euer diuided into the factions of *Fregose* (called heere in many places *Pourgbusi*) *Adorni*, *Dorei* and *Spinoli*.

The other army was vpon the sea, vnder the leading of Dom *Fredericke* King *Alphonse*s brother, and lay at Ligorne and at Pise; for the Florentines tooke part as yet with the house of Arragon, and furnished them of certaine galleies. Moreover, with the said Dom *Fredericke* was *Breto de Elisco*, and certaine other Genuois, by whose intelligence he hoped to cause Genua to reuolt ⁵. And sure they had almost obtained their purpose at Specie and Rapalo neere to Genua, where they landed a thousand of their faction, by meanes whereof they had vndoubtedly atchieued their enterprife, if they had not been very speedily assailed. But the selfe same day or the next day, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans arriued there with certaine ships, and a good number of galleies, and one great galliasse being mine, the patrone whereof was one Master *Albert Mely*, and it carried the said Duke and the principall of the army, and many goodly peeces of artillery; for it was very strong, and approached so neere the shore, that the very artillery almost discomfited the enimies, who before had neuer seene the like: for artillerie was at that time strange and new to the Italian nation. The soldiers landed also that

that were in the other ships: and from Genua where the Kings whole army lay, came a band of Swissers by Land led by the Bailife of Digeon, who had ioined with him certaine of the Duke of Milans forces (vnder the leading of Master *John Lewis de Flisco* brother to the forenamed *Breto*, and of Master *John Adorne*) the which (notwithstanding that they were not at the skirmish) shewed themselves valiant Soldiers in defending a straight against the enemies. To be short, because men came to hand-strokes with the enemies, they were discomfited and put to flight, and a hundred or six score slaine, and eight or ten taken prisoners: among the which was one *Fourgousin* sonne to the Cardinall of Genua. Those prisoners that were dismissed, were all stripped to their shirts by the Duke of Milans bands, and other harme had they none, for such is the law of armes in Italie. I saw all the letters that were sent both to the King and to the Duke of Milan making report of this skirmish. Thus was the enemies Navie repulsed, which afterward approached no more so neere. At our mens returne, the Genuois thought to haue raised a tumult and slew certaine Almaines in the towne, certaine also of them were slaine, but the matter was soone pacified.

I must here speake a word or two of the Florentines, who had sent twise to the King before his departure out of France meaning onely to dissemble with him, with their first Ambassadors (being the Bishop of Arese, and one named *Peter Sondorin*) the King commanded me, the Seneschall, and the General to negotiate. Our demaunds were only these: First, to giue the King passage through their countrie: and secondarily, to serue him with a hundred men of armes, paying them after the Italian intertainment, which was but ten thousand ducats the yeere. These ambassadors depended wholly vpon *Peter* of Medicis a yong man of small wisedome, sonne to *Laurence* of Medicis who was dead, and had beene one of the wisest men in his time, and had gouerned the citie almost as Prince, as did also at this present his sonne: and as two descents of their house had alreadie successiuelly done, namely *Laurence* the father of this *Peter*, and *Cosme* of Medicis the first roote and founder of this house, a man worthy among the worthiest. And sure of their trade (being merchandise,) I thinke it hath beene the greatest house that euer was in the world: for their seruants and factors haue had so great credit vnder their name that it is wouderfull. My selfe haue seene the prooffe thereof both in Flanders and England. For I knew one called *Gerrard Quanneuse* by whose only helpe (in a manner *K. Edward* the fourth kept the crowne on his head when ciuill wars were in the realme of England: for he lent him at times more then sixscore thousand crownes, little for his Masters profit, notwithstanding he recouered his principall in the end. Another also I knew named *Thomas Portunay*, who was pledge at one time betweene the said *K. Edward* and *D. Charles* of Burgundy for fifty thousand crownes, and at an other time in another place for fourscore thousand. I commend not the wisedome of merchants in this doing, but I commend Princes that vse merchants well and keepe day with them, for they know not when they shall need their help, and sometime a little money doth great seruice.

It seemeth that this house of Medicis fel to ruine as mighty houses do in realmes & Empires, for the great authority of this *Peter* of Medicis predecessors did him harme: notwithstanding the gouernement of *Cosme* the first of that house was milde and gentle, such as was agreeable with a free state. But *Laurence* this *Peters* father (whom we now presently write of) because of the great varience before mentioned in this historie, that was betweene him and them of Pisa, and others (diuers of the which at that time were hanged;) tooke a garde of twenty

outy valt
The Italians
haue Aretio
which is a
towne be-
twene Fla-
rence and Pe-
rouse, but
Gnazza de
Regio which
is a little town
neere to Par-
ma.
That was af-
ter the rate of
one hundred
ducates for e-
uery man of
armes: for the
Italian men of
armes haue
not their ar-
chers as the
French, and
therefore their
wages is lesse
by the halfe.

Lib. 6. cap. 5.

men for the defence of his person by the commandement and leaue of the Seniore, who commanded nothing, but at his pleasure: notwithstanding he behaued himselfe in this great authority very discreetly and soberly, for as (before I said) he was one of the wisest men in his time. But this *Peter* who succeeded his father (supposing the like authoritie to be due to him of right) became terrible by meanes of this guard, and vsed great violence in the night, beating men as they went in the streetes, and abusing their common treasure, so had his father done also, but so wisely, that they held themselues in manner contented therewith.

³ They gaue this counsell, to the end the Florentines being barred their trafficke in Fraunce, might murmur against *Peter* of *Medicis*: for what misfortune soeuer happeneth, the Prince is alwaies blamed as cause thereof.

In the second ambassage the said *Peter* sent to Lions, one called *Peter Capon* with diuers others, by whom he excused himselfe, as before he had done, for not accomplishing the Kings requests, saying that King *Lewis* the eleuenth had commanded the towne of Florence, to enter into league with King *Ferrande* in the time of Duke *John* of Aniou, and to depart from their league with the saide Duke: wherefore seeing by the Kings commandement they were entred into this league, which endured yet certaine yeeres: they could not abandon nor forsake the house of Arragon. But if the King hapned to come into their countrey, they promised to do him great seruices, which offer they made because they thought (as the Venetians did) that the King would not come into Italie. In both these ambassages there was some one enimie to the said *de Medicis*, especially in the latter this *Capon*, who often aduertised vs by what meanes the citie of Florence might bee brought to rebell against the said *Peter*, and deliuered also his message in far worse termes than indeede it was sent; and further, gaue aduise to banish all the Florentines out of Fraunce, and so were they ³. Thus much haue I written, to the end you may the better vnderstand that which afterward ensued: for the King became mortall enimie to the said *Peter*, and the Seneschall and generall had great intelligence with his enemies in the citie, especially with this *Capon*, yea and with two also of the said *Peters* cosin germanes being both of his owne name.

Chap. 6. How the King remaining yet in Ast, resolved to passe foorth towards Naples at the earnest sute of Lodonic Sforce. How Philip de Communes was sent ambassador to Venice: of the Duke of Milans death; after whose decease the said Lodonic seized vpon the Duchie, to the preiudice of a sonne the said Duke left behinde him.



Haue told you already what happened vpon the sea at Rapalo. Dom *Fredericke* retired to Pisa and Ligorne, leauing his footemen behind him whom hee had landed. The Florentines waxed maruellous weary of him; for they be and euer haue been better affected to the house of France, than to that of Arragon. Our army that was in Romyan notwithstanding that it were the weaker) furthered greatly our affaires; for it made Dom *Ferrande* Duke of Calabria by little and little to retire: which when the King perceiued, he resolved to passe forward, being earnestly sollicitated thereunto by the Lord *Lodonic* & the others aboue named. The said *Lodonic* at his first meeting with the K. spake thus vnto him: Sir, feare not this enterprife, there are in Italy but three mighty estates, one of the which taketh part with you which is Milan; another moueth not, to wit, the Venetians, so that you haue only to do with the force of Naples.

But diuers

uers of your ancestors haue ouerthrowne vs all three being ioined together. Sir, if you will credite me, I will helpe to make you greater than euer was *Charlemain*: for we will easily chase the Turke out of the Empire of Constantinople, hauing subdued the realme of Naples. And sure hee said true of the Turke that now raigneth¹, if all things had beene well ordered on our side. Then the King began to gouerne all his affaires by the order and direction of the said *Lodonic*, wherewith certaine of our men, I meane some of the Kings Chamber, and such like, were not a little discontented, which was great folly; for without him wee could doe nothing: and this that they did, was only to flatter the Duke of Orleans, who pretended title to the Dutchy of Milan². But the Generall especially was highly offended therewith; for now he thought himselfe a great man, and some breach was happened betweene the Seneschall and him: for the which cause the *L. Lodonic* moued both the King and the said Seneschall that the Generall might be sent home, which his words caused the said Generall openly to babble against him, and to say that he would deceiue the whole company: but silence would better haue becommed him. Notwithstanding as touching him, neuer wise man made account of him in matter of estate, both because he vnderstood not what it meant, and also because he was light of talke: but sure he was well affected to his Master. They concluded in the end to send abroad diuers ambassadors, and my selfe among the rest was appointed to go to Venice, but my dispatch was delaied awhile, because the King was sicke of the small poeks, and in danger of death: for an ague was ioined with his disease, but it endured not past fixe or seven daies. Then I departed leauing the King in Ast, & verily beleeuing that he would passe no further: In fixe daies I went to Venice with my mules and carriage; for the way was marvellous faire. But I departed from the said towne of Ast in great feare, doubting the Kings returne home: notwithstanding God had otherwise disposed of this enterprife, for he went straight to Paue, and passed through Casall, where the Marchionesse of Montferrat lay, which was a good Lady, and great friend to vs, but deadly enimie to the Lord *Lodonic*, and he also to her. When the K. arriued at Paue, some small ielousie began to arise; for they would haue lodged him in the towne and not in the castell, but he would not lodge but in the castell, & so he did. Those that were neere about him haue told me, that he was there in some danger. Wherefore the selfe same night the watch was re-enforced, whereat the Lord *Lodonic* marvelled greatly, so far forth that he communed thereof with the King, demanding if he had conceiued any suspicion of him. To be short, their behauiour was such on both sides, that their amitie could not long endure: but we babbled much more than they, not the King himselfe, but certaine of his neereft kinsmen³. In this castell of Paue was *John Galeas* Duke of Milan, and his wife daughter to King *Alphonse* in very piteous estate: for her husband being sicke, was held in this castell as vnder garde, and her sonne who is yet liuing, with a daughter or two. The childe was then about fiue yeeres old, and him euery man might see, but no man might see the Duke: for my selfe passed that way three daies before the King, and could by no meanes bee suffered to come to him. Euery body said he was extreame sicke: notwithstanding the K. spake with him; for he was his cosin germaine⁴, & he hath told me that their communication was only in generall termes, because he would in no wise offend the Lord *Lodonic*; notwithstanding that he were very desirous to haue aduertised his said cosin of diuers matters. At the same time the Dutchesse fell vpon her knees before the said *Lodonic*, desiring him to haue pittie vpon her father & brother. He answered that it could not be. But to say the truth, she might better haue entreated

¹ He meaneth because hee was a man of no vertue, as before is said.

² What right the Duke of Orleans had to it the pedigree in the end of the booke wil declare.

³ He meaneth the Earle of Ligny, the King and who were sisters children.

⁴ King Charles his mother was *Carlote*, & this Dukes mother *Bonne*, both daughters to the Duke of Sauoy.

for her husband and her selfe, being at that time a goodly yoong Ladie.

From thence the King remooued to Plaifance, where the said *Lodouic* receiued letters that his nephew the Duke of Milan lay at the point of death, wherefore he tooke his leaue of the King to go to him. The King desired him to returne, and so he promised to do. Before he came to Paue the Duke died, whereupon he rid incontinent, as it were in post to Milan. All these newes I vnderstood by a letter that the Venetian ambassador resident with the said *Lodouic* sent to Venice, wherein also he aduertised the Seniorie that he meant to make himselfe Duke, which both the Duke of Venice and the Seniorie vtterly misliked; so farre forth that they asked me whether the King would not defend the childe; which though reason required that he should: yet I made the matter doubtfull, considering how necessary an instrument the said Lord *Lodouic* was at that time for the Kings affaires.

To be short, he made himselfe to be receiued at Milan as Duke, which was the onely end (as some said) why he had caused vs to passe the Mountaines. Many also charged him with his nephewes death, whose kinsfolkes and friends in Italy were in armes to haue taken the gouernment from him, which they would easily haue done, had not the Kings comming stopped them. For they were already in Romaine (as you haue heard.) But the Earle of Caiasse and the Lord of Aubigny made them to retire. For the said Lord of Aubigny had with him a company of a hundred and fiftie or two hundred men of armes French, and a good band of Swissers. Dom *Ferrande* and his forces retired towards their friends, dislodging euer halfe a daies iourney before our men, and marched towards Furlly⁵, which belonged to a Ladie being a bastard of Milan, and widow of the Earle *Hieronimo*, nephew to Pope *Sixtus*⁶. This Lady fauoured them as the report went, notwithstanding after our men had taken by assault a little towne of hers, being first beaten halfe a day with the canon: she revolted to vs, being indeede well affected to vs before. Further, the people of Italic began in all places to take heart and to desire change and alteration: for they saw that which before they had neuer scene, I meane the feate of artillerie, which they were vnacquainted with, and which in Fraunce was neuer more practised than at that time. The said Dom *Ferrande* approched still neerer and neerer to his realme, and went to Sefenne, a faire city of the Popes in the Marke of Anconne; but the people spoiled his carriage and stufte whensoever they tooke his men at aduantage. And through all Italy they would haue rebelled, if the wars had beene ordered on our side without spoile: but all was done cleane contrarie, to my great grieve, because of the honor and renowme the French nation might haue obtained by this voiage. For at our first arriual the people honored vs as saints, supposing all faith and vertue to be in vs: but their opinion endured not long, partly because of the disorder and spoile our men vsed; and partly because of the slanderous reports our enemies made of vs in all places, charging vs that we forced women, and robbed and carried away money, and whatsoever we could lay hand on, of heinous crimes they could not haue accused vs in Italy, for no nation is so ielous and contentous as the Italian. As touching women they belied vs, but the rest was not altogether vnttrue.

⁵ It was corruptly in the French *SSorly* for *Furly*, which the old Romaines called *Forum* *linij*.

⁶ Octavian son to *Hieronimo* of *Riare*, was Lord of *Furly* and *Imola*, with title of Vicar of the Church, but he was vnder the gouernment of *Kathe- rin Sforce* his mother here mentioned.

Guicciar.

Guicciar.

Guicciar.

Guicciar.

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Guicciar.

Guicciar.

Guicciar.

Guicciar.

Chap. 7. How Peter of Medices yeelded fower of the Florentines strongest places to the King, and how the King restored Pisa being one of them, to their ancient libertie.

THe King (as before you haue heard) was at Plaisance, where he caused a solemne funerall to be made for his cosin germaine the Duke of Milan; for other thing wist he not what to doe, the new Duke of Milan being departed from him. They that best vnderstood the course of these affaires, haue told me that the whole companie desired to returne home, as well for that they were vnprovided of all things necessarie, as also because of diuers doubts that were arisen: for certaine that at the first seemed to haue great good liking of this voiage, began now vtterly to disallow thereof, namely the Lord of Vrse Master of the Horse, who was not with the King, but lay sicke at Genua: whence he wrote him a letter, giuing him therein to vnderstand of diuers doubts and iealousies whereof he was aduertised. But (as before I haue said in diuers places) God manifestly declared that he himselfe gouerned this enterprise. For suddenly in the necke of this letter, newes came to the King that the Duke of Milan would shortly returne, and that the Florentines began to fauour vs in hatred of *Peter de Medices*, who gouerned them as if he had been their Prince, to the great discontentation both of many of his owne neere kinsmen, and of diuers also of the best citizens, namely the *Caponi*, the *Sonderini*, the *Nerly*, and in manner the whole citie. Wherefore the King departed from Plaisance and marched towards the Florentine territories, meaning either to cause them to declare themselves for him, or to take their towues being vnfortified, and lodge his men in them all the winter, which was already begun: Diuers small places yeelded vnto him, so did also the citie of Luques enemie to the Florentines, shewing him all pleasure and seruice that in them lay. Now you shall vnderstand that the Duke of Milan had two purposes in his head; first he sought by all meanes possible to stay the King from passing further that summer². Secondarily, he hoped to obtaine of him Pisa (a great and a faire citie) together with Serzane, and Petresante, which two places had been subiect to the Geneuois not long before, and were woon from them by the Florentines in *Laurence de Medices* time.

The King passed through Pontreme one of the Duke of Milans townes, and went to besiege Serzane the strongest and best castle the Florentines had, but vnfurnished because of their great diuision. To say the truth, the Florentines neuer beare armes willingly against the house of Fraunce: for they haue euer faithfully serued it and taken part with it, both because of their great trafficke in Fraunce, and also because they haue euer been of the Guelphes faction³. If this place had been well furnished, the King must of necessitie haue broken his army: for the country is very barren and full of hils, and victuals there were none to be gotten: besides that, the snow lay maruellous deep vpon the ground. After the Kings siege had lien before it three daies, the Duke of Milan came thither, no composition being yet made between the Florentines and the King⁴, and passed through Pontreme, where the townsmen and the soldiers of the garrison fell at such variance with our Almaines (led by one *Busser*) that certaine of the said Almaines were slaine: of the which brawle sprang a great inconuenience, as hereafter you shall heare. For although I were not my selfe present at these acti-

¹ It was *Peter de Medices* in the French, but corruptly.

² He meant that the Duke of Milan

found delays to cause the King to stay

all the winter in the Florentine territories, hoping

that their townes would

yeeld vnto him (as indeed they did) and

that then he might obtaine

of the King such as hee would.

³ The factions of the Guelphes and Gibellines began

in Italy vnder the Emperor *Frederike* the

second anno 1240. The Gibellines

held for the Emperor; the Guelphes for

the Pope.

⁴ This composition he speaketh of

afterward in this chapter.

ons:

ons : yet vnderstood I of them both by the King, the Duke, and diuers others. The Florentines began now to practise, and appointed fifteen or sixteen to goe to the King, saying, that they would no longer continue in this great danger, nor sustaine the displeasure of the King and the Duke of Milan, who had continually an ambassador resident at Florence. And *Peter* of Medices consented to the sending of this ambassage; for to say the truth, he could not remedie it, considering vpon what termes they stood: for if they had done otherwise, they had been vndone, being vnprouided of all things, and vtterly vnacquainted with the wars. When these ambassadors came to the Kings presence, they offered to receiue him into Florence and their other places, neither cared the greater part of them how the world went, so that we would come to Florence to chase away *Peter* of Medices; which matter they earnestly pressed, because they had good intelligence with the aboue named that gouerned the Kings affaires.

On the other side *Peter* of Medices practised by a seruant of his owne named *Laurence Spinelly*, who was his factor at Lyons, and an honest man in his vocation, and had liued long in Fraunce: but of the state of our Court he could vnderstand nothing, no hardly they that had been Courtiers all their liues, because of the often changes and alterations. This *Spinelly* negotiated with those that heretofore had borne all the sway, namely, the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoy, and the Lord of Miolans chamberlaine to the King. Soone after the aboue named ambassadors were returned to Florence, *Peter* of Medices accompanied with certaine of the citie, came himselfe to the King to make answer to our requests: for they within the citie saw vtter destruction before their eies, vnlesse they yeelded to all the Kings demaunds; whose fauour they hoped to obtaine, by offering him some greater seruice than any of the other townes that had already receiued him. At his arriuell Monsieur *de Piennes* a Flemming born, and Chamberlaine to the King, and the generall *Brissonet* were sent to treat with him, who required him to yeeld vnto the King the castell of Serzane, which presently he did. They required him further to lend the King Pisa, Ligorne, Petresancte, and Librefacto: whereunto also he agreed incontinent, neuer communicating the matter with his colleagues, who supposed that the King should onely haue lodged in Pisa, and these other places to refresh himselfe, but not haue held them still: well, by this meanes they yeelded their whole estate and force into our hand. Those that negotiated with the said *Peter* haue told both me and others since, scoffing and iesting at him, that they wondred to see him so lightly condescend to so weighty a matter, granting more than they looked for. To conclude, the King entred into Pisa, and the aboue named ambassadors returned to Florence, where the said *Peter* caused the Kings lodging to be made in his own house, which was the goodliest of a citizens or merchants house that euer I saw, and better furnished than any mans house in the world of his estate.

I must heere speake a word or two of the Duke of Milan, who now wished the King with all his heart out of Italie, notwithstanding that both already he had made his profit by him, and sought also still so to doe: for he was in hope to obtaine of him, the places yeelded by the Florentines, and pressed him earnestly for Serzane, and Petresancte, which he said appertained to the Genuois: he lent him also at that present 30. thousand ducats, and he hath since told both me and others, that these places were promised him. But when he saw that he could not obtaine them, he departed in great displeasure from the King, pretending that earnest businesse called him home, which was the last time the King saw him: notwithstanding, he left Master *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin behind him, whom he

ioyned

ioyned in commission in all matters with the Earle *Charles* of Belleioyouse. The said Master *Galeas* while the King lay in Pisa, sent (by his Masters aduise) for the chiefe citizens of the towne to his lodging, where he perswaded them to rebell against the Florentines, and to desire the King to restore them to their ancient libertie, trusting by this meanes that Pisa would fall into the Duke of Milans clawes, vnder whose obedience it had been ⁵ in the time of *Iohn Galeas* the first Duke of Milan of that name, (a great and wicked tyrant though very honorable) whose body lieth buried in the charterhouse of Pauia by the parke ⁶, so high about the high altar, that men goe vp to it by a laddar: certaine of the monkes shewed me it, at the least his bones, which smelt, as naturall as they should. Further, one of the said monkes who was borne at Bourges, called him Saint, as he talked with me; and I asked him in his eare why he called him Saint, considering he might behold painted round about him the armes of many cities which he had wrongfully vsurped ⁷, and seeing the image of him and his horse being of fine marble stood higher than the altar, and yet his body lay vnder his horse feet. He answered mee softly, Sir, in this countrey we call all those Saints that haue done vs any good, and he built this goodly charterhouse church, which in very deed is the fairest that euer I saw, for it is all of fine marble. But to proceed, the said Master *Galeas* sought to make himselfe great, and so I thinke did the Duke of Milan also, because he had married his base daughter: for he manifestly declared that he would aduance him, as his owne sonne, because at that time his owne children were all very yoong. The said Pisans were I confesse cruelly handled by the Florentines, for they vsed them like slaues. They had subdued them about a hundred yeeres before, euen in the selfe same yeere that the Venetians conquered Padua, which was the first victorie that they obtained vpon the firm land. And the fortune of these two cities was almost alike, for they had been ancient enimies to those whom now they serued, many yeeres before they were conquered, and almost of equall force with them. These Pisans consulted together about this motion, and seeing themselues counselled by so great a personage, and being also of themselues desirous of libertie: a great number of them both men and women, came crying to the King as he went to masse, *Libertie, Libertie*, desiring him with weeping eies to grant it them. One of the Masters of the requests (who was a counsellor of the parliament in Daulphine named *Robert*) going before the King, or executing his office said vnto him, were it because he had promised the Pisans so to doe: or because he vnderstood not what they demanded) that it was a lamentable case, and that of right he ought to grant them their petition, adding, that neuer men were so cruelly handled. The King not vnderstanding well what this word meant, but bewailing in his minde the miserable estate of the Italian nation, and the cruelty that both Princes and commonalties vse towards their subiects (notwithstanding that in reason he could not grant them their libertie, seeing the towne was none of his, but lent him vpon friendship at his great need:) answered that he was contented to grant their request, and so the counsellor aboue named declared vnto them: whereupon the people incontinent began to proclaime holiday in token of ioy, and went to their bridge which is a very goodly one built ouer the riuer of Arne, and threw downe to the ground, and afterward into the riuer a great lion standing vpon a strong pillar of marble called maior, representing the Seniorie of Florence: upon the which pillar they caused to be erected the image of a King of Fraunce holding a naked sword in his hand, and treading the maior or lion vnder his horse feet. But after when the King of Romanes entred the towne, they did

⁵ It was sold to this *Jhn Galeas*, and he sold it ouer to the Florentines.

⁶ This parke was made by the said *Jhn Galeas* after he had conquered Pauia. It was twenty miles in circuit, walled round about, and stored with all kind of beaults, but now by meanes of the wars it is destroyed: by this parke he built also the castle. In this parke was *Francis* the French King take prisoner, by the forces of the Emperour *Charles* the 5. the 24. of Februarie anno 1525. but the *Fréchy*, 1524. because they begin not the yeere till Easter.

⁷ This Duke conquered in Italie 29. cities, among the which were Pauie, Boloria, Verona, Senes, Perouse, Luques, Verceil, &c.

with

with the Kings image as now with the lion : for such is the nature of the Italian nation, to turne euer with the strongest. Notwithstanding these Pisans were then and yet are so cruelly handled that they are to be holden for excused.

Chap. 8. *How the King departed from Pisa to Florence, and of the flight and ruine of Peter de Medicis.*



^r This is *Ironie* spoken because the King brake this second treatie also, mentioned in the very next chapter, notwithstanding that he vnderstood it well enough. ¹ It stood them in such stead, because it was strong, & the key of their country, and standerhneere the sea very commodiously for their trafficke.

After the King had reposed himselfe a few daies at Pisa, he departed to Florence, where they had declared vnto him the great wrong he had done their estate, by restoring the Pisans to libertie contrarie to his promise. Those that were appointed to make answer heereunto excused the fact : saying, that the King had not well vnderstood with what conditions Pisa was deliuered vnto him, neither vnderstood he another treaty he made with the Florentines¹ : whereof you shall heare, after I haue spoken somewhat of *Peter de Medicis* ruine, and shewed how the King entred into Florence, leauing a garrison in Pisa, and the other places lent him. The said *Peter* after he had yeelded to the King the places aboue mentioned with the consent of certain of the towne, returned to the citie, supposing that the King would not hold them still, but restore them at his departure from Pisa, where he would but repose himselfe three or fower daies. Yet am I of opinion that if it had pleased him to winter there, they would willingly haue agreed thereunto, notwithstanding that Pisa be of greater importance to them than Florence it selfe, saue that their persons and goods be resident in Florence². At the said *Peters* returne to Florence, euery man frowned vpon him, and not without cause : for he had dispossessed them of their whole force, and of all that they had conquered in a hundred yeeres, so that their mindes seemed already to foretell them the euils that afterward fell vpon them. Wherefore partly for this cause (which I suppose to be the principall, though they neuer vttered it) partly for the great hatred before rehearsed, which they bare him, and partly also to recouer their libertie, whereof they thought themselves bereaued by him : they determined to banish him the towne, forgetting all the benefits of *Cosmus* and *Laurence de Medicis* his ancestors. The said *Peter* hauing no certaine intelligence of this their determination, yet doubting it, went to the place with his ordinarie garde to aduertise them of the Kings comming, who was about three miles from the towne : but when he came to the palace gate and knocked, one of the house of Nerly (being the father and many sonnes whom my selfe knew well, all of great wealth) refused to let him in, saying, that if he would enter alone he should, otherwise not ; and he that made him this refusall was armed. The said *Peter* returned incontinent to his house, and armed both himselfe and his seruants, determining to make resistance against his enemies in the towne. Whereof he also aduertised one *Paule Vrsin*, who was in pay with the Florentines (for the said *Peter* was by his mother of the house of *Vrsins*, and both his father and he had euer given entertainment to certaine of them) but immediately after, they heard the people cry, *Libertie, libertie*, and saw them come towards his house in armes. Whereupon (following good aduice) by the helpe of *Paul Vrsin* he departed the towne, which was a miserable departure to him : for in power and wealth both he and his ancestors, since the time of *Cosmus de Medicis* the first of that house, had been in manner equall with great Princes : and this day fortune began to frowne vpon him, so that he lost both honor and riches. At this present my selfe was at Venice, and by the ambassador of Florence there resident,

dent, vnderstood of all these newes, which greatly displeased me; for I had loued his father well. If the said *Peter* had followed mine aduice, all this had neuer hapned: for immediately after my arriual at Venice I wrote vnto him, offering to make his peace with the King; for I had commission by mouth both from the Seneschall of Beaucaire and the Generall so to do: and I am well assured the K. wou'd haue held himsef contented with passage through their country, at the most with Ligorne, and (that being obtained) haue agreed to all the said *Peters* demands. But he by the perswasion of the aboue named *Peter Capon*, answered me in manner with scoffes. The said ambassador the next day deliuered a letter to the Senate of Venice, the contents whereof were, that the said *Peter* was banished the towne, because he sought to make himsef Lord thereof by aide of the house of Arragon and the *Vrsins*, and diuers other matters they charged him with, that were vnttrue. But such be the chances and changes of this world, that he that is in aduersitie, hath not onely his enimies to pursue him, but his friends also become his foes, as appeared by this ambassador named *Paul Anthony Soderin*, (one of the wisest men in Italy) who but the day before talked with me of this *Peter*, as if he had been his soueraigne Lord, yet now declared himsef his enimie. True it is that it was by the Seniories commandement; for of himsef particularly he made no declaration. The next day I was aduertised that the said *Peter* came to Venice, and that the King in great triumph was entred into Florence. Moreouer, the Senate of Florence commanded their ambassador to take his leaue of the Seniorie of Venice, and returne home with all speed. The letter himsef shewed me, and then departed. Two daies after his departure arriued *Peter de Medicis* in his doublet and his hose, or in one of his seruants clokes. The Venetians stood in great doubt to receiue him; so much feared they the Kings displeasure. And notwithstanding that they could not of their honor refuse him, yet made they him stay two daies without the towne, being very desirous to vnderstand of me, how the King would take it, if they receiued him. I for my part desired to do him good, and the King had written nothing to me against him: wherefore I answered them, that I thought he was fled for feare of the people, not of the King. Wherupon he entred the towne, and the next day after he had been with the Seniorie, I went to visit him. They lodged him well, and permitted both himsef and fifteen or twenty of his seruants that accompanied him, to weare their weapons in the towne³. And notwithstanding that *Cosmus* aboue mentioned had hindered them in times past from taking of Milan, yet vsed they him very well, and reuerenced him for the honor of his house, which had been of so great estimation and renowme through all Christendome. When I saw him me thought he seemed a man of no great stufte, he discoursed to me at large of all his misfortunes, and I, as well as I could, comforted him. Among other things, he told me that he had lost all, and that aboue all his other mishaps this most grieued him, that a factor of his in the towne had refused to giue him credit for cloth but to the value of 100. ducats to apparell his brother and himsef, which was a strange thing, considering his estate and authoritie: for by the space of threescore yeeres the estimation of his house had been so great, that greater it could not be. Soone after, by meanes of the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoye, the said *Peter* receiued good newes; for the King wrote vnto him, willing him to repaire to his presence. Notwithstanding the King was first departed from Florence, as now you shall heare, but somewhat I was forced by the way to speake of this *Peter de Medicis*.

³ For through the Venetians dominions no man may weare his weapon without leaue.

Chap. 9. *How the King entred into Florence, and through what other townes he passed till he came to Rome.*



THE next day the King entred into Florence, where the said *Peter* had prepared his owne house to receiue him, but the Lord of Ballassat who was sent thither before to make the Kings lodging, vnderstanding of the said *Peters* departure: fell to spoile all that he found in his house, pretending that his banke at Lyons ought him a great summe of money. Among other things he tooke one whole Vnicornes horne, valued at six or seauen thousand ducats, and two great peeces of another, with a number of other goodly things, which others seeing did the like. Into another house in the towne the said *Peter* had conueied all his goodliest stuffe, but the people spoiled that also. The Seniorie had part of his richest iewells, twenty thousand ducats in coine that lay in his banke in the towne, diuers faire pots of Agate, and such a number of goodly Camayeux excellently well cut, (all the which my selfe once saw) as is wonderfull, together with three thousand medales of gold and siluer weying fortie pound weight, the number and goodnesse whereof, I thinke all Italy could not match. All that he lost that day in the citie, amounted to a hundreth thousand crownes and better. The King being in Florence (as you haue heard) made a treatie with the citzens to their great good liking as I suppose. The conditions were these: They gaue him six score thousand ducats, whereof they paid him fiftie thousand presently, and the rest at two payments very shortly after, they lent him all the places aboue mentioned, they changed their armes being the red flower de luce, and gaue the Kings armes. And he for his part receiued them into his safegard and protection, and promised and sware vpon the altar of Saint *Iohn* to restore their places vnto them within fower moneths after he should be entred into Naples, or sooner, if sooner he returned into Fraunce. But the matter had other successe, as hereafter you shall heare.

The King staid not long at Florence, but went to Senes, where he was honorably receiued; and from thence to Viterbe, where Dom *Ferrand* (who as you haue heard retired towards Rome) was once minded to haue lodged and furnished his campe, and to haue fought if he had seen his aduantage, as I was aduertised both by King *Alphonse*s ambassador, and also by the Popes legate being at Venice. And sure I looked euer when King *Alphonse* being accounted a valiant Prince, should haue come thither in person, leauing his sonne in his realme: for in mine opinion the place had been greatly for his aduantage, considering he should haue had his owne realme, the dition of the church, and the places and territories of the Vrsins on his backe. Wherefore I was maruellously astonished when I receiued letters from the King that he was entred the towne of Viterbe, and likewise the castle, which soone after his entry into the towne a commander yeelded vnto him¹, by meanes of the Cardinall *Petri ad Vincula* (who was gouernour thereof) and of the Colonnaiois. And then began I to perswade my selfe that God was fully purposed to accomplish this enterprize, so far forth that I repented me that in my letters I had aduised the King not to refuse an honorable composition, for they offred him enough. But to proceed, Aquipendant, Montefascon, and all the places round about yeelded before Viterbe, as I was aduertised both by the Kings and also the Seniories letters (who were daily informed by their ambassadors of all that hapned) diuers of the which they shewed me,

¹ *Vn commandeur*, is one that hauing Ecclesiasticall liuings may not marry, and yet is not compelled to be a priest: as the Grand prior in Fraunce, and all the knights of Saint Iohns in Ierusalem.

or caused one of their secretaries to report vnto me. From thence the K. marched to Rome, through the Vrsins territories, which were all yeilded to him by the L. Charles Vrsin, who said that he had commandement from his father² (notwithstanding that he were then in King *Alphonse* service) so to do, and that so long as Dom Ferrand should haue passage granted him through the dominions of the Church, and should be in the said dominions; so long he would accompany him and no longer. Thus liue they in Italy both Princes and captaines in continuall practise with their enimies, and turning euer as they see fortune incline. Further, the K. was receiued into Brachane, the said *Virgile Vrsins* principall castle, which was faire, strong, and so well furnished of victuals, that I haue heard the King oftentimes commend both the place and the good entertainment hee found there. For his army was in such extreme penurie of victuals that in greater it could not be. To be short, who so shall consider how often this army was vpon the point to returne home since the time it first arriued at Vienna in Daulphine, and by what meanes and ouuertures the iourney was still continued: I thinke he will confesse that God was the leader thereof.

² His father was *Virgile Vrsine*, of whom heereafter more mention is made.

Chap. 10. *How the King sent the Cardinall Petri ad Vincula to Ostie; what the Pope did at Rome in the meane time, and how the King entred into Rome maugre all his enimies.*

From Brachane the King sent the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* to Ostie, wherof he was Bishop: the place was of great importance, and held by the Colonnais, who lately had recovered it from the Pope, whose forces not long before had taken it from the said Cardinall. It was of no defence, notwithstanding it hath since held Rome in great distresse a long time by the said Cardinals aide¹, being great friend to the Colonnais, who ioyned at that time with vs, partly by the meanes of the Cardinall *Ascanio* brother to the Duke of Milan and Vicechancellor, and partly in hatred of the Vrsins whose enimies they be and euer haue been. These two factions breed great troubles in the Church dominions, as doe in Fraunce the factions of Luce and Grandmont, and in Holland of Houc and Caballiau²: but were it not for this diuision, the said dominions were the best country for the subiects in the world, for they pay no subsidies, and other duties but few. Further, they are alwaies well gouerned, for the Popes are euer wise themselves, and haue wise men about them: but because of these factions many great and cruell murthers are often committed, as within these fower yeeres we haue seen a number on both sides. For since the time I now write of, the Coulonnais became our enimies, though to their great dishonour: for they possessed of the Kings gift in the realme of Naples, namely in the Earledome of Taillecouffe, and other places which the Vrsins had held before, twenty thousand ducats and better of yeerely reuenues³. Further, all their other demaunds were graunted them, as well charge of men of armes as pensions. Wherefore they fell from vs very traiterously, and vpon no occasion. But you shall vnderstand that they had euer been partakers with the house of Arragon and other enimies of

¹ This Cardinall was afterwards Pope *Julius* the second, and prooued a deadly enimie to the French. Further, this towne of Ostie distressed Rome, by meanes that being the very entry into the riuer of Tyber, it kept all victuals from comming to Rome by water, for the which cause the olde Romanes called the towne *Ostia*, because it was the very doore or

mouth as it were of the riuer. ² The factions of *Houc* and *Caballiau* began in Holland 1444. *Berlandus*. Read *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 300. pag. 2. ³ The King gaue to *Fabrice Colonne* the countrey of *Albe* and *Taillecouffe*, which were before *Virginio Vrsins*, and to *Prosper* the Duchie of *Tarcette*, and the citie of *Fond*.

Fraunce, because they were Gibelins, and the Vrsins had euer been friends to Fraunce because they were Guelphes. To Ostie the King sent with the said Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*, *Peron de la Basche* steward of his house, who was landed but three daies before at Plombin, and brought with him by sea twenty thousand ducats, parcell of that money the Duke of Milan lent the King. Vpon the sea with the Kings armie (being very small) remained the Prince of Salerne, and one called the Lord of Sernon in Prouence whom tempest draue into Corsique ⁴, with their nauie all to rent and torne, where they staid so long in repairing it, that it did no seruice, notwithstanding the great treasure imployed thereon, for before it arriued at Naples, the King was entred the towne.

⁴ This Corsique being corrupted in the French, we haue restored according to *Paulus Iouius*. *Guicciar* hath *Corse*.

At Ostie with the said Cardinall were five hundred men of armes, and two thousand Swissers led by the Earle of Ligny (the Kings cosin germaine by the mother,) the Lord of Alegre, and diuers others, who thought to haue passed the riuer of Tybre there, and to haue inclosed Dom *Ferrande* within Rome by aide of the Coulonnois, the principall of the which house were at that time *Prosper* and *Fabrice Coulonne*, and the Cardinall *Coulonne*, accompanied with two thousand footmen, whom the King paid by the hands of the aboue named *Basche*. The said footmen they had leuiued at their owne pleasure, and mustered at Sanne-sonne, a towne of their owne.

You shall vnderstand, that many matters concur heere, and of euery one somewhat is to be said. Before the King entred into Viterbe, he had sent to Rome Monsieur de la *Trimoille* his chamberlaine, the president *Ganay* keeper of the seale, and the generall *Bidant*, to enter into intelligence with the Pope, who practised continually after the manner of Italie. They being in Rome, the Pope in the night receiued Dom *Ferrand* with his whole forces into the towne, whereupon our ambassadors and some few of their seruants were staid: but the selfe same day the Pope dismissed them. Notwithstanding he held still in prison the Cardinall *Afcaigne* his Vicechancellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, and *Prosper Coulonne*, some said by their owne accord. Of all these accidents I was aduertised incontinent by the Kings letters, but the Seniorie more amply by their ambassadors. All this hapned before the King entred into Viterbe, for neither party staid aboue two daies in a place. But as touching our affaires they prospered better than we could wish, and no maruell: for the Lord of Lords gaue them successe, as all men might manifestly perceiue.

⁵ This is not the citie of Naples, but a little towne called in the *Annales* of Fraunce *Neple*, in Latin *Nepeſum*, of the Italians *Ferdinande* Duke of Calabria refused the passport *Guicciar*.

⁶ *Ferdinande* was sonne to *Hypolite* sister to Duke *Galeas* of Milan, to the Lord *Lodouic*, & to this Cardinall.

This armie that lay in Ostie could doe no seruice because of the foule weather; further, you shall vnderstand that the force which the Lord of Aubigny led, was returned to the King, and himselfe also, neither had he further charge thereof. The Italians were also dismissed that had been with him in Romanie, vnder the leading of the Lord *Rodolph* of Mantua, the Lord *Galeot* of Mirandula, and of *Fracasse* brother to the Lord *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, the which with their said company being to the number of five hundred men of armes, were well paid by the King, for they serued him as before you haue heard. The King after his departure from Viterbe, remooued to Naples ⁵, which the Cardinall *Afcaigne* held. Further, it is most certaine that while our men lay in Ostie, aboue twenty fathomes of Rome was fell to the ground on the same side they should haue entred. The Pope seeing this yoong King come thus suddenly with such successe, agreed that he should enter the citie, (for to say the truth he could not otherwise choose) and desired a safe conduct ⁶, (which the King willingly granted) for Dom *Ferrand* D. of Calabria, and only sonne of K. *Alphonse*, who in the night retired to Naples, the Cardinall *Afcaigne* conueying him to the gate ⁷.

Then

Then the King entred the citie in armes, as a Prince hauing power to dispose of althings at his pleasure, and diuers Cardinals with the gouernors and Senators of the towne came forth to receiue him. He lodged in Saint Markes pallace, which is the Colonniois quarter, who were his friends and seruants at that time. But the Pope retired into the castle of Saint Ange.

Chap. 11. How King Alphonse caused his sonne Ferrande to be crowned King, and fled himselfe into Sicilie: with a discourse of the euill life that his Father the olde

Ferrande and he had

led.

WH O would haue thought that this proud King Alphonse (hauing been trained vp all the daies of his life in martiall affairs), that his sonne and all these *Vrsins*, whose faction was so great in Rome, would thus haue abandoned the citie through cowardise, especially seeing they knew and vnderstood perfectly, that the Duke of Milan began to wauer, and the Venetians to stirre and to treat of a league, which had then been concluded (as I was certainly informed) if they had made any resistance either at Viterbe or at Rome, to stay the King but a few daies: but God meant to shew that all these proceedings, passed far the reach and compasse of mans braine. And heere note by the way, that as the wall of the citie of Rome fell downe, so did fiftene fathomes also of the vantage of the castle of Saint Ange, as I haue been aduer-
rised by diuers, especially of two Cardinals there present. Now I must returne to speake a word or two of King Alphonse.

So soone as the Duke of Calabria called the yoong Ferrande, was returned to Naples, his father King Alphonse iudged himselfe vnworthy longer to raigne, because of the euils he had committed, and the manifold cruelties he had vsed against diuers Barons and Princes of his realme. For you shall vnderstand, that whereas his father King Ferrande and he had taken (notwithstanding their safe conduct) to the number of 24. of them, and had held them in prison from the time of their rebellion against the said Ferrande¹ till the hower of his death: this Alphonse immediately after his fathers decease for a surplusage of all crueltie, caused them miserably to be murdered, and with them two other whom his father had also taken vnder safe conduct, the one Duke of Sesse² a man of great authoritie, and the other Prince of Rosane, who had married the said Ferrandes sister, and had issue by hir a sonne, a very goodly gentleman. True it is, that the said Prince had wrought great treason against him, for the which he had well deserued death, if he had not been taken vnder safe conduct: but King Ferrande to rid himselfe of all feare, tooke him (that notwithstanding) being come to him by his commandement, and laid him in a maruellous stinking prison, and afterward put his said son also being betweene fiftene and sixteene yeeres of age. Thus had the Prince of Rosane liued a prisoner when King Alphonse came to the state, about fower and thirty yeeres. But the said Alphonse immediately after his coronation, commanded these prisoners to be led into an Island neere to Naples called Isle³ (whereof heereafter more mention shall bee made) and there villanously to bee slaine, all saue one or two whom he held still in the castell of Naples, namely, the said Prince of Rosanes sonne, and the noble Earle of Popoli. I haue diligently enquired after what sort he caused them thus cruelly to be murdered; (for

¹ That is since the time that they rebelled, when they sent for the Duke of Lorraine, whereof mention is made in the first chapter of this seuenth booke.

² Iouian Pontan in the wars between D. John of Anjou and this olde Ferrande, maketh the Duke of Sesse and Prince of Rosane but one.

³ The Italians haue Ischia, wherof Plinie writeth thus, lib. 3. cap. 7.

Ischia insula est e Regione Veliæ alio nomine a nostris dicta:

Others write that it was first named Enaria. Iouius writeth that the Ile is named Enaria, and that Ischia is the name of the castle in the Ile: it is thirty miles from Naples, Guicciar. Sabellicus saith Procyta alias Ischia, but Plinie maketh Procyta and Ischia twaine.

many supposed they had been yet liuing, when the King entred into the good towne and citie of Naples) and diuers of their principall seruants haue informed me, that he caused them villanously and horribly to be slaine by a Moore of Africke, not sparing these ancient Princes: some of the which had been prisoners about fower or fife and thirty yeeres. Further, the said Moore immediately after the execution done, departed into Barbarie, to the end no man should know what was become of them. To be short, neuer man was more cruell than this King *Alphonse*, more wicked, more vicious, more filthy, nor a greater glutton. Notwithstanding his father had been the more dangerous: for no man could be acquainted with his humor, nor know when he was pleased or displeased; so that at feasts and bankets he tooke and betraied men: as for example, the Earle *James* sonne to *Nicholas Picinnio*, whom after that sort he tooke and murdered villanously, being ambassador to him from Duke *Francis* of Milan, whose base daughter he had married. True it is that the said *Francis* was consenting to the murther (notwithstanding he were his father in law) for they both feared the said Earle *James*, because the Braciques⁴ in Italy were wholly at his deuotion. After the like manner also tooke this *Ferrande* the Princes of his realme aboue mentioned, and as touching pardon or mercy neuer was any to be obtained at his hands, as diuers of his neereft kinsmen and friends haue often told me; neither had he at any time pittie or compassion vpon his poore people, to ease them of payments and subsidies. Moreouer, he vsed within his realme all trade of merchandise himselte, so farre forth that he deliuered swine to his people to feede, which they were constrained to fat to further their sale: and if any of them hapned to die, they were forced to make them good. In those places where the oile oliue groweth (namely in Pouille) he and his sonne bought it all vp at their own price: and in like manner the corne yet green vpon the ground, which they sold againe as deere as was possible; and if the price thereof hapned to fall, they constrained their subiects to buy it: besides that, during the time of their sale, all other were forbidden to sell. If any of their noble men were a good husband, and thought to spare some good thing for himselte, they would forthwith desire to borrow it; and if he made refusall, he was constrained to deliuer it perforce: so that they vsed to take from them the races of their horses (wherewith that countrey aboundeth) and to cause them to be broken and kept to their own vse, yea and that such numbers as well of horses as of mares and colts, that they were esteemed many thousands, which also they sent to feed in diuers places in the pastures of their noble men and other their subiects, to their great losse and damage. Both of them had forced many women; and as touching the Church, they had it in no reuerence, neither would obey the lawes thereof, so farre forth that they sold Bishoprikes for money; as for example, the Bishoprike of Tarente sold to a lew by King *Ferrande* for thirty thousand ducats, to bestow vpon his sonne, who (he said) was a Christian. Abbeies they gaue to faulconers and others, to bestow vpon their children, with this condition, that some of them should enter them a certain number of hawkes, and keep them flying to their vse, and other some entertain a number of soldiers, at their owne proper costs and charges. The sonne neuer obserued Lent, neither seemed to thinke there was any, and many yeeres together neuer confessed himselte, neither receiued the holy sacrament. To conclude, it was impossible for any man to commit more hainous crimes than both they had done; yet some reported the yoong *Ferrande* to be worse than they both, notwithstanding that he were humble and curteous at his death; and no maruell, for he was then in great distresse.

⁴ These were solders so named of *Braccio de Fortibraci*, a great captain in his time.

The

The readers may happily thinke that I vtter all this of some priuate hatred against them, which in good sooth I doe not, but rehearse it only to continue my historie, in the very beginning wherof I haue declared, that this enterprise could neuer haue been atchieued by those that were the chiefe managers thereof, had not God alone gouerned it, and giuen it good successe, to the end he might make this good yoong King being so slenderly prouided both of good counsell and all other things necessarie, his deputie to chastise these Princes so wise, so rich, of so great experience, so well accompanied with wise and noble personages whom the defence of the realme touched as neere themselues, so allied and friended; yea and the which saw the storme a farre off, and yet neuer could prouide for it, nor make resistance in any place. For out of the castle of Naples there was not one man that staid the King a day and a night: Whereupon Pope *Alexander* now liuing said, that the French men came thither with wooden spurs, and chalke in their harbingers hands to make their lodging without further trouble: which similitude of wooden spurs he vsed, because yet at this day, when the yoong gentlemen of this realme ride about the streets on horsebacke, their Pages thrust litle stickes into their shooes or pantofoles, wherewith they pricke forward their mules. And to confesse the truth, this was so easie a conquest, that our men very seldom armed themselues in all this voiage. Besides that, from the Kings departure out of Ast, till his entry into Naples, it was but fower moneths and nineteene daies. An ambassador would almost haue been as long in iourning thither. I conclude therefore agreeably to the opinion of diuers holy religious men, and others, and to the voice of the people (which is Gods voice) that God meant to punish these Princes so visibly that euery man might behold it, to warne thereby all other Princes to liue well, and according to his commandements. For these Princes of Arragon, lost both honor and realme, with great riches and goodly furniture of diuers and sundry sorts, the which is so dispersed heere and there, that a man can hardly tell what is become thereof; besides that, they ended their liues, three in a yeeres space or little more (but I trust their soules be in Paradise.) For you shall vnderstand that this olde *Ferrande* (bastard to King *Alphonse*, a wise, vertuous and honorable Prince) was maruellously disquieted when he saw this French warre first moued against him, which he could finde no meanes to auoide. For he was wise, and knew that he and his sonne had liued ill, and were maruellously hated in their realme: diuers also of those that were neerest about him, haue informed me, that as he razed a certaine chappell, he found a booke, whereon these words were written; *Truth with her secret counsell*; the which contained all the euills that afterward fell vpon him. There were but three that saw the booke, for immediately after he had read it, hee threw it into the fire. Another thing that greatly troubled him was this, his sonne *Alphonse* and *Ferrande* his sonnes sonne, could neuer be perswaded that the King would come into Italie. Wherefore they vsed proude and threatning words against him, and spake very contemptuously of him, saying, they would goe as farre as the mountaines to meet him. But one that stood by, wished that neuer King of Fraunce might come into Italie, for he had seen a poore man of the house of Aniou scourge it shrewdly, meaning Duke *Iohn* sonne to King *Rene*. King *Ferrand* had trauelled very earnestly the yeere before, by his ambassador called *Camillo Pendolfo*, to stay the King in Fraunce, offering to pay him yeerely a tribute of fiftie thousand ducats, and to hold the realme of him by homage and fealtie. But when he saw that he could by no meanes obtaine peace, nor pacifie the estate of Milan, hee fell into the disease whereof he died: notwithstanding in the midst of his

How this booke was strangely reuealed by a vision of one *Cataldus* (who had been Bishop of Tarente more than a thousand yeeres before) to a yoong childe, who thereof enformed the King, read *Alexander* in diebus genialibus, lib. 3. cap. 19.

¶ This she,
Guicciar vn-
derstandeth
he, meaning
that she desi-
red *Alphonse*
to tarry three
or foure daies
to the end he
might haue
been King a
whole yeere.

pangues he confessed himselfe, and as I trust repented him of his sins. His sonne *Alphonse* who had been so terrible a Prince, so cruell, and so long trained vp in the wars, before the K. departed from Rome, resigned his crowne, and was stricken with such feare, that in the night he neuer ceased to cry, That he hard the French men comming, and that the trees and stones sounded Fraunce. He neuer was so hardie as once to issue forth of Naples, but vpon his sonnes returne from Rome, put him in possession of the realme, and caused him to be crowned, and to ride about the streets of the citie accompanied with the noblest personages that were there, namely, with Dom *Frederick* his brother, and the Cardinall of Genua (between whom the new K. rode) and with the ambassadors there resident. He caused also all other solemnities belonging to the coronation to be accomplished, & then fled himselfe and sailed into Sicily with his mother in law (sister to K. *Ferrand* of Castile now raigning, to whom the said realme of Sicilie was in subiection) to a house that she had there: which was strange newes through the whole world, especially at Venice where I then was. Some said he went to the Turke; others thought his departure to be, to the end his sonne who was not hated in the realme might the better win the hearts of the people. But mine opinion was euer that he fled for very cowardise: for cruel man was neuer hardy, as appeareth in histories by *Nero* & others, who before their death fell into great feare and desperation. To be short, this *Alphonse* made such haste to be gone, that he said to his mother in law the selfe same day that they departed (as diuers of his seruants haue told me, that vnlesse shee would depart with speed, he would leaue her behind him. And when she desired him to stay but three daies only, to the end she might be a whole yeere in his realm: he answered that rather than he would tarry any longer he would throw himselfe headlong out at the windowes, asking hir if she heard not how euery man cried *Fraunce*. Thus he embarked in his galleies with his said mother in law and departed, carying with him all sorts of wines, (whereunto he was maruellously giuen,) and of all kinds of seeds for gardens. But as touching his mooueables and goods he left no order for them, but the greatest part remained in the castle of Naples: notwithstanding certain iewels he caried also with him, and a litle money. And in this estate sailed he and his mother in law to her said house in Sicilie, whence he departed and went to Messine, whither he called and led with him diuers religious men, vowing himselfe to be no more of this world. Aboue all other orders of religion he loued especially those of the Mount Oliuer (who are clad in white) as themselues told me at Venice, where the body of *S. Helene* lieth in their cloister. Moreouer, he began to lead a marvellous holy life, and to serue God howerly both day and night with the said religious men as they doe in their couents. He vsed also great fasting, abstinence, and almes, and soon after fell into a sharpe sicknes of excoriation and the stone, in such sort, that the said religious men reported that they neuer saw man so tormented. Notwithstanding he endured patiently all these pangues, being fully resolved to haue spent the rest of his life in an Abbey at Valence the great in Spaine, and there to haue registred himselfe a religious man. But he was so tormented with this disease, that he died soon after: and it is to be hoped bicause of his great repentance, that his soule is ioyfull in Paradise: his sonne also died soon after him of an ague ioyned with a fluxe, and I trust they are both in better case than they were in this world. But marke heere by the way that in lesse than two yeeres space, fise ware the crowne of Naples, to wit, the three aboue named, *Charles* the eight King of Fraunce, and Dom *Fredericke* (brother to the said *Alphonse*) now raigning.

Chap. 12. How the young Ferrand after he was crowned King of Naples, went and encamped at Germain, to resist the Kings comming, and of the treaty that King Charles made with the Pope at Rome.



OW to the end all these matters may be plaine and euident : you shall vnderstand that King Ferrand being crowned, became as it were a new man, supposing all old iniuries and offences to be forgotten by his fathers flight : wherefore he leuied all the force he could, aswel horsemen as footmen, and came to Saint Germain, which is the very entry into his Realme, and a strong place, & of great defence, through the which the Frenchmen had passed twise before ¹. There he encamped and manned the towne, and then his friends began somewhat to recover their spirits. The towne is strong, both because of a little riuier ² which sometime is passable on foote, sometime not, and also because of the hill hanging ouer it.

The King was yet at Rome, where he remained about twenty daies busied with a number of matters. He had with him at the least eighteene Cardinals, besides diuers others that repaired to the citie from all parts. The names of these Cardinals were the Cardinall *Ascaigne*, the Popes vicechancellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, the Cardinall *Petri-ad-Vincula* (the which two were deadly enemies to the Pope, and great friends each to other) the Cardinals of Guise ³, St. Denis, Saint Seuerin, Sauelli, Coulonne, and diuers others, all the which would needes haue proceeded to a new election and deposed the Pope, being within the castle of Saint Ange, against the which the artillerie was twise bent, as I haue herd the noblest personages there present report; but the King of his goodnesse euer withstood it. The place was not of defence, for the seat thereof is vpon a little hill made by force of man: besides that, these Cardinals alleaged that the wals thereof were fallen downe by miracle, and charged the Pope that he had obtained this holy dignity by simony, and they said true; but Cardinall *Ascaigne* himselfe was the chiefe merchant that sold it, and receiued a great summe of money for his part, together with the Popes house where he lodged before he was Pope, being then Vicechancellor, with diuers places of the patrimony of the Church. For great controuersie had been between them two for the said dignity ⁴. Notwithstanding I thinke they would both willingly haue agreede to chuse a new Pope of the Kings naming, yea and a French man; so that I know not whether the King did well or euill in concluding peace, though all things considered I suppose he tooke the best course, for himselfe was young, and vnprouided of men sufficient to manage so weighty a matter as the reformation of the Church though I confesse his power to haue beene sufficient thereunto. Sure if he could haue reformed it, I thinke all men of wisdom and vnderstanding would haue accounted it a good, a worthy, and a holy worke. But there were too many things requisite to so high an enterprise, notwithstanding the Kings will was good, and yet is if he had good assistance.

The King being in Rome made a treaty with the Pope, which could not long endure, for it was vnreasonable in some points, and serued for the chiefe colour of the league, whereof hereafter you shall heare. By the said treaty peace was concluded between the Pope and his Cardinals, and all other their adherents and

¹ He meaneth in their voyageto Naples vnder the house of Anjou.

² This riuier is called Liris or Gariliano.

³ Gurcenle Guazzo, & I suppose our author writ it Gurse, but the letters of the ancient copie being defaced, the vnskilfull corrector at the first printing getting but at the word, changed R. iu. to E. Guicciar hath Gurce.

⁴ The pope before his papacie had beene Vice-chancellor. *Ascanio* & hee strove for the dignity, but in the end *Ascanio* relented, being recompensed as here is mentioned. Notwithstanding seeing an occasion against the Pope offered by the Kings comming his rancor brake forth anew.

parta-

³ *Gemes or Ge-*
min ottoman
here mention-
ed, brother
to *Baiazet* the
second, re-
belling a-
gainst his
brother fled
to the Soldan
of *Egypt* for
aid, but being
vanquished
he fled to
Rhodes, from
whence he
was sent into
Fraunce to
King *Lewis*
the eleventh,
to the ende
he might not
escape; for
the Turke
for his safe

keeping paid yeerely to the knights of the *Rhodes*, 40000. crownes. King *Lewis* gaue him to Pope *Innocent* the 8. So he re-
mained till this present, that he was deliuered to King *Charles*; at Rome in the Popes hands.

partakers. And it was agreed that the Cardinals should receiue all rights and du-
ties belonging to their Cardinals hat as well absent as present: and that the Pope
should lend the King fower places, to wit, *Terracine Ciuita-vechia*, *Viterbe*
(which the King already held) and *Spolere*, but this last he neuer deliuered not-
withstanding his promise. All the which places the King sware to restore at his
returne from *Naples*, as also he did notwithstanding that the Pope had abused
him. By this treaty he deliuered also into the Kings hands the Turkes brother:
for the safe keeping of whom he receiued yeerely of the Turke fixety thousand
ducats, and held him also by meanes of his said brother in great feare^s. He pro-
mised further to put no Legate into any fortified place or towne of the Church
without the Kings consent. Certaine other articles there were touching the con-
sistorie or colledge of Cardinals which I ouer passe. For the performance of all
these conditions, the Pope deliuered his son the Cardinall of *Valence* in hostage
to the King, who accompanied him as his Legate, and the King did vnto the
Pope the duty of a sonne, with all humility and obedience. Further, the Pope
created two Cardinals at his request, the one the generall *Brissomet*, so often be-
fore named, lately made Bishop of *S. Malo*, and the other the Bishop of *Mans*,
of the house of *Luxembourg*, who was here in *Fraunce*.

*Chap. 13. How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what hapned in the
meane time in diuers parts of the same realme: and through
what places he passed till he came to Naples.*



Hese matters being thus ended, the King remooued from
Rome in great amitie and friendship with the Pope in appa-
rance, at which time eight Cardinals departed also out of the
citie highly displeased with this treatie, namely the said
Vicechauncellor *Ascaigne*, and the Cardinall *Saint Peter-ad-
Vincula*, with sixe of their faction. But many thought that
Ascaigne did but dissemble, and that indeed he was in good
amity with the Pope; notwithstanding I am able to affirme nothing thereof, for
his brother had not as yet declared himsele our enimie. From Rome the King
remooued to *Iannesanne*, and from thence to *Belistre*, where the Cardinall of *Val-
ence* escaped away.

⁴ For the Cou-
lonnois and
certaine of
the Kings cap-
taines had
been sent a-
bout to come
vpon King
Ferrandes
backe. These
tooke the
towne of *A-
quila*, and all
those parts,
and here ioy-
ned againe
with the King
because they
looked for the
battell.

The next day the King tooke *Chastelfortin* by assault and put all that were
within it to the sword, because the place belonged to *James Comte* who was reuol-
ted from the King, notwithstanding that hee had taken his pay: for the *Comtes*
haue euer been partakers with the *Visins*. From thence he marched to *Valmon-
ton* a towne of the *Colonnois*, and from thence remooued and lodged about
fower miles from mont *Saint Iehan*, which is a towne held of the Church, but
belonging to the Marques of *Pescaire* and very well fortified: notwithstanding
after it had been beaten seuen or eight howers with the canon; it was taken by
assault, and all that were within it or the greatest part slaine, and there the Kings
whole force ioyned together¹. Then he marched towards *Saint Germain* sixe-
teene miles thence, where this new King *Ferrand* (as you haue heard) lay in
campe with all the force he could leuy. And indeed this was his onely refuge,
and the place where he must fight or neuer, because it was the very keie as it were
of his realme, and a place much for his aduantage as well because of the riuier as
of

of the mountaine. Further, he had sent men to defend the straight of Cancellò, lying among the mountaines fixe miles from Saint Germain: yet notwithstanding all this preparation before the Kings arriuall at Saint Germain, he raised his campe and departed in great disorder abandoning both the towne and the passage.

Our vaward was led that day by the Lord of Guise, the Lord of Rieux was sent to this strait of Cancellò against the Arragonnois, but they also before his comming abandoned the place: and then entered the King into Saint Germain. King *Ferrand* rid straight to Capoua, where they refused to giue his soldiers entrance, but receiued his person with a few that attended vpon him; he staid not there, but desired them to continue true and faithfull subiects to him, promising the next day to returne, and so departed towards Naples fearing the rebellion that afterwards happened. All his force or the greatest part should haue tarried him at Capoua: but the next day when he returned he found them all departed. The Lord *Virgile Vrsin* with his cosin the Earle of Petillane, went to Nola, where they and all their company were taken prisoners by our men. They alleaged that they had a safe conduct and that we did them wrong, so had they indeede, but their safe conduct was not yet in their hands: notwithstanding they paid no ransome, but much they lost when they were taken, and sure in mine opinion they had wrong done them.

From Saint Germain the King remooued to Mingamer, and to Triague, and lodged at Calui, two miles from Capoua, whither they of Capoua came and yeelded themselves by composition, and the King entered into the towne with his whole army. From Capoua the next day he marched to Auerfa, being in the midway betweene Capoua and Naples, and siue miles distant from each of them. Thither came they of Naples and yeelded themselves in like manner by composition, hauing receiued assurance of the King that their ancient liberties should not be infringed nor empaired. The King sent thither before him the Marshall *Gié*, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, the president *Garnay* keeper of the Seale, and certaine Secretaries: whereof King *Ferrand* being aduertised, and seeing the people and Nobles of his realme in armes against him (who also at his first arriuall thither had spoiled his stable being maruellous great) tooke sea and sailed into Iscle, an Iland eightene miles from Naples: then the King was receiued into the towne with great ioy and triumph. For all the people came forth to meete him, yea, and those first that were most bound to the house of Arragon, namely all the *Carraffes*, who held of the said house of Arragon to the value of forty thousand ducats of yeerely reuenues, partly of inheritance, and partly of gift from the Prince; for the Kings of Naples may giue away their crown lands, so do they also other mens, and I thinke there are not three in the realme whose lands be not crowne lands or other mens.

Neuer people shewed so great affection to Prince or nation as they shewed to the King: the reason whereof was, because now they thought themselves deliuered from all tyrannie, so that they voluntarily yeelded vnto vs. For all Calabria became French incontinent, whither Monsieur *d' Aubigny* and Peron of Basche were sent themselves alone without any force. All the country of Abrouffo yeelded likewise the towne of Aqnila (which hath euer been great friend to the French) giuing them the first example. In like manner all Pouille turned sauing the castle of Brandis, which was strong and well manned, and Gallipoli which had a garrison in it, otherwise the people would haue returned also. In Calabria three places held for King *Ferrand*, two of them were Mantie and Turpie (anti-

² *Guicciar* saith thirty miles. The King was receiued into Naples the 21. of Februrie 1494. not beginning the yeere before Easter, but 1495. if you begin it the first of Ianuarie *Guicciar*.

³ Samnium or Samnites.

ent

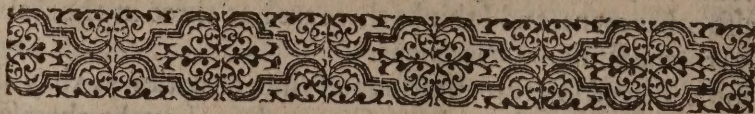
⁴ These were lands held in Capite of the King of Naples.

⁵ Otrante called in Latine *Aydruntum* first yeelded to the French, then reuolted againe. *Guicciar.*

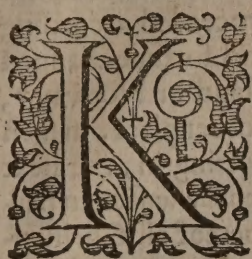
⁶ *Alphonse D'auale*, Marques of Pescaire. *Guicciar.*

⁷ *John de Ros* were praeft of Rome was the Cardinals brother, and he it was that held this Duchie.

ent partakers with the house of Aniou) the which at the first had set vp the armes of Fraunce, but because the King gaue them to the Lord Perfi, & would not receiue them as percell of the demaines of his crowne ⁴, they reared vp againe the house of Arragon. The third was the castile of Reges, which held also for King *Ferrande*. But it was our owne fault that ought held, for we sent no forces thither: no, I am well assured that into Pouille and Calabria, there went not men sufficient to haue defended one castell for the King. Tarente yeelded both castle and towne, so did also Otrante ⁵, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonne, Barle, and all the other places, the aboue named onely excepted. Moreouer the people came from their cities three daies iourney to meete our men and to yeelde themselves. To be short, the whole realme sent to Naples, and all the Princes and noble men repaired thither to doe homage to the King, sauing the Marques of Pescaire ⁶ whose brethren and nephewes came notwithstanding. The Earle of Acrie, and the Marques of Squillazo, fled into Sicily because the King had giuen their lands to the Lord of Aubigny. At Naples also arriued the Prince of Salerne newly come from the sea, but hauing done no seruice. Thither came also his brother the Prince of Bisignan and his sonnes, being accompanied with the Dukes of Melfe, of Grauinne, and the old Duke of Sora, who not long before had sold his Duchie to the Cardinall *Petri ad Vincula*, whose brother yet at this day possesseth it ⁷. To Naples also repaired the Earles of Montorio, of Fondi, of Tripalda and of Celano (who had long been banished out of the realme, and was now newly returned with the King.) The Earle of Troy was there in like manner (who was a younge gentleman of Scotland, brought vp in Fraunce) and the Earle of Popoli whom we found prisoner at Naples. The yoong Prince of Rosane before mentioned, after his long imprisonment with his father (who had lien in prison fower and thirtie yeeres) was at the length deliuered and went with King *Ferrand*, whether willingly or by constraint I know not. To Naples came also besides these aboue named, the Marques of Guefron with all the Caldorefsques, and the Earles of Matalon and Merillano, the which had, both they and their ancestors, euer gouerned the house of Arragon. To conclude, thither repaired all the nobles of the realme, the three aboue named onely excepted.



Chap. 14. How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme, and how an enterprise attempted on his behalfe against the Turke, was discovered by the Venetians.



King Ferrand at his departure from Naples, left the Marques of Pescara with certaine Almaines to defend the castle¹, and sailed himselfe for aide into Sicilie to his father. Dom Fredericke lay still vpon the sea with a fewe gallies, and came twice to parle with the King vnder safe conduct. His demands were that some part of the realme might remaine to his nephew with the title of King², and that himselfe might enioy all his owne lands and his wiues. His request

in respect of himselfe was not great, for his partage was small. The King offered him possessions in Fraunce both for him and his nephew, and I thinke would willingly haue giuen them a good and a great Duchie: but they would not accept this offer, neither would he graunt their demands. For what treatie soeuer had been made, they would haue broken it, when they had seene their aduantage, being still resident in the realme. The Kings artillery was bent and shot against the castle of Naples, within the which were only the Almaines, for the Marques of Pescara was departed thence. And if we had sent but fower cannons to the Ile of Iscle³ we had taken it, and then all had been ours: for from thence returned all the mischiefe⁴; but if that had been once woon, all the other places they held, being not past fower or fise, would haue yeelded. But our men fell to feasting, to iusts and banketing, and were so puffed vp with pride, that they accounted the Italians no men. Moreouer, the King was crowned and lodged in Capouane, and went sometime to Mont Imperial⁵. True it is that he shewed great grace and fauour to the subiects of the realme, for he abated their charges. And I thinke verily the people of themselves would not haue reuolted from vs (notwithstanding their great inconstancie) if we had contented a few of the nobles: but them no man regarded; besides that they were very roughly vsed at the gates. Those that were best dealt with, were the Carraffes the house of Arragons greatest friends, for their estates were but somewhat diminished: but the offices and pensions of the rest cleane taken away; yea the partakers with the house of Aniou worse handled than the Arragonois. Further, into the county of Metillano a commandement was sent, for the which the president Ganaye, and the Seneschall newly created Duke of Nola, and Lord great chamberlaine of the realme, were burthened to haue taken money. By the said commandement euery man was confirmed in his possession, and the partakers with the house of Aniou barred from their lands, vnlesse they could recouer them by proces. Further, as touching such as had made entries vpon their owne head, (as for example the Earle of Celano) aide was giuen to the parties griued, to dispossesse them againe by force. All estates and offices were bestowed vpon two or three Frenchmen, and all the prouision of victuals within the castle of Naples⁶, when it yeelded (being maruellous great) giuen to euery man that demanded it, at the least all that came to the Kings knowledge.

¹ He meaneth Castelnuovo: for there are in Naples fower castels. The castle of Capouana where the King lodged: Castle nuovo situate partly in the sea, partly on the land with a citadelle by it: Castel del uno situate on a rocke in the sea with a great tower called of the French Prince faulay, and betwene the castels Nuovo and Del uno is a fort vpon a rocke in the sea with a strong tower. The fourth is castel S. Ermo. & aboue Naples in an abbey that looketh into the towne called S. Martin, in manner of a castell.

² Gi. ciar saith he desired Calabria for his nephew without title of King.

³ The King sent to Iscle, men finding the towne desolate through negligence neuer assailed the castel.

⁴ He meaneth because all Ferrandes

because some write that King Charles was crowned Emperor of Constantinople at Rome: but I thinke rather he meaneth Mont de la Croce, or the hill Vesuuus, whither the King often walked for recreation, and peradventure because of the singularities which hee sawe there, named one of these hills Mont Imperial.

In

⁵ The French Corrector supposeth that this should be en manteau Imperial, because some write that King Charles was crowned Emperor of Constantinople at Rome: but I thinke rather he meaneth Mont de la Croce, or the hill Vesuuus, whither the King often walked for recreation, and peradventure because of the singularities which hee sawe there, named one of these hills Mont Imperial.

⁶ He meaneth Castel nuovo.

⁷ The Almaines yeelded the castle vnder condition, that they might haue King Ferrandes mooueables that were within it.
⁸ This castle was so named because it was built in forme of an egge.
⁹ The Island and Nerway, the vnskilfull corrector had chopped in Holland and Auvergne, making the author report a meere vntruth.

¹⁰ Oricum in Latin as some write, as others Apollonia.
¹¹ Others writte but 55.

¹² Dyrrachium.

¹³ But the Turke held them from him.

¹⁴ Troy in times past the strongest towne in Epirus.

¹⁵ His fathers name was Commenus.

In the meane time the Almaines by practise yeelded the castle ⁷, in the which they obtained infinite riches, the castle of l'Oeouf ⁸ was also taken by battery. By these faults aboue rehearsed a man may manifestly perceiue that this great conquest was atchieued by the meere grace of God, and not by their wisdom that gouerned the enterprise: but these foule faults were the workes of men puffed vp with pride and vaine glory, and not vnderstanding from whence all this their honour and good successe sprang. Wherefore they proceeded according to their nature and experience, by meanes whereof their good fortune changed as suddenly and visibly, as men may see the day spring in Island or Norway ⁹, where the daies in sommer are of greater length than in any other place, in such sort, that within a quarter of an hower after the one daies shutting in, the next day light beginneth to appeare. Euen so in as short space did euery wise man perceiue the alteration of our good and prosperous successe, whereof all Christendome should haue reaped great profit and honor if we had acknowledged it to proceede from him, who was indeede the giuer thereof. For the Turke then raiging (and yet liuing) might as easily haue been chased out of Europe, as King *Alphonse* was out of his realme, both for that he was a man of no valor, and also because the King had with him the said Turks brother, whom he feared aboue all men liuing. But this said brother died soone after the Cardinall of Valences escape: whereupon the report went that he was poisoned when the Pope deliuered him to the King. Further, there were so many thousand Christians in Greece ready to rebell, as a man would hardly beleue, for from Otrante to Valonne ¹⁰ are but 60. miles ¹¹, and from Valonne to Constantinople but eightene reasonable daies iournies, as diuers that haue trauelled the way haue enformed mee. Betweene them are no strong places, at the most not aboue two or three, for all the rest be razed. Those countries are maruellous populous, and they that inhabit them be Albanois, Sclauons and Greekes, who vnderstood of our Kings good successe by their friends that were at Venice and in Pouille, vnto whom also they sent letters, and looked daily, but for messengets to mooue them to rebell. Whereupon the King sent thither the Archbishop of Duras ¹² an Albanois borne, who found a maruellous number ready to reuolt, being sonnes or nephewes of many noble and valiant men of those parts, namely the sons of *Scanderbeg*, the nephewes of the Emperor of Constantinople, and the nephewes of the Lord *Constantine*, (now gouernor of Montferrat) who were also Nephewes or cosins to the King of Seruia. In Thessalia more than fife thousand would haue rebelled, yea and Scutary should haue been surprised by intelligence that the Lord *Constantine* had within it, as himsele aduertised me at Venice, where he lay hidden many daies in my lodging. And surely he would easily haue atchieued his enterprise: for Macedonie and Thessaly were his inheritance ¹³, which was the patrimonie of *Alexander* the great, Valonne also is part thereof, and vpon his dominions Scutary and Croye ¹⁴ border, the which in his youth his father ¹⁵ or vncl engaged to the Venetians, who lost Croye, and yeelded Scutary to the Turke by treatie. The said Lord *Constantine* lay himsele within three leagues of Scutary, and the enterprise had beene executed, had not the said Archbishop of Duras staied at Venice too long after the Lord *Constantines* departure. I dayly pressed him very earnestly to depart, for he was a man light of talke, and vaunted in all places, that hee would doe some feate worthy of immortall fame and renownme. But as the deuill would, the selfe same day that the Venetians were aduertised of the Turkes brothers death, whom the Pope had deliuered to the King: they determined to send word thereof to the Turke by one of their Secretaries,

cretaries. And because they knew well that he should bee highly rewarded that first brought this newes to the Turke : they commanded that no ship should passe that night betweene the two castels, which make the very entrie into the gulse of Venice¹⁶, where also they caused watch and ward to be kept, because they feared the departure of some of the small boates, as gripes and such like, whereof there were a great number of the ports of Albany, and of their Iles adioyning to Greece. But the selfe same night this poore Archbishop would needes depart to this enterprife of the Lord *Constantine*, (who tarried his comming) conueighing with him great store of swords, bucklers, and iauelins, to furnish those with whom he had intelligence (for they are not permitted to haue weapons in those countries :) but as he passed betweene the two castels aboue mentioned, he was taken and put into one of them, both he and his men : notwithstanding the ship that carried him was suffered to passe. Letters were found about him which discouered the enterprife, and the Lord *Constantine* hath told me since, that the Venetians aduertised thereof both the Turkes garrisons that lay in those parts, and the Turke himselfe also, and had it not beene for the gripe that was permitted to passe (the patrone whereof was an Albanois, who informed him of all that was hapned) hee had himselfe beene taken, but he escaped by sea, and fled into Pouille.

¹⁶He meaneth two castels standing at the entrie into the calme sea, which is within the naturall banke that defendeth the towne from the rage of the sea without the banke, the said castels be hard by Venice.

Chap. 15. A discourse somewhat out of the course of the history, wherein Philip de Communes author of this present worke, treateth amply of the estate and gouernment of the Seniorie of Venice, and of those things that he saw there, and were done there during the tyme of his ambassage to the said Seniorie for the King.



Will now leaue the King in Naples, hauing atchieued his enterprife, and will speake somewhat of the Venetians, and the cause of mine ambassage thither. My departure from As to Venice was, partly to thanke them for the good answeres they had made to two of the Kings ambassadors sent thither, and partly to keepe them still his friends, if it weere possible by any meanes : for because of their great forces, wisdom, and good gouernment, they might easily haue mated his enterprife in Italie ; but they being his friends, none in the countrie were to be feared. The Duke of Milan helped to dispatch me, and wrote to his ambassador there resident (for he hath one there continually) to accompanie me, and to giue me instructions to whom I should addresse my selfe. His said ambassador receiued monethly of the Seniorie a hundred ducats, and had his house well furnished, and three barges (at their charge) to conuay him vp and downe the towne. Their ambassador hath the like at Milan, saue that he hath no barge ; for at Milan men ride altogether on horsebacke, but at Venice they are carried by bote. In my iournie thitherward, I passed through their cities, namely Bresse, Veronne, Vincense, and Padua with diuers others ; at euery one of the which I was very honorably entertained, for the honor of him whom I represented : for alwaies either the Porestate or the Captaine came to receiue me, accompanied with a goodly traine : but they both issued neuer forth of the towne ; for the captaine vsed to come no further than the gate. After I was entred the towne, they conueyed mee to my lodging, commanding the host that I should bee plentifully serued,

* *Liceia* or *Li-*
zefusina, Itali-

ans.
2 The river is
called *Brenta*.

3 I thinke hee
meaneth not
the *Confraries*

des Saints,
which be but
fine, as *Contra-*

ren. writeth
lib. 5. but ra-

ther I suppose,
because our
author saith

many *Confrai-*
ries, that every
company in

Venice hath a
chappell, as in
London they

haue hals.
4 I suppose it
to bee that

which they
call *Rino alto*.

5 There are in
Venice 200
palaces able

to lodge kings
6 A kinde of red
marble full of

white spots,
called *Leuco-*
sicos or *Por-*

phyrites: it is
knowne to
every man.

7 A greene
stone, I sup-
pose it to be

also a kinde of
marble, which
is greene as

Porphire is,
red & spotted
also with

white for the
most part as
that is: it is
called *Ophytes*.

and all my charges they defraied, entertaining me with very honorable words. But if a man consider what he must bestow vpon drummes and trumpets, hee sa-
ueth not much though he lie vpon free cost, notwithstanding the entertainment
is very honorable. The same day I entred into Venice, they sent as farre as Cha-
fousine¹ to receiue me, which is a place five miles from the towne, where men
leaueth the boates that conuay them downe the riuer from Padua², and enter into
other little botes very proper and neate, couered with tapestrie, and furnished
within, with goodly hangings and veluet cushions to sit vpon. Thus far the sea
floweth, and this is the neereft passage from the firme land to Venice: but their
sea is maruellous calme (vnlesse a tempest happen to arise) which is the cause that
so great plenty of all kinde of fish is taken there. I wondered to behold the seate
of this city, so many steeples, so many religious houses, and so much building, &
all in the water; but especially that the people had none other passage to and fro
in the town but by botes, whereof I thinke there are to the number of 30000. but
they be very smal. further, about the city (I mean within the compas round about
of lesse than halfe a French league) are 70. houses of religion, as well of men as wo-
men, all in Ilands, sumptuously built, richly furnished within, & hauing goodly
gardens belonging to them. Those within the city I comprehend not in this
number; for within, there are, besides these, the fower orders of friers, and three-
score & twelue parishes, besides a number of chappels of the companies of occu-
pations, commonly called *Confraries*³. And sure it is a strange sight to behold so
many great and goodly churches built in the sea. To the said place of Chafousine
came five and twenty gentlemen to receiue me, sumptuously apparelled in silke
and scarlet, the which welcommed me with an oration, and conueied me to the
church of S. Andrew neere to the towne, wheras many other gentlemen met me,
being accompanied with the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara: and heere also
they receiued me with an oration, and afterwards led me into other botes which
they call flat, being much greater than the former, two of them were couered
with crimosin satin, & decked within with arras, ech of them being large inough
to haue receiued 40. persons. They placed me between these two ambassadors,
for the midst in Italy is the honorablest place) and conuayed me along through
the great streete called the great chanell⁴, which is so large that the galleies passe
to and fro through it, yea I haue seen hard by the houses ships of foure hundred
run and aboue. Sure in mine opinion it is the goodliest streete in the world and
the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the towne to the other.
Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone⁵. The ancient houses
be all painted; but the rest that haue been built within these hundred yeeres,
haue their front all of white marble, brought thither out of Istria an hundred
miles thence, and are beautified with many great peeces of Porphire⁶ and Sar-
pentine⁷. In the most part of them are at the least two chambers, the ceiling
wherof is gilded, the mantletrees of the chimneies very rich, to witte, of grauen
marble, the bedstedds gilded, the presses painted & vermiled with golde, and mar-
uellous well furnished with stufte. To be short, it is the most triumphant city that
euer I saw, and where ambassadors & strangers are most honorably entertained,
the common wealth best gouerned, and God most deuoutly serued; so far forth,
that notwithstanding they haue diuers imperfections, yet thinke I verily that
God prospereth them, because of the reuerence they beare to the seruice of the
Church. In the companie of these fifty gentlemen I passed to Saint Georges,
which is an abbey of reformed blacke monkes where I lodged. The next day
they returned againe to me, and led me to the Seniorie, where I deliuered my
letters

letters to the Duke, who presideth in all their assemblies, being honored as a King⁸, and all letters are directed to him, but of himselfe he cannot doe much. Notwithstanding this Duke is of great authoritie, yea greater than euer was any of his predecessors⁹; and no maruell, for he hath been D. these twelue yeeres¹⁰: and for my part I euer found him a vertuous and a wise man, of great experience in the affaires of Italie, and a curteous and gentle person: This was all that I did the first day, saue that they led me into the palace, and shewed me three or fower chambers, the feelings whereof were richly gilded, and likewise the beds and presses: and sure it is a very stately and sumptuous building for the greatnesse thereof: for it is all of square marble, and all the front vermiled with gold, and likewise the edges and borders of the angles, about the bredth of an inch. There are moreouer fower goodly hals within it richly gilded, and a number of faire lodgings, but the court is very small. The Duke out of his chamber may heare masse at the high altar of the chappell of Saint Marke¹¹, which is the goodliest and richest Church in the world, bearing but the name of a chappell: for it is built throughout of the curious worke called Musaique, or Marqueterie¹²; the art also whereof they vaunt themselves to be authors of: and sure they haue diuers workemen thereof, as my selfe can testifie. In this chappell is their treasure so famous through the world, being only things appointed for the furniture of the Church; among the which are twelue or fowerteene Rubie ballais, the greatest that euer I saw: for two of them waigh the one aboue seuen hundred, and the other aboue eight hundred carrets, but they are vnpolished. There are twelue other stones like to little pillers set in gold, and garnished and bordred with excellent good stone. Moreouer, twelue crownes there are of gold, wherewith in times past at certaine feasts in the yeere twelue women decked themselves (whom they called Queenes) the which went about these ylands and churches: but the said Queenes, and the greatest part of the women of the citie, were stolen and carried away perforce by theeues that came out of Istria or Friole¹³; being borderers vpon the Venetians, the which lurked priuily behind these yles: but their husbands pursued these theeues, and recouered their women, and offered all these crownes to Saint Marke, and built also a chappell vpon the place, whither the Seniorie resorted yeerely the same day they obtained the victorie. Sure this is a goodly furniture for the Church: for besides these things aboue rehearsed, there are diuers otheriewels of gold, and a sute of Amethysts and Agates, and a few Emeraulds. But this is no such treasure to make account of as ready money; and yet of money they haue no treasure: for the Duke himselfe told me before the Seniorie, that it is among them a capitall crime to make mention of treasure in coine. And sure in mine opinion they do therein very wisely, for feare of diuision that thereby might arise among them. Afterward they shewed mee their other treasure, namely their Arsenall¹⁴, where they arme their galleies, and prepare all other furniture necessary for their nauie, which vndoubtedly is the goodliest thing at this day in the world, and the best in order for that purpose.

To be short, I abode there eight moneths vpon their charge, as did all the other ambassadors there resident. And sure thus much I dare boldly say of them, that they are men of such wisdom, and so inclined to enlarge their dominions, that vnlesse they be looked to in time, all their neighbors shall repent it too late: for the Kings comming into Italie, and the warres that haue been betweene him and them since that time (which yet endure) haue made them much skilfuller in fortification and defence of places then they were before. Besides that, they haue of late enlarged their Seniorie, for they haue seuen or eight cities engaged to

⁸ Of the Dukes office read Contaren lib. 2.

⁹ This Dukes name was Augustinus Barbaricus, or Barbadius, he

was chosen anno 1486 &

was after some the 77.

after others the 74. Duke.

¹⁰ Reckon these 12 yeeres not at the time that the

author was at Venice the

time that hee wrote this

historie: for at his being

there, he had bene Duke

but 8 yeeres.

¹¹ Saint Marks church is described by

Contaren in the very end

of the fourth booke.

¹² Musaique or Marqueterie, Musca, Musica, or Musca, in La-

tin, workes wrought of

stones of diuers colours

& diuers met-

tals into knots

and deuises so

curiously, that they seeme all

one, & not to be wrought in

together by art.

¹³ Forum Julij.

¹⁴ This Arse-

nall is descri-

bed by Contaren lib. 4.

them in Pouille, which I doubt mee they will neuer restore. At the Kings first comming into Italie they could not be perswaded that places might bee taken so easily, and in so short space: for they made not war with such expedition¹⁵; but both they and diuers others haue fortified since, and do daily fortifie many places in Italy. They cannot grow mightie vpon a sudden as the Romaines did, for their bodies cannot endure such labour and trauell as theirs could, because they are vnaccustomed thereunto, by reason that none of them go into their warres vpon their firme land¹⁶ (as the Romaines did) saue their prouisors and treasureers which accompany their generall¹⁷; assist him with their counsell, and provide all things necessarie for their armie. True it is that their armies vpon the sea are led¹⁸ by their gentlemen, who are captaines of their galleies and ships; and consist wholly of their owne subiects. Moreouer, another good order haue they as touching these prouisors whom they send in person with their armies vpon the land, which is, that they imploy in that seruice no man of such courage and vertue as may seeme worthy to be their Prince (as the Romaines did) whereby they auoide all factions in the citie, which sure is a great part of wisdom. And vndoubtedly against ciuill contention they haue maruellously well provided diuers and sundrie other waies, for they haue no tribunes of the people, as they had in Rome, which partly were cause of their ruine. But the people at Venice beare no sway, neither are called to counsell in any matter¹⁹: for all their officers²⁰ be gentlemen, saue their secretaries²¹. And the greatest part of their people be strangers. Moreouer, they vnderstand by *T. Liuius* what imperfections were in the state of Rome; for they haue his historie, and his bodie lieth buried in their palace at Padua. For these reasons and diuers others which I could alleage, I say yet once againe, that they are in the way to be great Lords in time to come.

¹⁵ Vnderstand any matter of waight.

¹⁶ Vnderstand their principal officers.

¹⁷ Their chancellor also is no gentleman, neither may a gentleman be chancellor or Secretarie.

Contaren. lib. 5.

ibid.

I must now declare the cause of mine ambassage to them, which was, to thanke them for the good answeres they had made to two ambassadors sent thither by the King: and for the good comfort they had giuen him, in willing him vpon their word to proceede with his enterprife. All the which was done before hee departed out of Ast. At my arriual I discoursed vnto them of the ancient league that had beene betweene the Kings of Fraunce and them. And further, I offered them Brandis and the towne of Otrante, vnder this condition, that when we deliuered them better townes in Greece, they should be bound to restore these. They vsed very honorable termes both of the King and his affaires, supposing that he could not enter farre into Italie. And as touching the offer I made, they answered that they were his friends and seruants, and would not sell him their friendship, (as indeed as yet we had not the places offered.) Further they said, that they had force sufficient in a readines to mooue warre against him, if they were so disposed, but they would not so doe, notwithstanding that the ambassador of Naples daily sollicitated them thereunto, and offered them in consideration thereof, whatsoeuer they would demaund. Moreouer, King *Alphonse* (who then raigned) confessed that he had many waies misbehaued himselfe towards them, & declared vnto them the great danger themselves should be in, if the King obtained his purpose. The Turke on the other side sent an ambassador to them with all speede, (whom my selfe saw diuers times) the which at the Popes request threatned them, vnlesse they declared themselves the Kings enemies. They gaue euery one of these good answeres, notwithstanding at the first they stood in no feare of vs, but laughed at our voiage: and the rather because the Duke of Milan sent them word by his ambassador, that they should not trouble themselves about this enterprife: for hee would finde meanes to send the King

King home with emptie hands. The like message sent he also to *Peter* of Medici, as himselfe told me. But when both they and the Duke of Milan saw all the Florentines places, especially Pisa in the Kings hands, they began to feare and to consult how to stop him from passing further: but their matters were long in debating, and in the meane time while ambassadors passed to and fro betweene them, the King marched forward. The King of Spaine in like manner began to feare, because of the yles of Sicily and Sardinia. And the King of Romaines enquired our Kings good successe: for diuers there were that put him in doubt of the crowne imperiall, saying, that the King would take it, and had required the Pope to giue him leaue so to do, but this was molt vntrue. Notwithstanding for these doubts, these two Kings sent honorable ambassages to Venice, I being there, as you haue heard. The King of Romaines, because he was their neighbour, sent first: the principall of his ambassage was the Bishop of Trent, accompanied with two knights and a doctor of thelaw: they were very honorably and solemnlie receiued, and their lodgings made and furnished as mine. Moreouer they had ten ducats aday allowed them for their diet, and their horses which they had left behinde them at Treuis, were kept vpon the Seniories charge. Soone after arriued also a worshipfull knight of Spaine ²² well accompanied and well apparelled, who was in like manner honorably receiued, and his charges defraied. The Duke of Milan, besides his ambassador there resident, sent thither the bishop of Come, and Master *Francis Bernardin* Viscount, all the which began at the first to negotiate together couertly and in the night by their Secretaries: for they durst not as yet openly discover themselues against the King, especially the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, because they doubted what successe the league which was in communication should haue. These ambassadors of Milan came to visite me, and brought me letters from their Master, pretending the cause of their coming to be, for that the Venetians had sent two ambassadors to Milan, whereas they were wont to haue but one resident there: no more had they in the end; and this was but a colour of their lying, deceit, and false dealing: for they were all assembled together to conclude a league against the good King, but so many strings could not be turned on a sudden. They desired mee afterward (if I could) to informe them what the cause was of the King of Spaines and the King of Romaines ambassadors arriual, to the end they might aduertise their Master thereof. But I had intelligence already from diuers places, both by the said ambassadors seruants and others, that the ambassador of Spaine had passed through Milan disguised, that the Almaines gouerned their affaires wholly by the Duke of Milans counsell and aduise, & that the ambassador of Naples deliuered howerly packets of letters from his Master. For you must vnderstand, that the treaty of their league was begun before the K. departed from Florence, & I spent mony largely to haue intelligence of all their doings, and wrought by good instruments, so that I knew already all their articles, which were propounded but not agreed vpon: for the Venetians are very long in their resolutions. For these causes I seeing the league in such forwardnes, would no longer pretend ignorance therein, but answered these ambassadors of Milan, that sith they vsed such strange termes to me, I thought good to say thus much vnto them, that the King would not lose the Duke of Milans friendship if by any meanes it might be kept, and that I as his seruant would do my dutie to my Master, and excuse him of the euill reports which peradventure had been made of him to the Duke their Master, who I thought was misinformed: saying further, that he ought well to bethinke himselfe, before he lost the recompence of the great seruice he had done the King:

²² The King of Spaine vsed this colour for breach of his league with K. Charles because there was a clause that they should not be bound to any thing preiudiciall to the church, & the realme of Naples was held of the church. Further, another clause there was that hee should not resist K. Charles his conquest if it appeared by law the crown of Naples to appertaine to him, which hee sought not to prooue, but proceeded by force.

for the Kings of Fraunce were neuer ingrate; adding also, that the speaking of a foolish word ought not to dissolue their friendship, the continuance whereof was so necessarie for them both. Wherefore I desired them to open vnto me their griefes, that I might aduertise the King thereof before they proceeded further: they sware all vnto me and protested, that there was no such matter as I imagined; but they lied, for they were come thither to treat of the said league.

The next day I went to the Seniorie to commune with them about their league and to tell them my opinion thereof. Among other things I alleaged, that by the league concluded betweene the King and them, and the late King *Lewis* his father and them, they might not maintaine the one the others enemies: wherefore they could not conclude the league now treated of without breach of their promise. Then they caused me to withdraw my selfe a little, and at my returne the Duke said vnto me, that I must not beleue all that I heard in the towne: for all men liue there in liberty, & might speake what them list; and that as touching them they neuer meant to enter into league against the King, neither heard euer of any such matter: but on the contrary side they sought to conclude a league betweene the King, and these two other Kings and all Italie, against the Turke, at the common charges of them all, and that if any in Italy refused to pay that he should be rated at, the King and they would constraîne him thereunto by force. Moreouer, they said that they travelled to conclude a good peace for the King, to wit, that he should receiue of Dom *Ferrand* presently a summe of money, which they offered to lend, so that they might haue engaged for it, those places in Pouille which now they possesse, and that the realme should bee held of the King by the Popes consent²³, and pay him yeerely a certaine tribute. And further, that he should hold in it three places, and I would to God the King would then haue giuen eare to this offer: But I answered them that I durst not deale therein, because I had no commission nor authoritie so to do. Moreouer, I desired them not to be hastie in concluding this league, because I would aduertise the King of these their ouuertures. I required them also (as I had done the others) to open vnto me their griefes, and not to dissemble them as they of Milan had done. Then they told me plainly that they were griued because the King held certaine of the Popes townes, but much more because of the Florentines places, especially Pisa, saying, that the King himselfe had written both vnto them & diuers others, that he would take nothing in Italy, but the realm of Naples only, and afterward go against the Turke: but now it plainly appeared that he would conquere all that he could in Italy, and leaue the Turke in peace. They said further, that the D. of Orleans (whom the King had left behinde him in Aft) put the Duke of Milan in great doubt and feare, and that his seruants vsed maruellous threatening words against him. Notwithstanding they promised to conclude nothing before they receiued answer from the King, at the least not before a conuenient time to receiue answer were expired, & they dealt more honorably with me than they of Milan had done²⁴. Of all these matters I aduertised the King, and receiued a cold answer from him: from that day forward they began daily to assemble together, because they knew their enterprise to be discouered. The King was yet at Florence, and if he had found any resistance at Viterbe (as they thought he should) they would haue sent men to defend Rome: yea or if King *Ferrande* had not abandoned Rome, as they thought vndoubtedly hee would neuer haue done: but when they heard of his departure thence they began to feare. Notwithstanding the ambassadors of these two Kings pressed them earnestly to conclude, saying, that otherwise they would depart, for they had

²³ This is added, because the realme of Naples was held of the church.

²⁴ He meant, because they dealt plainly with him, but they of Milan had dissembled. Notwithstanding the French had it thus: They shewed greater honor to me than to them of Milan: but in mine opinion it was the Printers fault, who for *que ceulx de Milan*, had put *qu'a ceulx de Milan*: for sure the sense is much better thus.

beene

been there fower moneths daily negotiating with the Seniorie. In the meane time I laboured all that might be to ouerthrow their league.

But when the Venetians saw all these places yeelded, and were also aduertised, that the King was entred into Naples, they sent for me, and told mee these newes, seeming greatly to reioyce thereat: notwithstanding they said that the castle was very well furnished, and I perceiued by them, that they hoped assuredly it would haue held good. Moreouer, they licensed the ambassador of Naples to leuy men at Venice to send to Brandis; and they were euen vpon the point to haue concluded their league, when suddenly they receiued letters from their ambassadors, that the castell was yeelded also to the King. Then they sent for me againe in a morning, and I found fiftie or sixtie of them assembled together in the Dukes chamber, who lay sicke of the collicke. He told me these newes with a cheerefull countenance, but none of the rest could dissemble so cunningly as himselfe: for some of them sate vpon a low bench leaning vpon their elbows, other some after one sort, and others after another; their outward countenances bewraying their inward griefe. And I thinke verily when word came to Rome of the battell lost at Cannas against *Hannibal*, that the Senators which remained in the citie, were not more astonished nor troubled than these: for none of them once looked vpon me, none of them gaue me one word but the Duke alone; so that I wondered to behold them. The Duke asked me if the King would performe that which he had alwaies promised, both by his letters and by me: I assured him that he would; and opened certaine ouertures of peace, and offered my selfe to trauell therein, trusting to put them out of all doubt, and so departed.

Their league was as yet neither fully concluded, nor fully broken off; for the which cause the Almaines would needes haue departed in great heate. The Duke of Milan would not yet condescend I wot not to which of their articles: notwithstanding in the end hee sent worde to his ambassadors to seale with speed to all; and thus at the length was their league concluded. During the space that these practises were thus entertained among them, I had from time to time aduertised the King of them all, pressing them earnestly to resolute either to tarry in the realme, and to make prouision of greater forces of footemen and money; or in time to retire homeward before his enemies were all assembled, leauing the principall places well manned. I aduertised also the Duke of Orleans (who lay in Ast with his household seruants onely, for his companie was with the King) of all that was done, willing him to put men into the towne, and assuring him that they would incontinent assaile him. I wrote also to the Duke of Bourbon, (whom the King had left Regent in Fraunce) to send men to Ast with all speed possible to defend the towne, because that place being lost, no aide could come to the King. In like manner I aduertised the Marchionesse of Montferrat of all these proceedings (who was a great friend to vs, and deadly enimie to the Duke of Milan) to the end she might aide the Duke of Orleans with men, if need so required: for Ast being lost, the Marquisats of Montferrat and Saluces were also lost.

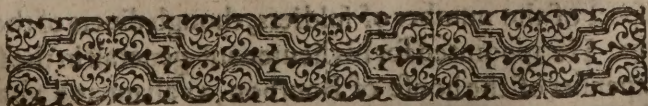
Their league was concluded one night very late²⁵. The next morning the Seniorie sent for me earlier then they were accustomed. And when I was come and set downe, the Duke told me, that in the honour of the holy Trinitie, there was a league concluded between our holy father the Pope, the Kings of Romaines and Castile, them, and the Duke of Milan, for three purposes. The first, for the defence of the estate of Christendome against the Turke; the second, for the

²⁵ Their league was concluded in Aprill. Guicciar.

defence of Italy; and the third for the preservation of their owne estates, wherof he willed me to aduertise the King. They were assembled to the number of a hundred or more, and looked vp with cheerefull countenances, and sate not as they did the day they aduertised me of the taking of the castle of Naples. The Duke told me moreouer that they had written to their ambassadors that were with the King, to take their leaue and to returne home, their names were Master *Dominic Loredan* and Master *Dominic Treuisan*. I was maruellously troubled with this newes, for I stood in doubt both of the Kings person, and of all his companie, supposing their armie to haue been readier than indeed it was, as did themselves also. I feared further least the Almaines had been at hand; and not without cause; for if they had, vndoubtedly the King had neuer departed out of Italie. I was resolu'd not to speake much in this heate; but they so prouoked me, that I was forced to change my minde; and then I said vnto them, that both the night before and diuers other times, I had aduertised the King of their league, and that he also had sent me word that he had intelligence thereof both from Rome and from Milan. They looked all maruellous strangely vpon me, when I said that I had aduertised the King thereof the night before: for there is no nation vnder the sunne so suspicious as they, nor so secret in their affaires, so that oftentimes they banish men vpon suspicion onely, for the which cause I said thus much vnto them. I told them moreouer that I had sent word thereof both to the Duke of Orleans and to the Duke of Bourbon, to the end they might put men into As: which words I vttered hoping to delay their going thither. For if they had indeed been as ready as they vaunted and supposed themselves to haue been: they must needs haue taken the towne, for it was vnmann'd both then and long after. Then they told me that they meant not to attempt ought against the King, but onely to defend themselves, adding that they would not haue him thus to abuse the world with words, in saying that he would take nothing but the realme of Naples, and afterward goe against the Turke: and yet doe cleane contrary, and seeke to destroy the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, and hold also the places of the Church. Whereunto I answered that the Kings of Fraunce had euer enlarged and augmented the dition of the Church, and defended it, and that the King my Master would rather doe the like than the contrary. Wherefore these (I said) were not the reasons that mooued them to enter into this warre, but that they desired to trouble the estate of Italy, thereby to make their owne profit, as in the end I thought they would; which words they tooke in euill part, as afterward I was aduertised: notwithstanding it appeareth by those townes in Pouille which they haue in gage of King *Ferrand* to aide him against vs, that I said true. At this instant I would haue risen to depart, but they caused me to sit downe againe, and then the Duke asked me if I would make any ouerture of peace, because the day before I had offred so to doe, but that was vnder condition that they should haue staid the conclusion of their league fifteen daies, to the end I might aduertise the King thereof, and receiue his answer therunto. Our communication being ended, I returned to my lodging, and then they sent for the ambassadors of the league one after another, and as I came forth from them I met with the ambassador of Naples, who wore a faire new gowne and shewed a cheerefull countenance, so had he great cause to do, for these were good newes for him. After dinner all the ambassadors of the league accompanied with their seruants met together, at the charges of the Seniory, vpon the water (which is all the pastime of Venice) I thinke they were in all forty boates, euery ambassador hauing his boate garnished with a flagge of his Masters armes.

I saw

I saw all this company passe vnderneath my window with goodly melodie. And the ambassadors of Milan (at the least one of them) who had been woont very often before to beare me company; made a countenance now as though he knew me no more. By the space of three daies I neuer stirred out of my lodging, neither any of my seruants: notwithstanding that, not one man in the towne gaue me or any of mine a foule word at any time. The same night they made great pastime with squibs, which were set on fire a high in the steeple and turrets of the towne, and a number of torches were lighted in the top of these ambassadors houses, and diuers peeces of artillerie discharged. I was in a couered barge vpon the water to behold all this triumph, about ten of the clocke at night, especially before these ambassadors lodgings, where was banketting and great cheere: notwithstanding this was not the great festiuall day, on the which their league was proclaimed: for the Pope had giuen commandement that the proclamation thereof should be deferred till Palm-sunday, and that euery one of the confederated Princes when it should be proclaimed, and the ambassadors that should be present thereat, should beare in their hands an oliue branch in token of peace and confederacie as he said. He commanded further, that vpon that day it should be proclaimed both in Spaine and Almaine. Moreouer, at Venice they made a scaffold of wood, which they raised a great height from the ground, as they vse to doe vpon Corpus Christi day, and it was richly hanged, and reached from the palace to the end of the market place of Saint Marke. Vpon this scaffold (after the Popes ambassador had sung Masse, and giuen full absolution to all men that should be present at the said proclamation) they went on procession, the Senators and the ambassadors being all very well apparelled: for vnto diuers of the said ambassadors the Seniorie had giuen crimosin veluet gownes, especially to the Almaines, and new gownes also to all their seruants, but they were very short. After their returne from procession, a great number of pageants and deuises were shewed, representing first Italy, and then all these Kings and Princes, and the Queene of Spaine. And as they returned from beholding the said pageants, at a Porphire stone where all their proclamations are made, they proclaimed the said league, and the Turks ambassador heard it, standing close at a window, and hauing his dispatch, sauing that they staied him to behold this triumph. At night he came to talke with me by meanes of a certaine Greeke, and was with me fower howers in my chamber, being very desirous that his Prince and the King my Master might enter together into amitie. I was twise inuited to this feast, but I excused my selfe. I remained in the towne about a moneth after this proclamation, being as well entertained as at my first arriuall. Afterward the King sent for me, and I tooke my leaue and departed, being safely conueied by them, and vpon their charges to Ferrara, where the Duke came forth and receiued me, and feasted me two daies, and defraied me. The like did Master *Iohn de Bentinole* at Bologna, whither the Florentines sent for me. Wherefore I departed thence and went to Florence, there to abide the Kings comming, of whom I will now returne to speake.



THE EIGHT BOOKE

CONTINING THE DISCOVRSE

OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF

KING CHARLES THE

EIGHT.

Chap. 1. Of the order and prouision the King left in the realme of Naples at his returne into Fraunce.

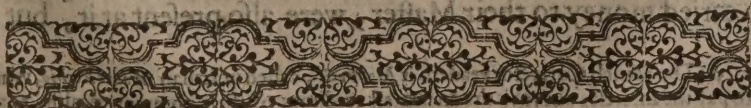


O continue the better this my historie, and to informe you of all that hapned, I must now returne to speake of the King, who from the time he entred into Naples till his departure thence, thought onely ypon sports, and pleasures, and those that were about him of their owne priuate profit and gaine: notwithstanding his yoong yeeres excused him; but on their behalfe, no iust excuse can be made: for he committed all his affaires to their gouernment. And if they had aduised him to leaue well furnished in the country at his departure but three or fower castles onely, namely that of Caietta, and one or two more; but yet the castle of Naples alone (the prouision whereof he had giuen away as already you haue heard) the realme had neuer been lost: for if the castle of Naples had been kept, the towne had neuer reuolted. So soone as he vnderstood the league aboue mentioned to be concluded, he commanded his whole forces to repaire to him, and appointed fife hundred men of armes French, and 2500. Swissers¹, and a few French footmen for the defence of the realme, determining with the rest to returne home the same way he came; but the confederates made preparation to stop his passage. The King of Spaine had sent and daily did send certaine Carauels² into Sicilie, the which notwithstanding that they were but slenderly manned, had before the Kings departure, put men into Reges in Calabria neere to Sicilie. I had estsoones aduertised the King that there they would land; for the ambassador of Naples had so informed me himselfe, supposing they had already been landed: but if the King had sent thither in time, he had taken the castle; for the towne held for him. Out of Sicilie came certaine bands also to Mantia and to Turpia, all through our owne fault, because we had sent no forces thither. In like manner the towne of Otrante in Pouille (which had once set vp the armes of Fraunce) seeing the league concluded, and themselves seated neere to Brandis and Gallipoli, and no meanes possible to leuie men to put into their towne, reared vp againe the armes of Arragon; and Dom Fredericke being at Brandis, sent a garrison thither. To be short, fortune began now to frown vpon vs, which but two moneths before so highly had fauoured vs, in such sort, that through the whole realme they began to reuolt, as well bicause of the league, as also of the Kings departure, and the small forces he left behinde him, which was nothing in respect of the number of soldiers, though diuers of the captaines were of great valour. He appointed for his lieutenant generall in the said realme, the Lord of Montpensier of the house of Bourbon, a valiant and a hardy knight, but of no great sense, and so carelesse, that he kept his bed euery day till noone. In Calabria he left the Lord of Aubigny, a Scottish man borne, a vertuous, wise, honorable,

¹ Guicciar
saith, the King
left behinde
him his Swis-
sers, part of
his French
footmen, 800.
French laun-
ces, and 500.
Italian men of
armes.

² These are
certaine ships
hauing both
saile and ore,
the which are
very much
vsed in the
meridionall
seas.

norable, and a valiant knight, him he created high Constable of the realme, and gaue him (as before you haue heard) the Earledome of Acri, and the Marquisat of Squillazzo. He had made Lord great Chamberlaine of the realme at his first comming thither, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, called *Stephan de Vers*, who was also captaine of Caietta, Duke of Nola, and Lord of diuers other Seniories. Further, all the treasure of the realme passed through his hands, so that his charge was much too weighty for him; but sure he was well affected to the defence of the realme. He created the Lord Don *Iulian Lorrain* a Duke, and left him in the towne of Saint Angelo, where he behaued himselfe passing well. He left in Manfredonia Master *Gabriel* of Moutfaulcon, a man of whom he made great account; and to all these he gaue goodly possessions: but this *Gabriel* behaued himselfe very childishly; for at fower daies end he yeelded the towne for lacke of victuals: notwithstanding that at his entry into it he found it very well furnished; besides that, it was seated in a country abounding with all kinde of graine. Diuers sold all the prouision they found in the castels, and the report went, that this *Gabriel* fled himselfe, and left *William* of Vilneufue for defence of the towne, whom his owne seruants sold to Dom *Frederick*, who put him into the gallies, where he remained a long time. At Tarente the King left *George* of Suilly, who caried himselfe there very gallantly, and died of the plague: and this citie held for the King, till famine forced it to yeeld. In Aquila he left the bailife of Vitry, where he did great seruice: and in Abruzzo Master *Gracian des guerres*, who likewise made good prooue of his valour there. They were all left vnfurnished of money: for order was giuen that they should receiue their pay there, of the reuenues of the crowne, but all was too little. Notwithstanding the King left the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan very well appointed, who did him good seruice as long as they were able. He dealt also very bountifully with the Coulonnois: for hee granted them all their demands, and put aboue thirty places into their hands and their friends, which if they would haue defended for him, as both by duty and oth they were bound, they had done him great seruice, and purchased to themselves both honor and profit. For I thinke they were not so highly aduanced these hundred yeeres, as by the King at that time: yet notwithstanding before his departure they began to practise with his enemies. True it is, that they serued him in fauour onely of the Duke of Milan, because they haue euer been of the faction Gibilin, but they ought not in respect thereof, to haue dealt faithlesly with him, who so highly had aduanced and pleased them, not onely this way but diners others. For in their fauour he led prisoners with him vnder gard, the Lord *Virgill Vrsin*, and the Earle of Petillane, with diuers others of the *Virginio Vrsin* and the Earle of Petillane followed the King only vpon their word not to depart without leave, their enemies, yea and that against all right and reason: for notwithstanding that they were taken prisoners, yet knew the King right well that they had a safe conduct, the benefit also whereof he meant they should enioy, as himselfe well declared: for he was determined to lead them no further than Ast, and there to release them. All this did he at the Coulonnois request, and yet before his returne to Ast they shrunke from him, yea they were the very first that reuolted, though they could alleage no cause that mooued them thereunto.



*Chap. 2. How the King departed from Naples, and passed againe through Rome, where-
upon the Pope fled to Oruette: of the communication the King had with Monsieur
D'Argenton at his returne from Venice: how he tooke aduise whether
he should restore the Florentines places to them or not:
and of the Sermons worthy of memory
of Frier Ierome of
Florence.*

¹ He departed
from Naples
the 20. of May
*Annal. Franc.
Guicciar.*

² The King
departed Na-
ples with 800.
French laun-
ces, two hun-
dred gentle-
men of his
garde, a hun-
dred launces
vnder Triuulce
three thou-
sand footmen
Swissers, a
thousand
French, and
a thousand
Gascaines.
Guicciar.

³ He arriued
at Rome the
first of Iune,
and abode
there two
daies. *Annal.
Franc.*

⁴ For Parma
it is better to
read Creme or
Bergame: for
the Venetians
dominions lay
not neere to
Parma; besides
that, the riuer
Olio is not
neere Parma:
for the Pan-
runneth be-
tween Par-
ma and it, so
that the Ve-
netians must
haue passed
the Pau after
they had pas-
sed Olio,
before they
could haue come to Parma.

⁵ The French Corrector readeth it *Montreuil*, called in Italian *Monte Vecchio*, which is a certaine
treasure the Venetians haue to pay the interelts due vnto the ancientest creditors of their common wealth, as appeareth in the
booke of Donato Giannotti.



HE King hauing giuen order for his affaires, as he thought
good, put himselfe vpon the way homeward with the rest of
his forces, ¹ being (as I suppose) nine hundred men of armes
at the least (comprehending therein the ordinarie retinue of
his house) and two thousand five hundred Swissers, so that
I thinke the whole army contained seuen thousand men ta-
king pay, besides the traine of the Court, being to the num-
ber of fifteen hundred able to do seruice ². The Earle of Petillane who tooke
the iust muster of them, told me after the battell (whereof you shall heare) that
the whole force was nine thousand men. The King marched straight to Rome,
where the Pope would not tarry his comming, but was first determined to haue
gone to Padua into the Venetians dominions, so far forth that his lodging was
made there. But afterward he altered his minde: for both the Venetians and
the Duke of Milan sent him certaine bands of men to Rome, where (though
they arriued in time) yet durst he not abide; notwithstanding that the King
meant him no harme, but would haue done him all honour and seruice, and had
also sent an ambassador thither purposely to desire him to stay. But he retired to
Oruette, and thence to Perouse, leauing the Cardinals at Rome to receiue the
King, who staid not there ³ neither harmed any man. The King wrote vnto
me that I should meet him at Sene, whither I repaired accordingly, he receiued
me of his goodnesse very graciously, and asked me (somewhat merily) whether
the Venetians would send to stop him vpon the way: for his army consisted al-
together of yoong men who thought none in the world comparable to them-
selues. I answered, that the Seniorie told me at my departure, in the presence of
one of his Secretaries named Lourdin, that they and the Duke of Milan would
put forty thousand men into the field, not to offend him, but to defend them-
selues: adding further, that they aduertised me the day I departed from Padua
by one of their Prouisors, who came with their armie that they sent against vs,
that their forces should not passe a certaine riuer in their dominions neere to Par-
ma ⁴ called (as I remember) Olye, vnlesse he inuaded the D. of Milan. The said
Prouisor and I gaue secret tokens each to other, by the which messengers might
passe to and fro between vs, if need should so require to treat of some good end:
for I would breake off no ouerture of peace, because I knew not what might
happen to the King my Master. At this our communication was present one
Master Lewis Marcell, who by the Seniories appointment accompanied me out of
their dominions, and gouerned for that yeere the Motz viere ⁵, which is a cer-
taine treasure they haue: in like manner, certaine of the Marques of Mantuas
men who caried money to their Master, were also present at it, but they heard

not our talke. From these or from some other I brought the King in writing the number of their horsemen, footmen, and Estradiots ⁶, and the names of their captaines: but few of those that were neereſt about him credited my words.

⁶ What these Estradiottes were, look after Chap. 5.

After the King had reposed himselfe two daies at Sene, and well refreshed his horses and his company, I earnestly pressed him to depart: for his enemies were not yet assembled, and I feared only the Almaines arriual, of whom the King of Romaines mustered great force, and leuiued great summes of money for their payment. But notwithstanding all my sollicitation, the King put forth two matters to his Councell which were soone debated: the one, whether he should restore the Florentines places to them and accept the offers they made for the restitution of them, being these; to pay him the thirty thousand ducats remaining yet vnpaid of the summe they gaue him ⁷; to lend him besides, seuentie thousand, and to serue him as he passed out of Italie with three hundred men of armes, and two thousand footmen vnder the leading of Master *Francis Secco*, a valiant knight and in good credit with the King. My selfe and diuers others were of opinion that he should accept these conditions, retaining onely Ligorne in his hands till his returne to Ast. And if he had so done, he might haue paid his soldiers, and reserued money enough to haue withdrawen part of his enemies forces, and then haue fought with them. But this resolution tooke no place; for Monsieur *de Ligny* a yong man, cousin german to the King ouerthrew it, not alleaging any reason to the contrary, but only for pittie of the Pisans. The other point debated was a matter that Monsieur *de Ligny* himselfe caused to be propounded by *Gancher* of Tinteuille, and by one of the factions of the Senois, the which desired the said Monsieur *de Ligny* for their captaine. For you shall vnderstand that these Senois are euer in diuision, and gouerne their common wealth more fondly than any other towne in Italy ⁸. I being first asked mine aduise said, that I thought it best for the King to march forward, and not to busie himselfe with these foolish offers which could not stand him in stead one weeke to an end: alleaging further that because this was an imperiall towne, we should by this meanes prouoke the whole Empire against vs. All the rest were of the same opinion, yet was the cleane contrary done: for the Senois receiued Monsieur *de Ligny* for their Captaine, and promised him yeerely a certaine summe of money, whereof he neuer receiued penny. This foolish matter staid the King there fixe or seauen daies, during the which space he solaced himselfe with the Dames. Further, he left there three hundred of his men diminishing his force by so much, and then remooued to Pisa passing by Poggibonzi a castle of the Florentines. But they whom he left at Sene were chased thence within a moneth after.

⁷ They had giuen the K. 120000. ducats, as mention is made Cap. 9. lib. 7.

⁸ The people of Sene were diuided against the order of Montemoue, which held a garrad of soldiers in the pallasce. The citizens promised *de Ligny* 20000. ducats a yeere, to protect them against the said Montemoue, but forthwith after the K. departure the faction of Montemoue chased *Ligny* and his men out of the towne. Guicciar.

I had forgotten to tell you how I being at Florence iourneying towards the King, went with one of the stewards of his house named *Iohn Francois* a wife and discreet person, to visite a Frier *Iacobin* called Frier Hieronime ⁹, a man of holy life (as all men reported) abiding in a reformed couent where he had remained fifteen yeeres. The cause why I went to commune with him was; for that he had euer preached very fauourably on the Kings behalfe, so far forth that his words had staid the Florentines from reuolting from vs, for neuer Preacher caried so great credit in any citie: he had euer assured them of the Kings comming, whatsoever was said or written to the contrarie; affirming that he was sent of God to chastice the tyrants of Italie, and that no force should be able to withstand him. Hee preached further that the King should come to Pisa and enter into the towne, and that the selfe same day the estate of Florence should be altered as also it happened: for the same day was *Peter* of Medicis banished the towne.

⁹ This Friers surname was *Sauanarola*, who hath written many goodly homilies and sermons: he was borne at Ferrara.

Diuers other things, also foretold he long before they hapned, namely the Lord *Laurence* of Medicis: all the which he said he vnderstood by reuelation. He preached yet further, that the estate of the Church should be reformed by the sword. This is not yet come to passe, but was very neere, and he auoweth still that it shall be. Many found great fault with him, because he said that God reuealed these things to him, but some beleued him: sure I for my part account him a holy man. I asked him whether the King should passe out of *Italie* without danger of his person, seeing the great preparation the *Venetians* made against him, whereof he discoursed perfectlier than my selfe that came from thence. He answered me that the King should haue some trouble vpon the way, but that the honour thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with an hundred men, and that God who had guided him at his comming, would also protect him at his returne. Adding notwithstanding that because he had not done duty in the reformation of the Church, but had suffered his men to spoile and rob the people, as well those that tooke his part, and voluntarily receiued him into their cities, as his enemies: God had pronounced sentence against him, and would shortly scourge him. Neuerthelesse he bad me tell him that if he would haue compassion on the poore people, and endeouour himselfe to keep his men from doing euill, and punish the offenders (as he was bound by office to doe,) that then God would reuoke his sentence, at the least mitigate it: adding thereunto, that he ought not to thinke it a sufficient excuse, that he in his owne person did no harme. He said moreouer that himselfe would goe and tell the King thus much, and so indeed he did, and perswaded with him to restore the *Florentines* places to them. When he spake thus of Gods sentence, the death of my Lord the *Daulphine* came suddenly to my minde, for I saw no other thing that could greatly trouble the King. Thus much haue I written to the end it may yet more manifestly appeare, that this voiage was in deed a meere miracle of God.

Chap. 3. How the King retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and certaine other of the Florentines places: and how in the meane time the Duke of Orleans entred on the other side into Nowarre, a towne of the Duchie of Milan.



After the King was entred into *Pisa*, (as you haue heard) all the *Pisans* both men and women besought their guests for Gods loue to make intercession to the King, that they might no more returne vnder the *Florentines* tyrannie, who in truth handled them extremely; but diuers cities in *Italie* that be in subiection to others, are as euill intreated as they: besides that, the *Pisans* and *Florentines* had been in warres together the space of three hundred yeeres before the *Florentines* subdued them. These lamentable words before mentioned ioyned with teares mooued our men to pittie, and caused them so farre forth to forget the Kings promise and oath made vpon the aultar of *Saint Iohn* at *Florence*, that all sorts of men busied themselues in this matter, euen the poore archers and the *Swissers*, who also threatned those that they thought perswaded the King to performe his promise, namely the Cardinall *Saint Male*, so often before named generall of *Languedoe*, whom my selfe heard an archer threaten. There were in like manner that gaue very rough language to the Marshall of *Gie*. The Pre-

sident

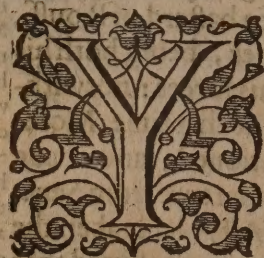
ident *Gannay* by the space of three daies and more, durst not lye in his lodging. But the Earle of Ligny aboue all the rest fauoured the Pisans cause, who came in troupes weeping and lamenting to the King, in such sort, that we all pitied them, and would willingly haue releued them, if it had lien in vs so to doe. One day after dinner, forty or fifty gentlemen of the Kings house assembled themselves together, and went with their partisans into the Kings chamber, where he was playing at tables with Monsieur *de Piennes*, accompanied only with two groomes of his chamber. One of these gentlemen sonne to Sallezard the elder, spake as mouth of the rest to the King, desiring him to be a gracious Lord to the Pisans, and accusing certaine of those lately named as traitors to him. But the King with so stout language commanded them to depart, that after, the like neuer happened. The King spent six or seauen daies needlessly in the towne of Pisa, and then changed the garrison, and made captaine of the Citadelle one *Entragues*, a man of lewd conditions, seruant to the D. of Orleans, whom he thus preferred by Monsieur *de Lignys* sute, and left with him in the said Citadelle certaine footmen of the Duchie of Berrie. Further, the said *Entragues* procured such friendship (I suppose by his money) that he was also made captaine of Petrosancte, and of another place neere to it called Mortron¹, and in like manner of Libre-facto, which is neere to Luques. The castell of Serzane being very strong, was put at the request of the said Earle of Ligny, into the hands of a bastard of Roussi, and an other place called Serzanelle, into the hands of another, being both his owne seruants. In these places the King left a great part of his forces: notwithstanding that he shall neuer haue such neede of men, as he had at that time. Moreover, he refused the Florentines aide and offers aboue mentioned, and draue them into vtter despaire. Yet was he aduertised before his departure from Sene, that the Duke of Orleans (whom he had left behind him in Ast)² had taken the citie of Nouarre in the Duchie of Milan, and therefore was well assured that the Venetians would declare themselves his enimies: for they sent him word that if he inuaded the Duke of Milan, they would aide the Duke with their whole force, according to their league lately made, and their force was great and in a readinesse. Now you shall vnderstand that presently vpon the conclusion of their league, the Duke of Milan thought to haue surprised Ast, supposing to find it vtterly vnmanned: but my letters had hastned the forces that the Duke of Bourbon sent thither, and the first that arriued were about forty launces of the Marshall of Gies company, which had taried behind in Fraunce, and came thither in good time. Soone after them arriued also siue hundred footmen, sent thither by the Marques of Saluce. The comming of the which staid the Duke of Milans forces led by Master *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, who bearing these newes retired to Nom, a castell of the Duchie of Milan, two miles from Ast. In the necke of these arriued also three hundred and fiftie men of armes, and certaine gentlemen of Daulphine, and two thousand Swissers, with certaine franke archers of the said countrey of Daulphine, so that their whole number was 7500. men taking pay. But they lingred so long vpon the way, that they serued not to the purpose they were sent for. For the King sent for them to come and succour him, but in stead of aiding him he was forced to aide them. The King had also given commandement to the Duke of Orleans and his captaines not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Milan, but onely to defend the towne of Ast, and to meet him at the riuer of Thesin to helpe to conuey him ouer it, for that was the onely riuer to trouble him. But notwithstanding all that the King writ to the Duke of Orleans, this enterprise of Nouarre (which is but ten leagues from

¹ The French corrector supposeth it should bee Mortron, but the authour himselfe afterward chap. 14 calleth it Mortron. Guicciar hath it Mu-tron.

² The Duke of Orleans immediately after the skirmish vpon the sea at Rapalo, fell sicke of an ague, and returned to Ast: and passed no further with the King, two gentlemen called Opizins brought the Duke of Orleans into Nouarre. Guicci.

from Milan) liked him so well, that he was contented to giue eare thereunto, and was receiued into the citie in great triumph both of the Guelphes and Gibelines, which his exploit the Marchionesse of Montferrat greatly furthered. The castell held two or three daies and then yeelded also. But if in the meane time, the Duke had gone or sent to Milan (where he had good intelligence) he had been receiued into the towne with greater ioy, than euer he was into his castell of Blois, as diuers of the noblest men of the countrey haue informed me. And the three first daies he might haue gone thither in safetie, for when Nouarre was taken, the Duke of Milans whole force lay yet at Nom neere to Ast, and returned not to Milan till the fourth day after. But I suppose the Duke beleueed not all the intelligence he receiued thence.

Chap. 4. How King Charles passed diuers dangerous straights in the mountaines between Pisa and Serzane: how the towne of Pontremue was burned by his Almaines, and how the Duke of Orleans behaued himselfe in the meane time at Nouarre.



You haue heard already of the Kings departure from Seneto Pisa, and of all that he did at Pisa. Thence he remooued to Luques, where the citizens honorably receiued him, and there he abode two daies. Afterward he marched to Petrosancte (which *Entragues* held making no account of his enemies, neither himselfe nor those that caried all the credit with him. He passed marvellous straights in the mountaines between Luques and Petrosancte, which a handfull of footmen might easily haue defended against him: but our enemies were not yet assembled. Neere to the said Petrosancte is the straight of Seiere on the one side, and the straight of Roctaille on the other, being great deepe salt marishes, where we were forced to passe ouer a narrow way, like to a causey in a standing poole: and this was the straight that between Pisa and Pontremue I most feared, and which was reported to be most dangerous: for one cart set ouerthwart the way with two good peeces of artillerie, and but a handfull of men, might haue stopped our passage, had our force been neuer so great. From Petrosancte the King remooued to Serzane, where the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula offered to make Genua reuolt, and desired to haue some part of the Kings forces sent thither. The matter was debated by the Kings Councell, my selfe being present at it in the companie of a great many wise men and good captaines: all the which concluded, that no eare should be giuen to this enterprise, because if the King obtained the victorie, Genua would yeeld of it selfe; and if he were ouerthrowen, it could doe him no seruice: and this was the first time that I perceiued any of them to doubt the battell. Report was made to the King of our resolution; yet notwithstanding thither he sent the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoy, the Lord of Beaumont, the Lord of Polignac my brother in law, and the Lord of Ambeiou of the house of Amboise, with sixscore men of armes, and fise hundred crosse-bow men newly come out of Fraunce by sea. But I wondred that so yoong a Prince had no trusty seruants about him, that durst boldly tell him into how great danger hee put himselfe by diminishing his force after this sort: for as touching me, me thought he beleueed not all that I said.

We

We had a small armie vpon the sea returning from Naples, vnder the leading of the Lord of Myolens gouernor of Dauphine, and one *Stephan de Neues* of Montpellier. They were in all about eight gallies, and sailed to Specie and Repale, where at this present they were all defeated and led prisoners to Genua; in the selfe same place where he had vanquished King *Alphonse*s forces at the beginning of this voiage, and by the selfesame men that tooke part with vs at that battell, namely Master *John Lewis* de Flisco, and Master *John Adorne*: but if the matter had been well ordered, they should haue been with the K. and all litle ynow. The Lord of Bresse and the Cardinall aboue mentioned, went and lodged in the suburbes of Genua, supposing that their faction within the towne would haue risen in their fauour. But the Duke of Milan and the *Adornes* that gouerned the towne, and Master *John Lewis* de Flisco (a wise knight) had giuen so good order to preuent this mischiefe, that our men were in great danger to be defeated heere also, as the others were before vpon the sea: for their number was small, and had it not been because the faction that ruled at Genua durst not issue forth of the towne, for feare least the Fourgoues should rebell and shut the gates vpon them, vndoubtedly they had all been slaine; for this notwithstanding they were in great distresse vpon the way as they retired to Ast: besides that, they were not at the battle with the K. where their seruice might haue stood him in good stead. From Serzane the K. marched to Pontreme, through the which he was forced to passe, because it is the very entry into the mountaines. The town and castle were well fortified, and the seate of them maruellous strong, but within them were not aboue three or fower hundred footmen; for if they had been well manned, they had been impregnable. Wherefore Frier *Ieroms* prophesie prooued true, which was that God would lead the K. by the hand, till he were out of danger: for it seemed that his enemies were blinded and bereft of their wits, in that they defended not this straight. To the said place of Pontreme the King sent his vaward led by the Marshall Gie, accompanied with Master *John Iames* of Treuout, whom the King had receiued into his seruice at Naples after K. *Ferrandes* departure thence, with whom he was then in pay: he was a gentleman of Milan, of a good house, a good captaine, a very valiant man, and great enimie to the Duke of Milan: for he was banished by him when K. *Ferrande* receiued him into his seruice. By the said Master *John Iames* his meanes, the place yeilded immediately without batterie, and the garrison that was within it departed. But a great inconuenience hapned there: for (as before is mentioned) when the D. of Milan passed last that way, they of the towne and certaine of our Swissers fell at variance (of whom about forty at that time were slaine) for reuenge whereof, the said Swissers at this present (notwithstanding the composition) slue all the men they found in the town, spoiled it, and burnt both victuals and all that was within it, and aboue ten also of themselves being drunke, neither could the Marshall Gie by any meanes make them to retire. They besieged the castell also, meaning to haue done the like to those that were within it, being the said Master *John Iames* of Treuoules seruants, whom he had put into it when the garrison of the enemies yeilded it, neither would the said Almaines depart thence till the King himselfe sent to them. It was great pittie that the towne was thus destroyed, both because of the dishonor we receiued thereby, and also because there was great plenty of victuals within it, whereof we were already in great distresse, notwithstanding that the people were no where against vs, saue onely the people of the countrey neere to Pontreme, because of the harmes we did there. Now to proceed, if the King would haue followed the said Master *John Iames* his aduise,

The cause of their lacke was the barrenesse of the countrey.

diuers places of the Duchie of Milan would haue yeelded, and diuers gentlemen of the countrey haue reuolted to him: for he gaue him counsell to reare vp in euery place the yoong Dukes armes, whom the Lord *Lodouic* held in his hands, being sonne to *Iohn Galeas* the Duke that last died at *Paugia*, as before you haue heard. But the King refused so to doe, for the fauour he bare to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended and doth yet pretend title to the said Duchie. Thus marched the King beyond *Pontreme*, and lodged in a little valley neere to a village that had not ten houses in it; the name whereof I know not. There he abode fise daies vpon no occasion, his army being almost famished, and his battell lying thirty miles behind his vaward in the midst of huge and sharpe mountaines, ouer the which such great cannons and culuerins passed then, as neuer had passed before. For Duke *Galeas* in his time conueied ouer but fower falcons, waying not past fise hundred pound a peece, which was a great wonder in those daies.

I must now returne to the Duke of Orleans, who after he had taken the castell of *Nouarre*, staid there a few daies to no purpose, and then went to *Vigefue*, neere to the which were two little townes that sent vnto him, offering to receiue him, but by wise aduise he refused their offer. They of *Paugia* sent also twise to him to the same end, and then he should not haue refused. Moreouer, he marched in order of battell before the said towne of *Vigefue*, where the Duke of Milan whole force lay, being led by the two brethren of *Saint Seuerin*, so often aboue named. The towne is hardly so good as *Saint Martin-de-Candé*, which is not worth six pence. My selfe arriued there not long after, at which time the Duke of Milan being there with certaine of his captaines, shewed me the place where both the armies had stood in order of battell hard by the towne and within the towne. And if the Duke of Orleans had marched but an hundred paces further, they had retired beyond the riuer of *Thesin*, for they stood hard by the riuer side, and had built a great bridge of boats ouer it. Moreover, I saw them at my being there, beat downe a great bulwarke of earth which they had made on the other side of the riuer to defend the passage; whereby it appeared that they were fully minded if the Duke had marched forward, to abandon both the towne and castell, which had been much to their disadvantage. This is the place where the Duke of Milan vseth most to reside, and sure it is seated in the pleasantest countrey for all kinde of pastime, especially hauking and hunting, that euer I saw. But peradventure the Duke of Orleans thought the place strong where his enemies lodged, and himselfe to haue passed far enough: wherefore he retired to *Trecas*, the Lord whereof (who had charge vnder the Duke of Milan) and my selfe communed together of these affaires a few daies after. To the said towne of *Trecas* certaine of the principall of Milan sent to the Duke of Orleans, promising to receiue him into the towne, and offering for performance thereof, to deliuer their children in hostage. Which their enterprise they might easily haue executed, as diuers of great authoritie being then within the towne and acquainted with all these practises haue aduertised me: saying that the Duke of Milan could not haue found men ynow to haue defended the castell of Milan for him, because both nobles and people desired the destruction of this house of *Sforce*. The Duke of Orleans also and his men haue informed me of these practises aboue mentioned, but they had no great affiance in those that negotiated with them, and they lacked a man that vnderstood these affaires better than themselves: whereunto I also adde, that the said Dukes captaines were not all of one opinion as touching this enterprise. With the Duke of Milans forces ioyned

two thousand Almaines : whom the King of Romaines sent thither , and a thousand Dutch horsemen vnder the leading of Master *Fredericke Capelare* , borne in the countie of Ferette. Their arriuall so much encouraged Master *Galeas* and his companie, that they went before Trecas to present the battell to the Duke of Orleans, who refused it (notwithstanding that his force were greater then theirs,) because his captaines as I suppose would not hazard the battell, fearing least the losse thereof should be the Kings destruction, of whom they could heare no newes, because the passages were all stopped ; wherefore they retired to Nauarre, giuing no order for their prouision of victuals, no not for the preservation of the store they had within the towne already, much lesse for any newe supply, whereof notwithstanding they might plentifully haue beene furnished at that time in the countrey about without money, whereas afterward they were greatly distressed through their owne folly. To conclude, their enemies came and lodged within halfe a league of them.

Chap. 15. How the Kings great artillerie passed the mount Appenines by the Almaines helpe, of the danger the Marshall of Gie was in with his vanguard, and how the King in person arrived at Fornoue.

YOU haue heard how the King vpon no occasion lay in a valley on this side Bontreme five daies together, in great distresse of victuals. Our Almaines did there one great peece of seruice: for those that committed the foule fault at Pontreme about mentioned, fearing that they had thereby procured themselves the Kings indignation for euer, came & offered to passe the artillerie ouer these monstrous waies in the mountaines, for so may I well terme them, because they were so high and steepe that there lay no beaten way ouer them. I haue seene all the highest mountaines both of Italy and Spaine, which vndoubtedly are not comparable to these. The Almaines made this offer vpon condition that the King would pardon their fault, which he promised to do. We had foureene great and massie pieces of artillerie, and immediately after we were out of the valley, we mounted vp such a marvellous steepe and vpright hill, that our mules could hardly clime vp to it. But these Almaines coupled themselves two and two together with strong cordes, and drew a hundred or two at a time, and when one companie was wearied, a fresh succeeded. Besides this, all the horses appointed for conueiance of the artillerie helped them, and euery man of the Kings house that had any traine, lent a horse to conueie it ouer with the more speede : but had it not beene for the Almaines, the horses would neuer haue passed it ouer. To say the truth they conueighed ouer not the artillerie only, but the whole army, for had it not beene for them there could not a man haue passed. But it is no maruell if they drew with good courages, because thereby they passed as well themselves as vs, whereof they were no lesse desirous then we. They did much harme I confesse, but their good seruice farre surmounted their euill deedes. The greatest difficultie was not to drawe vp the artillerie, for when they were at the top of the mountaine, they might behold a great deepe valley vnderneath, for the way is such as nature hath made it, and by Art it was neuer holpen. Wherefore vndoubtedly the difficultie was much greater in conueighing the artillerie downe than in drawing it vp ; for both of horses and men were forced to draw

draw countermount at the taile of euery peece: besides that, carpenters or smiths were continually working vpon them, for when a peece fell, great trouble it was to hoise it vp againe. Many gaue aduise to breake all the great artillerie, but the King would in no wise agree thereunto.

The Marshall of Gie who lay with our vaward thirtie miles before vs, pressed the King to make hast: but it was three daies before wee could ioine with him. The enemies campe lay directly in his face within halfe a league of him, who in mine opinion should haue had a good bootie if they had assailed him. Afterward he lodged in the village of Fornoue to keepe them from assailing vs in the mountaines, for the which purpose the village serued well, because it is at the foote of the mountaines, and the very entrie into the plaine. Notwithstanding we had a better protector than him, I meane God, who put another conceit into our enemies heads: for so great was their couetousnes that they resolved to tarie vs in the plaine, to the end none of vs should escape, supposing if they had assailed vs in the mountains, that wee would retire to Pisa and the Florentines places that we held. But therein they were much deceived, for we were too farre from those places; besides that, if our force and theirs had ioyned and fought, they might haue pursued as fast as we could haue fled, especially knowing the country better than we: hitherto in all this voiage we had no warre¹, but now it began. For the Marshall of Gie aduertised the King that he was past the mountaines, and had sent fortie light horse to giue an alarme to the enemies campe thereby to discover their actions, who were incontinent encountered by the Estradiots², the which slew a gentleman of ours named *le Beuf*, and cut off his head and hung it at one of their launces, and caried it to their Prouisors to receiue a ducat for it. These Estradiots are soldiers like to the Turkes Janizaries, and attired both on foote and horsebacke like to the Turkes, saue that they were not vpon their head such a great roule of linnen as the Turkes doe, called Tolliban. They are rough soldiers, for both they and their horses keepe the fields winter and sommer. They were all Greekes come from the places that the Venetians hold there, some from Naples, in the countrie of Morea, some out of Albanie, and some from Duras. Their horses are excellent good, for they are all Turkish. The Venetians vse their seruice much and trust them well: I sawe them all when they landed at Venice, and mustered in an Ile wherein the Abbey of Saint Nicholas standeth: they were to the number of fiftene hundred, and are valiant men, and trouble an army exceedingly with their alarmes when they are disposed so to do. These Estradiots followed the chase euen to the Marshalls lodging, and entred into our Almaines campe, of whom they slew three or fower, and caried their heads away with them, for such is their manner. Because when the Venetians were in warre with the Turke *Mahomet Otthoman* this Turkes father that now raigneth: he commanded his mento take no prisoners, but gaue them a ducat for euery head, and the Venetians did the like, which manner I thinke they now vsed, the more to terrifie vs, as indeede they did. But the said Estradiots were no lesse daunted themselves with our artillerie: for one faulken shot slew one of their horses, wherenpon they retired incontinent, for they vnderstood not the feate of artillerie: but in their retraiet, they tooke a Captaine of our Almaines prisoner, who was mounted on horsebacke to see if they retired. He was stricken through the body with a launce, for he was vnarmed. He was a wise fellow, and they led him to the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians armie, being then accompanied with his vncle the Lord *Rodolph* of Mantua, and the Earle of *Caiasse* Captaine of the Duke of Milans forces, who knew this Captaine that

* For you heard before how easily without blowes they entred into Naples.

* It seemeth that this word is deriued of the Greeke, for *spanome* in Greeke signifieth a soldier.

* This Naples is a towne in Morea or Peloponnesus vnder the Venetians government, called in times past *Nauplia*, and now *Neapoli* Romanie.

was taken very well. Now you shall vnderstand that our enemies whole force was abrode in order of battell ⁴, at the least all that was assembled: for all their forces were not yet come together, notwithstanding that they had lien there eight daies making their musters, so that the King had leasure ynough to haue returned into Fraunce without all danger, had it not been for the long abode he made to no purpose in the places aboue rehearsed. But God had otherwise disposed of this busines.

⁴ For they were come forth of their campe with intent to haue assailed the Marshall.

The said Marshall fearing to be assailed, encamped vpon the mountaine, hauing with him onely eight score men of armes and eight hundred Almaines as he told me himselfe: and as touching vs we could not haue succoured him, for it was a day and a halfe after before we could ioine with him because of our artillerie. The King lodged by the way at two yong Marquesses houses. Our vaward lay vpon the hill in great feare waiting howeuerly when their enemies (who stood in order of battell, a pretty way from them in the plaine) would assaile them. But God who alwaies manifestly declared that hee would preserve the companie, tooke away our enemies senses from them: for the Earle of Cambray asked our Almaine who it was that led this vaward, and how great the force was, for he knew our number better than our selues, because hee had been with vs all the sommer. The Almaine made the force great, and reported them to be three hundred men of armes, and fiftene hundred Swissers: whereunto the Earle answered that he lied, alleaging that in the whole armie were but three thousand Swissers, and that it was vnlike we would send the halfe before with the vaward. Then this Almaine was sent prisoner to the Marques of Mantuas pavilion, and they consulted whether they should assaile the Marshall or no. But the Marques crediting the Almaines report, alleaged that their footemen were not able to match our Almaines, and that part of their force was not yet arriued, without the which they should do wrong to fight. Adding further, that if they should happen to be discomfited, the Seniorie might iustly be displeased: wherefore he liked better to tarie vs in the plaine, seeing we could passe no way but iust before them: of which opinion were also the two prouisors, against whose aduise they durst not fight: but others said that if this vaward were defeated, the King must of necessity be taken: notwithstanding in the end they agreed all to tarie vs in the plaine, trusting that not one of vs should escape. All this I vnderstood by the parties themselves aboue named: for after the battell we and they met together, and the Marshall of Gie and my selfe had great communication with them about these affaires. Thus they retired into their campe, being well assured that within a day or two the King would passe the mountaines and lodge in the village of Fornoue. In the meane time all the rest of their forces arriued, and we could not passe but hard before them: so straight and narrow was the way. When we came downe the mountaines we beheld the champaigne country of Lombardy, which is the pleasantest, best, and fruitfulest soile in the world. But notwithstanding I call it champaigne: yet is it very troublesome for horsemen, because it is full of ditches like to Flaunders, yea fuller I thinke: but withall it is much pleasanter and plentifuller both of good corne, good wines, and fruits, for their grounds beare euery yeare. We were right glad to behold it, because of the great famine and penury we had sustained in our iourney euer since our departure from Luques. But our artillerie tired vs exceedingly as we came downe the hill, so steepe and painefull was the way. Our enemies campe was well furnished of tents and pavilions, which made it shew marvellous great and sure so was it: for the Venerians had performed their promise made to the King by me, which was that they

vnderstand this day and a halfe after he lodged vpon the mountain, not after his first arriuall there: for from his first coming, it was three daies before the King joy ned with him, as he said a little before.

and

and the Duke of Milan would put fortie thousand men into the field, at the least if they performed it not fully, they failed not much thereof: for in this army were five and thirty thousand taking pay, fower parts of five being of Saint Marke ⁶.

⁶ That is to say, of the Senorie of Venice, which haue Saint Marke for their patrone. ⁷ He said lib.

7. cap. 5. and faith also againe in this booke cap. 15. that the Italians men of armes were allowed no archers: but note, that this that the Venetians did here, was contrarie to the ancient maner of Italie, and that they did it to imitate the French.

They were at the least two thousand men of armes barded, euery one of them accompanied with fower men on horsebacke, bearing crosse bowes or some other weapon ⁷, their Estradiots and light horsemen, were to the number of five thousand, the rest were footemen, and they lodged in a strong place well fortified, and well furnished with artillery.

The King came downe the mountaine about noone, and lodged in the village of Fornoue, vpon sunday being the fift of Iuly, the yeere 1495. We found in the village great plentie of meale, wine, and prouender for horses, brought thither by the people of the countrey, who receiued vs friendly euery where (for no honest man did them harme) and victualed vs with bread and wine and some fruite, whereby they somewhat eased the armie: but their bread was little and blacke, and they sold it deare, and three parts of their wine was water. My selfe caused some of their victuals to be bought for me, which notwithstanding I durst not tast of, because we suspected they meant to poison vs, so that at the first no man durst aduenture to eate of them; and the suspition increased, because two Swissers were found dead in a seller, hauing drunke themselves to death, or taken cold after they had drunke. But before midnight the horses began first to feede, and afterward the men, and then we refreshed our selues well. I must here speake somewhat in the honor of the Italian nation, because wee neuer found in all this voiage that they sought by poison to do vs harme, yet if they would, wee could hardly haue auoyded it. We arriued at Fornoue (as you haue heard) vpon sunday at noone: the King lighted and ate and dranke a little, to refresh himselfe, but a number of gentlemen there were that hardly could get a morsell of bread, for there was small store of other victuals than such as we found in the place, whereof till midnight (as before you haue heard) none of vs durst tast.

Immediately after dinner, certaine of their Estradiots came and gaue vs a hot alarme euen within our campe. Our men were as yet vnacquainted with them, for the which cause all our armie came forth into the fiede in very good order, and in three battels, vaward, battell, and rereward, the one being not aboue a bowles cast from the other, so that each of them might with speede haue succoured the other: but in the end this hot alarme proued nothing, wherfore we returned to our lodging. We had a few tents and paulions, & our campe lay in length auaucing it selfe towards theirs: besides that, there was a wood through the which the enemies might come vnder couert almost to vs ⁸, by meanes whereof twentie of their Estradiots might easily giue vs alarme at all times, and so I warrant you they did, for they lay continually at the end of our campe. We encamped in a valley, betweene two little hils ⁹, through the which ran a riuer, that a man may easily passe ouer on foote, vnlesse it happen to arise, as it doth often vpon a sudden in that countrey, but the waters tarry not long, the riuers name is Tarro. All the said valley is grauell and great stone, very troublesome for horsemen, and not aboue a quarter of a league broade. Vpon the hill on the right hand lay our enemies (hardly halfe a league from vs) so that we were forced to passe iust before them, the riuer running betweene vs: for notwithstanding that on the backe side of the hill on the left hand (vnderneath the which we encamped) there lay another way that we might haue taken, yet would we not so doe, least we should seeme to flie, but encamped in the valley at the foote of the said hill,

⁸ The Kings campe lay among sallowes and willowes. *Annal. Franc. & Aquit.*

⁹ Of the seate of both the camps reade *Guicciar. fol. 38. pag. 2.*

in the face of our enemies. Those in our campe that were of the wiser sort began now to feare, in such sort, that about two daies before, they had desired mee to go and parle with the enemies, taking one with me to view them, and to number how great their force was. I was loth to take this iourney vpon me, because without safe conduct I could not go in safety. Wherefore I answered that both at my departure from Venice, and the same night also that I arriued at Padua, I was entred into good intelligence with their prouisors, so that I thought they would not refuse to commune with me in the midway between both the armies: but if I should offer my selfe to go to them I should therby too much encourage them; adding further, that this matter was moued too late. Notwithstanding, the selfe same Sunday that the King arriued at Fornoue, I writ to their prouisors (one of the which was named Master *Luques Pisan*, and the other Master *Melchior Trenisan*) desiring them that vnder safe conduct, one of them would come and parle with me, according to their offer made at our departure from Padua, (as before you haue heard.) They answered that they would willingly haue satisfied my request, if the war had not beene begun vpon the Duke of Milan: notwithstanding, they promised that one of them (whether of the twaine should be appointed) would come into some place in the mid way to commune with me if we so thought good; which answer I receiued the same Sunday at night: but those that had all the credit with the King, made no account thereof. As touching my selfe, I durst not take too much vpon mee, nor presse the matter too earnestly, least they should charge me with cowardise: wherefore I waded no further in it that night; notwithstanding, that I would with all my heart haue helped the King and his army out of that straight, if I might haue done it without danger.

About midnight the Cardinall of Saint Malo, whose pavilion was hard by mine, told me as he came from the King, that wee should depart the next morning by breake of day, and that the King would commaund a cannon to be shot into the enemies campe as we passed along by them, to signifie that he was there ready to present them battell, and so march forward without any more ado. And I suppose that this aduise proceeded from the Cardinall himselfe, as a man vnable to talke of the wars, neither vnderstanding what they meant. But it had beene requisite that the King should haue assembled the wisest men and best Captaines in his armie, to debate so weightie a matter as this was. And yet perhaps that should haue beene but to small purpose neither; for I saw many matters debated in this voiage, the which were executed cleane contrarie to the resolution. I answered the Cardinall that if we approached so neere them, as to shoot into their campe, vndoubtedly men would issue forth on both sides to the skirmish, the which could neuer bee retired without battell: alleaging further, that this was cleane contrary to that I had already begun with their Prouisors, and it greeued me, that we should take this course: but such had mine estate been euer since the beginning of the Kings raigne, that I durst not wade too farre in any matter, least I should haue procured my selfe the displeasure of them that were in authoritie about him, which was so great where hee liked, that it was but too great.

The selfe same night we had two other great alarmes all through our own fault, because we had giuen no order against their Estradiots as wee ought to haue done, and the vse is to do in the warres against light horsemen: for twenty of our men of armes with their archers would haue matched two hundred of them; but they were as yet strange to vs. There fell also this night a terrible raine, and such

such lightning and thundering as was neuer since the world began: so that heauen and earth seemed to go together, or that this foreshewed some great inconuenience to ensue. For notwithstanding that we knew well, that the reuerberation of these great mountaines (at the foote of the which we lay) made this thunder seeme greater than indeede it was; and further, that thunder and lightning bee naturall in a hot countrey, especially in sommer: yet seemed they at that present the more dreadfull and terrible to vs, because we saw so many enemies encamped before vs, we hauing none other meanes to passe through them but by battell, our force being so small as it was; for we were not aboue nine thousand able men good and bad: of the which two thousand were noble mens seruants of the campe; but I comprehend not in this number pages nor straglers, nor such kinde of people.

Chap. 6. Of the battell of Fornoue, wherein the enemies of Fraunce were put to flight, and how the Earle of Petillane, who the same day brake the Kings prison, relied them together againe.



* Vicount of Narbonne. Ferrou.

* Rereward after the French corrector, the leading whereof *Fontus* giueth to two that straued for it. Ferrou and our author to Narbonne (otherwise called Earle of Foix) alone. *Annal. Franc.* to Monsieur de la Trimouille Vicount de Tonars and to Monsieur de Guise: but it appeared lib. 7. cap. 13. when the King thought to haue fought with Dom Ferrou at Saint Germain that Monsieur de Guise led the vaward, so that I know not how it is best heere to be read.

He monday morning about seuen of the clocke, being the sixt day of Iuly, the yeere of our Lord 1495. the noble King mounted on horsebacke calling often for mee. At my coming to him I found him armed at all peeces, and mounted vpon the brauest horse that euer I saw, called Sauoy, which some said was a horse of Bresse. Duke Charles of Sauoy gaue him to the King: he was blacke, and had but one eye, and of a meane stature, but tall ynough for him hee carried. This yoong Prince seemed that day altogether another man than either his nature, person, or complexion would beare: for naturally he was, and yet is very fearefull in speech, because he had euer been brought vp in great awe, and with men of meane estate: but this horse made him seeme great, and he had a good countenance & a good colour, and his talke was stout and wise: whereby appeared (as I then called to mind) that Frier *Ieron* told me truth, when he said that God would lead him by the hand, and that he should haue somewhat to doe vpon the way, but that the honor thereof should be his. His words to me were these; if these men will parliament, go and commune with them, and because the Cardinall was there present, he named him to accompanie me, and the Marshall of Gie, who was out of patience because of a broile that had hapened between the Earles of Narbonne and Guise, the which Guise sometime had led certaine bands, and ought of right to haue led the vaward, as all men said. I answered the King that I would doe his commandement, but that I neuer saw two so great forces so neere together, depart without battell.

Our whole army marched forth vpon the plaine in good order, the one battell neere to the other as the day before: but as touching the force, it seemed but a handfull to that I had seene with Duke Charles of Burgundie, and King Lewis this Kings Father. Vpon the said plaine the Cardinall and I withdrew our selues aside, and endited a letter to the two Prouisors aboue named, the which was written by one Master Robertes a Secretarie of the Kings, and in good credit. The contents of our letter were, that it appertained to the estate and office of the Cardinall to procure peace, and vnto me also hauing so lately beene ambassador at Venice; for the which cause I might as yet take vpon me the office of media-

tor betweene the King and them. We signified further to them on the Kings behalfe, that he would but passe forth his way without doing harme to any man: wherefore if they minded to parlement, according to the order taken the day before, we for our parts were willing thereunto, and would imploy our selues to do all the good we could. The skirmishes were already begun round about vs, and after our army had marched a while, softly passing along before them, the riuer running between them and vs (as you haue heard) we approached so neere to them, that we came within a quarter of a league of their campe, within the which they stood all in martiall aray: for their manner is to make their campe so large, that they may all stand in order of battell within it.

They sent forth incontinent part of their Estradiots and crossebowe men on horsebacke, and certaine men of armes, the which came along vpon the way almost vnder couert, towards the village of Fornoue, (out of the which wee were departed) meaning there to passe this little riuer, and to assaile our carriage, which was so great, that I thinke it laded aboue 6000. mules, horses, and asses. They had set their battels in such order many daies before they fought, that better they could not be ordered: for they were so placed, that their great number halfe assured them of the victory, because they assailed the King and his army on euery side, in such sort that not one of vs could haue escaped if we had beene broken, considering the straight we were in. Those aboue mentioned came and assailed our carriage, and on the left hand came the Marquesse of Mantua, the Lord *Rodolph* his vncl, and the Earle *Bernardin* of Dalmouton, with all the flower of their army, being to the number of sixe hundred men of armes, as themselves afterward confessed, all the which entred into the plaine directly behinde vs. Their men of armes were all barded, and furnished with braue plumes and goodly bourdonasses³, and well accompanied with crossebow men on horsebacke, Estradiots, and footemen. Against the Marshall of Gie and our vaward, marched the Earle of Caiasse with fower hundred men of armes. (accompanied as the others aboue mentioned) and with a great band of footemen: with him also was another company of two hundred men of armes, led by Master *John* de Bentiuoille of Bologna his sonne, a yoong man, who before had neuer seene the wars, for they were as slenderly prouided of good captaines as we. This yoong *Bentiuoille* was placed there to giue a new charge vpon our vaward immediately after the Earle of Caiasse had charged it. With the Marquesse of Mantua was also a like company of men of armes for the same purpose, vnder the leading of Master *Anthony* of Vrbin bastard to the late Duke of Vrbin. Besides these there remained yet in their campe two great troupes of men of armes, as I vnderstood the next day by themselves when they and I communed together, and I saw them also with mine eies. And this they did because the Venetians would not hazard all at once, nor vnfurnish their campe. Notwithstanding in mine opinion it had beene better for them to haue aduentured their whole force, seeing they ment to fight.

I will now tell you what became of the letter, the Cardinall and I sent to their campe by a trumpeter. The Prouisors receiued it, and immediately after they had reade it, brast forth the first peece of our artillerie, then shot theirs which was not so good as ours. The said Prouisors incontinent sent backe our trumpeter, accompanied with a trumpeter of the Marquesses, who brought word that they were content to parlement, if we would cause our artillerie to cease, saying, that they on their sides would do the like. I was then a great way from the King, who rid about here & there, and sent backe these two trumpeters with answer, that he would make the artillery to cease, and gaue commandement to the

³ Bourdonasses were hol-
low horse-
mens staves
used in Italy,
cunningly
painted: our
author him-
selfe in this
Chapter de-
scribeth them
at large.

Master of the ordinance to stay the shot, and so all ceased a while on both sides. But soone after vpon a sudden they discharged one of their peeces, and then shot ours againe freshlier than before, and we approched three of our peeces neerer to them. After the two trumpetters were arriued at their campe, they tooke ours and sent him to the Marquessees pavilion, resolving to fight. For the Earle of Caiazz (as those that were present haue informed mee) said that it was now noe time to parliament, seeing that wee were halfe vanquished already; and one of their Prouisors was of his opinion, and agreed to fight (as I haue heard him selfe report) but the other would not consent thereunto. The Marquesse in like manner desired the battell, but his vncl, who was a vertuous and a wise gentleman, and loued vs well, and bare armes against vs with an euill will, withstood it to the vttermost of his power; but in the end they agreed all to fight.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the King had put his whole force into his vaward, in the which were three hundred and fifty men of armes, and three thousand Swissers (the only hope of our army) with whom hee commanded three hundred archers of his garde to ioine themselves on foote, and likewise certaine crossebowe men on horsebacke of the two hundred that were also of his garde; which was a great diminishing of the safety of his person. In our army were but few footemen besides these, for all that wee had were placed in the vaward. On foote with our Almaines were the Lord *Englebert* brother to the Duke of Cleues, Lornay, and the bailife of Digeon, the said Almaines capitaine, and before them marched our artillery. Here they whom we left in the Florentines places, and those that were sent to Genua would haue done good seruice, contrary to the opinion of all men. Our vaward had now marched almost as far as their campe, so that all men thought they should haue begun the battell: but our two other battells were not so neere it, nor so well placed to haue succoured it as the day before. Further, because the Marques of Mantua (who was entred into the plaine and past the riuer) was directly vpon our backe, about a quarter of a league behinde our rereward, marching with his force softly and close together, which was a maruellous pleasant sight to behold; the King was forced to turne his backe to his vaward, and his face towards his enemies, and so to approach neerer to his rereward, and retire from his vaward. I was then with the Cardinall attending an answere of our letter, but I told him I perceiued it was no time to stay any longer there; wherefore I departed being hard by the Swissers, and went to the King. But before I could come to him, I lost a page who was my cosin germaine, and a groome of my chamber, and a lackey which followed a pretty way behinde me, so that I saw not when they were slaine.

I had not ridden aboue a hundred paces, when suddenly a crie began to arise in the selfe same place from whence I was departed, or but little beyond. For you shall vnderstand that their Estradiots at this very instant came to our carriage, and entred into the Kings lodging where were three or fower houses, in the which they slew or hurt fower or fise soldiers, but the rest escaped; they slew also about an hundred of our straglers, and put our carriage in great disorder. When I came to the King, I found him dubbing of knights, but because the enemies were at hand, we caused him to cease, & then I heard the bastard of Bourbon named *Mathew* (who was in good credit with the King) & one *Philip de Moulin* (a poore gentleman but very valiant) call the King, saying, passe forth sir, passe forth: wherupon he went into the front of his battell, and placed himselfe before his standard, so that (the bastard of Bourbon excepted) I saw none neerer the enemies then himselfe. Our enemies marched lustely forward, in such sort that

within

within lesse than a quarter of an hower after my arriual, they were come within a hundred paces of the King, who was as euill garded and as euill waited on, as euer was Prince or noble man; but mauger the diuell, he is well defended whom God defends. And sure the prophesies of the reuerend father frier *Hirom* prooued true, who told me (as before you haue heard) that God led him by the hand. His rereward stood vpon his right hand, being reconciled somewhat from him; and the neereft companie to him on that side was the Duke of Orleans company, being to the number of 80. launces led by *Robinet* of Frainezelles; and Monsieur *de la Trimouilles* company, being about forty launces, and the hundred Scottish archers of his guard, who thrust themselues into the presses as men of armes. My selfe stood vpon the left hand with the gentlemen, pensioners, and seruants of the Kings house. This rereward was led by the Earle of Foix: but as touching the names of the other captaines, I passe them ouer for breuity.

Within a quarter of an hower after my arriual. the enemies being so neere the King as you haue heard, charged their staues, and beganne a soft gallop. They were diuided into two troupes; one of the which charged the two companies of our horsemen, and the Scottish archers standing on the Kings right hand; and the other, the King himselfe; so that both they and the King were charged almost at one instant: we that stood vpon the left hand charged them vpon the flanke greatly to our aduantage; and vndoubtedly it is impossible for men to meete roughlier than we met. But the Estradiots that accompanied them, seeing our mules and carriage flie towards our vaward, and their companions get all the bootie, turned their horses that way, and forsooke their men of armes, who by meanes thereof were vnfollowed; whereby it manifestly appeared that God meant to preferue vs: for if these fifteene hundred light horsemen had broken in amongst vs with their Cimeterres (which are terrible swords like to the Turkes) vndoubtedly we had beene defeated, our number being so small. The Italian men of armes, immediately after they had broken their staues fled, and their foote-men or the greatest part shrunke aside, and fled also. At the selfe same time that they charged vs, the Earle of Caiasse gaue a charge also vpon our vaward, but they met not so roughly as we: for at the very instant that they should haue couched their staues, they began to faint, and disordered themselues in such sort, that fifteene or twenty of them being scattered amongst our bands, were taken & slaine by our Almaines; the rest were but easily pursued: for the Marshall of Gie endeouored to keepe his forces together, because he saw yet a great troupe of enemies not far from him. Notwithstanding part of his men followed the chase, & part of the Earle of Caiasses men that fled, passed ouer the place where the Marques and we had fought, with their swords in their hands; for they had throwne away their staues. But they that assailed the King fled immediately after they had charged, and were maruellously swiftly pursued, for we all followed the chase: part of them tooke the way to the village from whence we were departed, the rest fled the next way to their campe, we all pursued them, saue the King who staid behinde with a few men, and put himselfe in great danger, because he followed not after them with vs. One of the first that was slaine of their side, was the Lord *Rodolph* of Mantua, vnckle to the Marques, who should haue sent word to the aboue named Master *Anthonie* of Vrbin, when he should march; for they thought that this battell would haue endured as their battels in Italy doe; which their error serued the said Master *Anthonie* for a good excuse: but to say the truth, I thinke hee sawe ynough to stay him from marching. Wee had a great number of straglers and seruants following vs, all the which flocked about the Italian

⁴ By their companions he meaneth the Estradiots that had assailed the Kings carriage at the first.

men of armes being ouerthrowen, and slue the most of them. For the greatest part of the said straglers had their hatchets in their hands, wherewith they vsed to cut wood to make our lodgings, with the which hatchets they brake the visards of their head peeces, and then claue their heads, for otherwise they could hardly haue been slaine, they were so surely armed; so that there were euer three or fower about one of them. Moreouer, the long swords that our archers and seruants had, did that day a great execution. The King tarried vpon the place where the charge was giuen, accompanied with seuen or eight yoong gentlemen, whom he had appointed to attend vpon him, for neither would hee follow the chase, neither retire to his vaward because it was somewhat farre off. He escaped well at the first encounter, considering that hee was one of the foremost, for the bastard of Bourbon was taken within lesse then twenty paces of him, and led prisoner to the enemies campe.

³ *Annal. Franc.* write that this bastard *Mathew*, Monsieur *de Ligny*, and Monsieur *de Piennes* were armed like to the King and continually about him.

The King abode in the said place maruellous weakely accompanied: for hee had with him not a man more then one groome of his chamber called *Anthonie de Ambus*, a little fellow and euill armed: the rest were scattered heere and there, as himselfe told me at night euen in the presence of those that were appointed to waite vpon him, who deserued great reproch for leaning their Prince in such estate. Notwithstanding they arriued in time, for a certaine small broken troupe of Italian men of armes passing along vpon the plaine (where they sawe no man stirring) came and assailed the King and this groome of his chamber: but the King being mounted vpon the brauest horse in the world for a man of his stature, remooued to and fro, and defended himselfe valiantly: and at that very instant certaine of the rest of his men being not far from him arriued, whereupon the Italians fled, and then the King followed good aduice and retired to his vaward, which had neuer mooned out of the place they first possessed. Thus the King with his battell had good successe: and if his vaward had marched but one hundred paces farther, our enemies whole armie had fled. Some said they ought so to haue done, but others held opinion that they did best to stay.

Our company that followed the chase pursued the enimies hard to their campe, which lay in length almost as far as Fornoue, and not one of vs receiued a blow saue *Iulian Bourgneuf*, whom I saw fall dead to the ground with a stroke that an Italian gaue him as he passed by (for he was euill armed:) whereupon certaine of vs staid, saying, let vs returne to the King, and with that word all the whole troupe stood still to giue their horses breath, which were very weary because they had chased a great way, and all vpon sharpe stones. Hard by vs fled a troupe of thirtie men of armes, whom we let passe quietly fearing to assaile them. When we had breathed our horses, wee ridde foorth a fast trot towards the King, not knowing what was become of him, but after a while we descried him a farre off. Then caused we our seruants to light on foote, and gather vp the launces wherewith the place lay strawed, especially with Bourdonasses, which were not much worth, for they were hollowe and hardly so waighty as a iauelin, but trimmely painted, and by this meanes we were better furnished of launces than in the morning. Thus as we rid towards the King, by the way we met a broken band of the enemies footmen crossing ouer the fiede, being of those that had lien hid among the hils, and had led the Marques of Mantua vpon the Kings backe: many of them were slaine, and the rest escaped, and waded through the riuier, and we staid not long about them. Diuers of our men cried often during the whole conflict, remember Guynegate, which was a battell lost in Picardie in the time of K. *Lewis* the eleuenth against the K. of Romaines, through the folly of our men, who

⁶ Of this battell he writeth lib. 6. cap. 6.

fell

fell to spoile the enemies carriage : notwithstanding in that battell no whit of their carriage was taken nor spoiled : but in this, their Estradiots tooke all our carriage horses, of which notwithstanding they led away but five and fifty being the best and best couered, namely all the Kings, and all his chamberlains. They tooke also a groome of the Kings chamber called *Gabriel*, who had about him the ancient iewels of the Kings of Fraunce, which he then caried with him, because the King was there in person. True it is that a number of coffers were also lost, but they were ouerthrowne and spoiled by our owne men, for wee had in our campe a great many varlets and harlots that stripped the dead bodies, and spoiled all that they could come by, but as touching the enemies they tooke only those about rehearsed. There were slaine on both sides (as I haue been credibly enformed both by them and certaine of our owne men) to this number. Wee lost *Julian Bourgneuf*, the sergeant porter of the Kings house, a gentleman of the Kings house, and nine Scottish archers, of horsemen of our vaward to the number of twentie, and about our carriage three or fower score horse-keepers. And they lost three hundred and fiftie men of armes, slaine vpon the place; but not one of them was taken prisoner, which chance I thinke neuer hapried before in any battell. Of these Estradiots few were slaine, for they turned all to the spoile as you haue heard. There died of them in all three thousand and five hundred men, as diuers of the best of their army haue enformed me : others haue told me more, but sure they lost many gentlemen : for I saw my selfe a role wherein were the names of eightene gentlemen of good houses, and among them fower or five of the Marques owne name which was *Gonzague*, besides the which, the Marques lost also at the least three score gentlemen of his owne dominions, all the which were horsemen, and not one footeman among them. It is strange that so many were slaine with hand strokes; for as touching the artillery, I thinke it slew not ten on both sides. The fight endured not a quarter of an hower, for so soone as they had broken or throwne away their launces they fled all : the chase continued about three quarters of an hower. Their battels in Italy are not fought after this sort, for they fight squadron after squadron, so that a battell endureth there sometime a whole day, neither partie obtaining victory.

The flight on their side was great, for three hundred of their men of armes and the greatest part of their Estradiots fled, some to Rege⁷ (being farre thence) and others to Parma, being about eight leagues off⁸. In the morning the very same hower that the two armies ioyned, the Earle of Petillane and the Lord *Virgile Visin* escaped from vs. The said *Virgile* went but to a gentlemans house thereby, where he remained vpon his word, but the Earle fled straight to our enemies, and to say the truth, we did them both great wrong to leade them with vs after this sort. The Earle being a man well knowne among the soldiers (for he had alwaies had charge both vnder the Florentines and vnder King *Ferrand*) began to crie Petillane, Petillane, and ran after them that fled about three leagues, saying that all was theirs, and calling them to the spoile, by the which means he brought backe the greatest part of them, and put them out of all feare, assuring them vpon his word that there was no danger, so that had it not beene for him alone, their whole army had fled : for the word of such a man newly departed from vs was no small staie to them. The said Earle (as himselfe hath since told me) gaue aduise to assaile vs againe the same night, but they would not harken thereunto. The Marques hath also since communed with mee of these affaires challenging this aduise as his : but to say the truth had it not beene for the Earle alone they had all fled the same night.

⁷ Vnderstand not Rege in Calabria, but Rege neere to Parma called in Latin *Regium Lipidi*, and I doubt me the vnskilfull corrector at the first printing of the worke chopped in this parenthesis, supposing the author to meane Rege in Calabria, wherfore I had rather leaue the parenthesis out.
⁸ The French corrector supposeth this number to be also corrupted.

When we were come to the King, we discovered a great number of men of armes and footemen standing yet in order of battell without their campe, whose heads and launces onely we could descric. They had stood there all the day, and neuer mooued from that place, notwithstanding they were further from vs than they seemed: for they and we could not haue ioyned without passing the riuer, which was risen and arose howerly, because all the day it had thundered, lightened, and raigned terribly, especially during the battell and the chase. The King debated with his captaines whether we should assaile these new discovered enemies or not: with him were three Italian knights, one named Master *John Iames* of Treuoul, who is yet liuing, and behaued himselfe that day like a worthy gentleman; another Master *Francis Secco* a valiant knight, in pay with the Florentines, and of the age of 72. yeeres; and the third Master *Camillo Vitelly*, who with his three brethren was in seruice with the King, and came vnsent for from Ciuita de Castello, as far as Serzane (which is a great iourney) to be at this battell: but perceiuing that he could not ouertake the King with his companie, hee came himselfe alone. These two latter gaue aduice to march against these enemies newly discovered: but the Frenchmen were of a contrarie opinion, saying that they had done ynough, and that it was late, and time to make their londging. But the said Master *Francis Secco* maintained stoutly his opinion, shewing people that passed two and fro vpon the high way that leadeth to Parma (the neereft towne that the enemies could retire into) whom he affirmed to bee enemies flying thither or returning thence, and indeed he said true, as wee vnderstood afterward; and sure both his words and countenance shewed him to be a hardie and a wise knight. For all their captaines confessed to mee (yea some of them before the Duke of Milan himselfe) that if we had marched forward, they had all fled; by meanes whereof we should haue obtained the goodliest, honorablest, and profitablest victorie that hapned in ten yeeres before: for if a man could haue vsed it well, haue made his profit of it, haue behaued himselfe wisely, and entreated the people gently; the Duke of Milan by the space of eight daies after, should not haue had any one place to hold for him in his countrey, except the castell of Milan, yea and I doubt of that too: so desirous were his subiects to rebell. The like would also haue happened to the Venetians, so that the King should not haue needed to care for Naples: for the Venetians should not haue been able to leuie a man out of Venice, Bressa, and Cremone, which is but a small towne, because all the rest that they held in Italie would haue reuolted. But God had performed that which Frier *Ierom* promised, to wit, that the honor of the field should be ours; for considering our small experience & euill gouernment, we were vnworthy of this good successe that God gaue vs, because we could not then tell how to vse it: but I think if at this present, which is the yeere of our Lord 1497. the like victory should hapen to the K; he could tel better how to make his profit therof.

While we stood debating of this matter, the night approached, and the band of our enemies, which we saw before vs, retired into their campe, and wee for our part went and lodged about a quarter of a league from the place of the battell. The King himselfe lay in a farne house, being an old beggerly thing: notwithstanding the barnes about it were full of corne vnthreshed, which I warrant you our army quickly found. Certaine other old houses there were also, which stood vs but in small stead: euery man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could; for we had no lodgings mad. As touching my selfe I lay vpon the bare ground vnder a vine, in a very straight roome, hauing nothing vnder me, no not my cloke: for the King had borrowed mine in the morning, & my cariage was far off, and

and it was too late to seeke it. He that had meat ate it, but few there were that had any, vnlesse it were a morsell of bread, snatched out of some of their seruants bosoms: I waited vpon the King to his chamber, where he found certaine that were hurt, namely the Seneschall of Lyons and others, whom he caused to be dressed. Himselfe was merry and made good cheere, and each man thought himselfe happy that he was so well escaped: neither were we puffed vp with pride and vaine-glory, as before the battell, because we saw our enimies encamped so neere vs. The same night all our Almaines kept the watch, and the King gaue them three hundred crownes; whereupon they kept the watch very diligently, and strake vp their drums brauely.

Chap. 7. How Monsieur d'Argenton went himselfe alone to parle with the enimies, when hee saw that those that were appointed to goe with him would not goe: and how the King returned safe and sound with his armie to the towne of Ast.



HE next morning I determined to continue our treaty of peace, desiring nothing more than the Kings safe passage. But I could get neuer a Trumpeter to goe to the enimies campe, partly because nine of theirs were slaine in the battell being vnknowne, and partly because they had taken one of ours, and slaine another, whom the King (as you haue heard) sent to them a little before the battell began: notwithstanding in the end one went and caried the Kings safe conduct with him, and brought me one from them to commune in the midway between both the armies, which me thought a hard matter to be brought to passe, but I would not seeme to draw backe nor make difficultie therein. The King named the Cardinall of Saint Malo, the Lord of Gie Marshall of Fraunce, and the Lord of Piennes his Chamberlaine to accompanie me: and they named for them, the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians army, the Earle of Caiazzo (who not long before had taken part with vs, and was captaine of the forces the Duke of Milan had there) and Master *Luques Pisan*, and Master *Melchior Treuisan* prouisors of the Seniorie of Venice. We approached so neere them, that we might easily discouer them fower vpon the plaine. The riuer ran between vs and them, which was risen exceedingly since the day before: on their side there was not one man without their campe but them selues only, neither any on ours, but only we and our watch which stood ouer against them. We sent a herault to them to know whether they would passe the riuer, whereunto me thought it a hard matter to perswade either party, for I supposed both parties would make difficultie therein as well appeared by them: for they answered that the place of communication was appointed in the midway between both the armies, and that they were come already more than the halfe way: wherefore they would not passe the riuer, nor put them selues in such danger being all the principall of their armie. They also of our side alleged the like doubts, making no lesse account of their persons than the others. Wherefore they willed me to goe to them, giuing me no instructions for my direction: I answered that I would not goe alone, but would haue some body with me to testifie of all that should be done. Wherefore being accompanied with one Master *Robertet* the Kings Secretarie, and a seruant of mine owne, and an herault, I passed the riuer: for notwithstanding that I well perceiued I should

should do no good, yet thought I by this meanes to acquit my selfe towards them, being come thither by my procurement. When I came to them, I told them they were not come halfe the way according to their promise, wherefore I desired them, at the least to come to the riuers side, assuring my selfe that if we were once so nigh together, we should not depart without communication. They answered, that the riuier was so broad, and ran with so great violence and noise, that no talke could be heard from the one side to the other; wherefore they would goe no neerer to parlament, neither could I by any meanes bring them one foot further: but they willed me to make some ouerture, which I had no commission to do. Wherefore I answered, that alone I could doe nothing; but if they would propound any conditions of peace, I would make report thereof to the King. While we were in this communication, one of our heraults arriued, who brought me word that the Lords aboue named that had accompanied me, were ready to depart, and willed me to make what ouerture I thought good; which I refused to do, because they vnderstood further of the Kings pleasure than I did: for they were neerer him than I was, and had also talked with him in his eare at our departure: notwithstanding as touching these affaires which I now speake of, I vnderstood what was to be done in them as well as the best of them. The Marqueesse of Mantua entred iuto great communication with me of the battell, and asked me (if he had been taken) whether the King would haue slaine him. I answered, no; but haue entertained him well, alleaging that he had good cause to loue him, seeing the honour he had woon by his assailing him. Then he recommended vnto me the prisoners we had, especially his vnckle the Lord *Rodolph*, whom he supposed to be yet liuing: but I knew well the contrary; notwithstanding I answered, that all the prisoners should be well intreated, and recommended in like manner to him the bastard of Bourbon whom they had taken. Small entertainment would serue all the prisoners we had; for we had none, which I suppose neuer hapned before in any battell. But the said Marqueesse lost there of his kinsmen to the number of seuen or eight, and of his owne company at the least sixscore men of armes. This talke being ended, I tooke my leaue of them, saying, that before night I would returne again; whereupon we made truce till night.

At my returne to the King with the said Secretarie, they asked me what newes, and the King sate in counsell in a poore chamber where nothing was concluded, but each man beheld other. The King talked with the Cardinall in his eare, and afterward bad me returne againe to the enimies to see what they would say. But because this communication of peace proceeded of me, the enimies looked that I should make some ouerture and not they. Afterward the Cardinall bad me conclude nothing, but that speech was needlesse, for I was not like to conclude any thing, because they gaue me no direction: notwithstanding I would not reply to the Kings commandement, nor breake off my iourney: for besides that I was sure to doe no harme, I was in some hope to gather somewhat by our enimies countenances, who vndoubtedly were more afraid than we, and happily might passe some speeches that would turne both the parties to good. Wherefore I tooke my iourney thitherward, and came to the riuers side almost at night, where one of their trumpetters met me, and aduertised me that the fower aboue named sent me word to passe no further that night, because their watch was already set, being altogether of Estradiots, who knew not one man from another, wherefore I might happily endanger my selfe, if I passed further: notwithstanding the trumpeter offered to tarry with me all night, to the end he might conuey

uey me thither the next morning: but I sent him backe againe, saying, that the next morning I would returne to the riuers side, where I willed him to tarry me, or if the King should otherwise determine, I promised to send thither a herald to aduertise them thereof; for I would not bring this trumpeter into our campe, partly because I would not haue him priuy to our actions there that night: and partly because I knew not what the King meant to doe, for I saw whispering in his eare, which put me in some doubt, wherefore I returned to aduertise the King what I had done.

Euery man supped with that he could get, and slept vpon the ground. Soone after midnight I repaired to the Kings chamber, where I found his chamberlains ready to mount on horsebacke, who told me that the King would depart with all speed towards Ast, and the Marchionesse of Montferrates territories, willing me to stay behinde, to hold the parliament according to my promise: but I made my excuse, saying, that I would not willingly kill my selfe, but be on horsebacke with the formost. Soone after the King arose and heard masse, and mounted on horsebacke. Not past an hower before day, a trumpeter sounded *Bon guet*, but at our dislodging nothing was sounded, neither needed it, for euery man was in a readinesse. Notwithstanding this was sufficient to haue put the whole armie in feare, at the least those that were acquainted with the wars: for besides this we turned our backs to our enemies, seeking wholly our owne safetie, which is a dangerous matter in an army. Further, the waies at our departure from our lodging were very cumbersome, in such sort that we were forced to march ouer mountaines, and through woods and by-waies, for we had no guides to lead vs: my selfe heard the soldiers aske the ensigne bearers, and him that executed the office of Master of the horse, where the guides were, who answered that there were none. To say the truth we needed none, for as God alone had guided the armie at our going forth: euen so (according to Frier *Hieromes* prophesie) meant he to do at our returne: otherwise it is not to be thought that such a Prince would haue ridden in the night without a guide, in a place where ynow might haue been had. But God shewed yet a manifest token that he meant to preserue vs, for our enemies vnderstood nothing of our departure till the afternoone, but waiting for this parliamenting I had begun: besides that, the riuer was risen so high, that it was fower of the clocke at afternoone before any man durst aduenture ouer to follow vs, and then passed the Earle of Caiazzes with two hundred Italian light horse, in such danger because of the force of the water, that one or two of his men were drowned, as himselfe afterward confessed. We trauelled ouer hills and through woods, and were constrained by the space of fixe miles to march one by one after another in the narrow waies, and then came we to a goodly large plain, where our vaward, artillerie, and cariage lay, which seemed so great a band a far off, that at the first we stood in feare of them, because Master *John Iames* of Treuoules ensigne was square and white, like to the Marques of Mantuas the day of the battell. The said vaward was in like manner afeard of our rereward, which they saw a far off forsake the high way to come the next way to them, wherupon both they and we set our selues in order of battell: but this feare soon ended, for the scouts issued forth on both sides, and discovered one another incontinent. From thence we went to refresh vs at Bourg Saint Denis, where we our selues made an alarme of purpose to retire our Almaines out of the towne, least they should haue spoiled it. Thence we remooued and lodged all night at Florensole, the second night we encamped neere to Plaisance, and passed the riuer of Trebia, leauing on the other side of the riuer two hundred launces, all our Swissers, and

and all the artillerie except six peeces, which the King passed ouer with him. For he had giuen this order, to the end he might be the better and more commodiously lodged, thinking to command them to passe at his pleasure, because the riuer is commonly very shallow, especially at that time of the yeere: notwithstanding about ten of the clocke at night, it arose so high that no man could passe ouer it, neither on horsebacke nor on foot, neither could the one company haue succoured the other, which was a great danger, considering how neere our enemies were to vs. All that night both they and wee sought to remedie this mischiefe, but no helpe could be found till the water fell of it selfe, which was about fve of the clocke in the morning, and then wee stretched cordes from the one side to the other to helpe ouer the footmen, who waded in the water vp to their neckes: immediately after them passed also our horsemen and our artillerie. This was a sudden and dangerous aduenture, considering the place where we were, for our enemies lay hard by vs, I meane the garrison of Plaisance, and the Earle of Caiasse, who was entred in thither, because certaine of the citizens practised to put the towne into the Kings hands, vnder the title of the yoong Duke sonne to *John Galeas*, Duke of Milan that last died, as before you haue heard. And vndoubtedly if the King would haue giuen eare to their practise, a great number of townes and noble men would haue reuolted by Master *John Iames* of Treuoules meanes: but he refused so to doe, because of the fauour he bare the Duke of Orleans his cosin, who was already entred into Nouarre, although to say the truth on the other side he desired not greatly to see his said cosin so mighty, wherefore hee was well content to let this matter passe as it came. The third day after our departure from the place of the battell the King dined at castle Saint Iohn, and lodged all night in a wood. The fourth day he dined at Voghera, and lay that night at Pontcuron. The fift day he lodged neere to Tortone and passed the riuer of Scriuia which *Fracasse* defended with the garrison of Tortone, being vnder his charge for the D. of Milan. But when he vnderstood by those that made the Kings lodging that he would only passe without doing harme to any man, he retired again into the towne, and sent vs word that we should haue as great plenty of victuals as we would; which promise he also performed: for all our army passed hard by the gate of Tortone, where the said *Fracasse* came forth to welcome the King, being armed, but accompanied only with two men: he excused himselfe very humbly to the King, that he lodged him not in the towne, and sent out great store of victuals, which refreshed well our army, and at night came also himselfe to the Kings lodging. For you shall vnderstand, that hee was of the house of Saint Seuerin, brother to the Earle of Caiasse and Master *Galeas*, and had not long before been in the Kings seruice in Romania, as you haue heard. From thence the King remooued to Nice de la Paille in the Marquisat of Montferrat, whereof wee were right glad, because we were then in safetie, and in our friends country. For these light horsemen that the Earle of Caiasse led, were continually at our backe, and traueiled vs maruellously the three or fower first daies, because our horsemen would not put themselues behinde to make resistance: for the neerer wee approached to the place of safetie, the more vnwilling were our men to fight; and some say such is the nature of vs French men. Wherefore the Italians write in their histories, that the French men at their arriual are better than men; but at their returne woorse than women. The first point vndoubtedly is true: for they are the roughest men to encounter with in the world, I meane the horsemen: but all men at their returne from an enterprife are lesse couragious than at their departure from their houses. Now to proceed, our backes were defended by three hun-

hundred Almaines; hauing among them a great band of harquebusiers on foot, with whom also a number of harquebusiers on horsebacke were ioyned: these made their Estradiots, being but few in number; to retire. Further, notwithstanding that their whole armie which had fought with vs, marched after vs as fast as they might, yet could they not ouertake vs, both because they were departed from the place of the battell a day after vs; & also because of their barded horses, so that we lost not one man vpon the way. The said armie neuer came within a mile of vs; wherefore seeing they could not ouertake vs, and peradventure not being greatly desirous so to doe, they marched straight towards Nouarre, whither both the Duke of Milan and the Venetians had sent certaine bands, as before you haue heard. But if they could haue ouertaken vs neere to the places of our retraite, peradventure they might haue sped better than in the valley of Fornoue.

I haue shewed before sufficiently in diuers places how God guided this enterprise, but yet for further prooffe thereof, a word or two more. You shall vnderstand therefore, that notwithstanding that from the day of the battell till our arriual at the said place of Nice de la Paille, the lodgings were vnorderly and vnequally made; yet every man lodged with patience as commodiously as he could, without strife or contention. Of victuals we had great lacke: notwithstanding they of the countrey brought vs some, who might easily haue poysoned vs if they would, both in their meats and wines, and also in their wels and waters, which were dried vp sometimes in a moment, because they were but small springs. If they had minded to haue poysoned them, they would sure haue done it; but because they did it not, it is to be thought that our Sauour and Redeemer Iesus Christ tooke from them all desire to doe it. I saw such thirst in our army, that a number of footmen dranke of stinking puddles in the villages through the which we passed. Our iourneyes were long, and our drinke foule standing water, which notwithstanding our men were so greedy of, that they ran into the pooles vp to the girdlestead to drinke. For you shall vnderstand, that a number of people followed vs, being no men of warre, because our cariage was maruellous great. The King departed from his lodging every morning before day, and I remember not that euer he had guide. Moreouer, he rode till noone before he baited; and every man made prouision for himselfe, and looked to his owne horse, and was forced to provide prouender for him, and to beare it to him in his armes, as my selfe did twise; and two daies I ate nothing but naughty black bread: yet I was none of those that stood in most need. Sure one thing was especially to be commended in this army, to wit, that neuer man complained of necessity, yet was this the miserablest voiage that euer I saw; notwithstanding that I haue been in diuers sharpe and hard voiajes with *Charles Duke of Burgundie*. We marched no faster than the great artillerie, the mending whereof often troubled vs: besides that, we lacked horses to draw it; but at all times when we stood in need, we borrowed of the gentlemen in our army, who willingly lent theirs; so that there was not one peece nor one pound of powder lost. And I thinke neuer man saw artillerie of such greatnesse passe so speedily ouer such places as this did. All the which disorder both in our lodgings and all other things, hapned not for lacke of wise and expert men in the campe, but it was their chance to haue least credit at that time; for the King was yoong and wedded to his owne will, as before you haue heard. To conclude therefore, it seemed that our Lord Iesus Christ would, that the honour of this voiage should be attributed wholly to himselfe. The seuenth day after our departure from the place of the battell, we

marched

marched from Nice de la Paille, and encamped altogether hard by Alexandria; our watch that night being very strong. The next morning before day we departed and went to Ast: the King and his household lodged in the towne, but the soldiers encamped without: we found the said towne of Ast furnished of all kind of victuals, wherewith the whole army was well refreshed, which vndoubtedly stood in great need thereof, because they had indured great hunger, thirst, and heat, and lacked sleep; besides that, their apparell was all tattered and torne. Immediately after the Kings arriual thither, before I slept, I sent a gentleman called *Philip de la Coudre* (who sometime had been my seruant, and serued then the Duke of Orleans) to Nouarre, where the said Duke was besieged by his enemies, as you may vnderstand by that which is aboue rehearsed: but the siege was not yet so straight, but that men might passe in and out, because the enemies only endeavour was to famish the towne. I aduertised the Duke by this gentleman, of diuers treaties that were entertained between the King and the Duke of Milan, in one of the which my selfe negotiated by the Duke of Ferraras meanes; wherefore I aduised him to repaire to the King, hauing first assured his men whom he should leaue behinde him, either shortly to returne, or bring force to leuie the siege. Within the said towne were with him to the number of seauen thousand five hundred soldiers both French and Swissers, being as goodly a band, so many for so many, as euer was seen. The King the next day after his arriual, was aduertised both by the said Duke of Orleans and others, that the two armies were ioyned together before Nouarre: wherefore the said Duke desired aide, because his victuals daily diminished; for the which they had giuen no order at their first entry into the towne. For they might then haue recouered enough in the towns about, especially corne; and if their prouision had been made in time, and well looked to, they should neuer haue been forced to yeeld the towne: for if they could haue held it but one moneth longer, they had come forth with honour, and their enemies departed with shame.

Chap. 8. How the King sent ships to the sea to succour the castles of Naples, and why the said castles could not bee succoured.

¹ This *Peron* was sent to Nice, being a haven town in Prouence to prepare this Nauie.

² I suppose this to bee some haven towne not far from Naples, or rather thinke it should bee read the Ile of Prusse, whereof mention is made cap 14. which



Guicciar calleth the Ile of Poreze, or the Ile of Procida, which as *Boccace* writeth was neere to the Ile of Ischia. ³ To the Ile of Elbe, *Guicciar*. ⁴ The place is corrupted; for this haven is afterward called Bengon: wherefore the French *Corrector* readeth it (as *Blondus* and the description of Italy led him) *Porto Eurato pres Plombino*.

After the King had reposed himselfe a few daies in Ast, he remooued to Thurin, dispatching at his departure from Ast one of the stewards of his house called *Peron de Basche* with a commission to arme certaine ships to the sea ¹, to succour the castles of Naples which held yet for vs. The said *Peron* did as he was commanded, and appointed Monsieur *d'Arban* Admirall of that fleet, which sailed as far as the citie of Pruce: ² where (our men being within the view of our enemies:) a sudden tempest arose which would not suffer the two armies to ioyne, by meanes whereof this Nauie did no seruice: for the said *d'Arban* returned to Ligorne ³, where the most part of his men fled to land, and abandoned their ships. But the enemies Nauie came to the haven of Bougen ⁴ neere to Plambin, whence it departed not the space of two moneths, so that our men might without all danger haue succoured the said castles: for the nature of this haven of Bougen is such, that a ship cannot come forth

of it but with one winde which bloweth seldome in winter. The said *d'Arban* was a valiant soldier, and a very good sea man.

While the King lay in Thurin, diuers treaties were entertained between him and the Duke of Milan: in one of the which, the Duchesse of Sauoy was a dealer, she was daughter to the Marques of Montferrat, and a widow, and mother to the yoong Duke of Sauoy then liuing. Others negotiated also as well as these: and among the rest, my selfe laboured for conclusion of the peace, as before I haue made mention; and the confederates, that is to say, the captaines that were in the enemies campe before Nouarre, desired to deale with me, and sent me a safe conduct. But enuy euer raigneth in Princes courts; for the Cardinall so often aboue named, ouerthrew all that I did, and would that the Duchesse of Sauoyes negotiation should goe forward, which was committed to the said Cardinals hoste, who was Treasurer of Sauoy, a wise man and a faithfull seruant to his Mistresse. This treaty endured so long without effect that in the end all hope of peace ceasing, the Bailife of Digeon was sent ambassador into Swisserland to leuie there five thousand men.

I haue made mention already how the Kings Nauie that departed from Nice in Prouence to succour the castles of Naples, could not succour them for the reasons there rehearsed. Wherefore the Lord of Montpensier and the other gentlemen that were with him in those castles vnderstanding of this misfortune, espied a conuenient time when the army that the King left behind him in diuers parts of the realme lay neere to the said castles, and by helpe thereof salied forth (leauing within force sufficient for their defence according to the proportion of their victuals which was very smal) and departed themselves with two thousand and five hundred soldiers, appointing *Ognas* and two other gentlemen captaines of the castles. The said L. of Montpensier, the Prince of Salerne, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the rest that were with them departed to Salerne, for the which cause King *Ferrand* said, that he might lawfully put to death the hostages deliuered to him a few daies before, whose names were these, the Lord of Alegee, one called *de la March d'Ardaine*, the Lord *de la Chapelle d'Anjou*, one named *Roquebertin Catelane*, and one *Genly*: for you shall vnderstand that not past three moneths before, the said King *Ferrand* was entred into Naples by intelligence, or rather through the negligence of our men, who vnderstood of all their practises in the towne, and yet neuer sought to countermine them. But hereof I will write no farther, because I speake but vpon report: for notwithstanding that I had mine intelligence from the principall of those that were there, yet doe I not willingly discourse long of any matter, that I haue not been present at my selfe. The said King *Ferrand* being in Naples, was aduertised that the King was slaine at the battell of Fornoue, as were our men also within the castle by the Duke of Milans letters, to the which credit was giuen: notwithstanding that they reported nothing but lies. And thereupon the Coulonnois (whose manner is, alwaies to turne with the strongest) reuolted incontinent from vs, though sundry waies bound to the King, as before you haue heard. Wherefore our men (partly through these vntrue reports, but especially because a great number of them were retired into the castell, being vtterly vnfurnished of victuals, and partly also because they had lost their horses, and all their goods within the towne:) made a composition, the sixt day of October, in the yeere, one thousand, fower hundred, ninetie and five, after they had been besieged three moneths and 14. daies, promising if they were not succoured within a certain space, to depart into Prouence, and yeeld the castles without making further war, either by sea or land

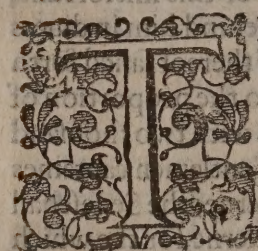
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mente, man per
experimente.

upon the realme of Naples; for the performance of which conditions they delivered these hostages aboue named; and yet within twenty daies after the composition, departed as you haue heard: for the which cause King *Ferrand* said that they had broken the composition in that they departed without leane: and notwithstanding that our men maintained the contrary, yet were the hostages in great danger and not without cause. For although I will not deny but that our men did wisely to depart notwithstanding the composition; yet had they done much better if the day of their departure they had yeelded the castles for their hostages safetie, and receiued againe the said hostages. For the castles held but twenty daies after they were departed, partly for lacke of victuals; and partly because they despaired of succours. To conclude, the losse of the castle of Naples, was the losse of the whole realme.

Chap. 9 Of the great famine and miserie the Duke of Orleans and his men were in at Nouarre: of the Marshionesse of Montferrats death, and like-

wise of Monsieur de Vendosmes: and how after long deliberation the King inclined to peace,

to saue those that were besieged.



HE King being at Thurin (as you haue heard) and at Quierets, (whither he went sometime to solace himselfe) attended daily for newes of the Almaines whom he had sent for, and trauelled to recouer the Duke of Milan, whose friendship he much desired, neither cared he greatly for the Duke of Orleans successe, who began now to be sore distressed for victuals, and wrote daily for succors, because the enimies were approached neerer the towne. Besides that, their force was increased with a thousand Almaine horsemen, and eleven thousand footmen called launce Knights, leuiued in the King of Romaines dominions: the horsemen being led by Master *Frederic Capelare* of the countie of Ferrette (a valiant knight who long had been trained vp both in Fraunce and Italy,) and the footmen by a couragious knight of Austrich called Master *George d'Abecsin*, the selfe same that tooke Saint Omer for the King of Romaines. The King therefore seeing his enimies forces daily to increase, and that no honorable end could bee made, was aduised to remooue to Verceil, there to deuise some way to saue the Duke of Orleans and his company, who (as before you haue heard) had giuen no order at all for their victuals at their first entry into Nouarre. And sure the Duke should haue done much better, in following the aduise I gaue him at the Kings returne to Ast, as before is mentioned; which was to depart out of Nouarre, putting all that were vnable to doe seruice out of the towne, and to repaire himselfe to the King: for his presence would much haue furthered his affaires, at the least those that he had left behinde him, should not haue suffered such extreame famine as they did: for he would haue made a composition sooner, when he had seene no remedie. But the Archbishop of Rouen, who had been with him in Nouarre from the very beginning; and for the furtherance of his affaires was come to the King, and present at the debating of all matters; sent him word daily not to depart, because shortly he should be succoured, grounding himselfe wholly vpon the Cardinall of Saint Malos promise, who had all the credit with the King. Good affection caused him to write thus, but I was well assured of the contrary.

For

¹ All the Italians name him *Georgio di Pietrapiana*. The author himselfe also afterward nameth him *Petreplane*, which variance ariseth, because the one is his surname, the other the name of his seniorie.

For no man would returne to the battell, vnlesse the King went in person; and as touching him he desired nothing lesse: for this was but a priuate quarrel for one towne which the Duke of Orleans would needs retaine, and the Duke of Milan needs haue restored, because it is but ten leagues from Milan; so that of necessitie one of them must haue had all. For there are in the Duchie of Milan nine or ten great cities, the one neere to the other. Further, the Duke of Milan said, that in restoring Nouarre, and not demanding Genua, he would do any thing for the King. We sent meale oftentimes to Nouarre, whereof the halfe was euer lost vpon the way; and once threescore men of armes were defeated going thither, being led by a yoong gentleman of the Kings house, named *Chastillon*: some of them were taken, some entred the towne, and the rest hardly escaped. It is impossible to expresse the great miserie of our men within Nouarre: for euery day some died of famine, and two parts of them were sicke, so that pitious letters came from thence in cipher, though with great difficultie. They receiued euer faire promises, and all was but abuse. But those that gouerned the Kings affaires desired the battell, not considering that no man was of that opinion but themselves: for all the best men of war in the armie, namely, the Prince of Orenge lately arriued, and to whom the King gaue credit in martiall affaires, and all the other captaines, desired to make a good end by treaty. For winter approched, wee were vnfurnished of money, the number of French was small, and many of them sicke; so that they departed daily, some with the Kings leaue, and some without leaue: but notwithstanding all these inconueniences, all the wise men in the campe could not dissuade those aboue mentioned, from sending word to the Duke of Orleans not to depart the towne; whereby vndoubtedly they greatly endangered him. And this they did, because they trusted vpon the great force of Almaines, whereof the Bailife of Digeon assured them; to whom also certain of them sent word to bring as many as he could lenie. To be short, their company was diuided, and euery man said and writ what him listed.

Those that would haue no peace, nor meeting to treat thereof, alleaged that the enemies ought to make the first ouerture, and not the King: but they on the other side said, that they would not first breake the yce: in the meane time the miserie of our men in Nouarre daily increased, in such sort, that now their letters made mention onely of those that died daily for hunger, and that they could hold the towne but ten daies, and afterward eight daies, yea and once they came to three daies, but they had first passed their day before prefixed. To be short, so great extremitie hath not beene scene of long time, no I am sure that a hundred yeeres before we were borne, neuer men sustained so great famine as they did.

In the meane time died the Marchionesse of Montferrat (a great friend to the French,) whereupon some strife arose in that countrey for the gouernment, the which on the one side the Marques of Saluce demanded, and on the other the L. *Constantine* vnle to the said Marchionesse, who was a Greeke, and she a Greeke, daughter to the King of Seruia, but the Turke had destroyed them both. The said Lord *Constantine* had fortified himselfe in the castell of Casall, and had in his hands the late Marques his two sons, begotten of this wise and beautifull Lady, the which died the 29. yeere of hir age, her eldest sonne being but nine yeeres old. Other particular men also aspired to the gouernment, so that great part-taking arose about that matter in our campe. The King commanded me to goe thither, and determine the controuersie for the childrens safetie, and to the contentation of the grettest part of the people. For he feared that this variance would

make them call the Duke of Milan into their countrey, greatly to our discontentment: for the friendship of this house of Montferrat stood vs in great stead. I was loth to depart before I had brought into better tune those that contraried the peace: for I considered both the inconueniences aboue rehearsed, and also that winter approched, and feared least these Prelats should perswade the King to aduenture another battell, whose power was small, vnlesse great force of Swiflers hapned to come, and though so many came as they vaunted of, yet seemed it to me a dangerous case to put the King and his estate into their hands. Further, our enemies were mighty, and lodged in a strong place, and well fortified. Wherefore all these points being well weighed, I aduentured to perswade the King not to hazard his person and estate for a trifle. I desired him to remember the great danger he was in at Fornoue, which could not then be auoided, because necessitie forced him to fight: but now (I said) there was no such necessitie. I aduised him further, not to refuse a good end, because of this fond obiection, that he ought not first to breake the yce, for if it so pleased him, I would finde means that ouuertures should be made in such sort, that the honor of both parties should be saued. He bad me repaire to the Cardinall; and so I did: but the Cardinall gaue me strange answers, and desired the battell, assuring himselfe of the victorie: and further alleaging that the D. of Orleans had promised him ten thousand ducats of yeerely reuenues for one of his sons, if he obtained the Duchie of Milan. The next day, as I went to take my leaue of the King to depart to Casall (being distant from thence about a daies iourney and a halfe) I met with Monsieur *de la Trimoille* by the way, whom I aduertised of my communication had with the King: and because he was neere about him, I asked his aduise whether I should presse forward the matter, whereunto he earnestly perswaded me, for all men desired to repaire home. The King was in a garden, and when I came to him, I began to perswade with him (as the day before) in presence of the Cardinall, who answered me that it appertained to him being a Church man, to be the first moouer of the King to peace: whereunto I replied that if he would not, I would. For I perceiued well that both the King and those that were neereest about him desired to returne home. Then I tooke my leaue, and at my departure told the Prince of Orange (who had the principall charge of the army) that if I entred into any communication of peace, I would addresse my selfe wholly to him. This being done I tooke my iourney towards Casall, where I was well receiued by the whole kindred of this house of Montferrat, and found the greatest part of them inclined to the Lord *Constantine*, whose gouernment was thought by them all most conuenient for the childrens safetie, because he could pretend no title to the succession as the Marques of Saluce did. I assembled by the space of certaine daies both the Nobles of the country, the Spirituall men, and the Burgesses of the good towns, and at the request of them, at the least the greatest part of them, declared the Kings pleasure to be, that the Lord *Constantine* should remaine gouernor. For I was sure they would not withstand the Kings commandement, both because of the force he had then on that side the mountaines, and also because of the good affection the whole countrey beareth to the house of Fraunce.

About three daies after my arriuall at Casall, the Marquesse of Mantua the Venetians Generall, sent the steward of his house thither to condole the late deceased Marchinesse death: for the said Marquesse was of kin to this house of Montferrat. The same Steward and I entred into communication how wee might agree these two armies without battell: for both the parties disposed themselues to fight, and the King lay in campe neere to Verceil, but to say the truth hee did

^a This river is called *Seruo*, Guicciar nameth it *Stesse*.

did but passe the river onely ^a and lodge his campe, which was vtterly vnprovid-
ed of tents and pauillions: for our men had brought forth but few with them,
and those few also were lost. Moreouer, the ground was wet, both because win-
ter approached, and because the countrey lieth low. The King lodged in his
campe but one night, and the next day returned to the towne: but the Prince of
Orenge abode still with the armie, so did also the Earle of Foix, and the Earle of
Vendosme, who fell into a fluxe there whereof he died, which sure was great pit-
ty: for he was a goodly gentleman, yoong, and wise, and was come thither in
poste, because the bruit ran that there we should fight. For you shall vnderstand
that he had not been with the King in this voiage into Italy. Besides these the
Marshall of Gie abode also in the camp and diuers other capitaines, but the great-
est force were the Almaines that had been with the King in this voiage: for the
Frenchmen would by no meanes lodge abroad, the towne being so neere; be-
sides that, diuers of them were sicke, and many returned home some with leaue,
and some without leaue. Nouarre was distant from our camp ten great Italian
miles, containing six French leagues at the least, the way is cumbersome: for the
ground is tough and soft as in Flaunders, because of ditches that are on both
sides of the way, much deeper than the ditches of Flaunders. In winter the waies
there are very foule, and in summer maruellous dustie. Moreouer, between our
campe and Nouarre, there was a little place which we held, called Bourg, about a
league from vs, and another that they held about a league from their camp, cal-
led Camarian. But the waters were risen so high, that a man could hardly passe
between vs and them.

The Marquesse of Mantuas steward aboue mentioned that was come to Cas-
sall, and my selfe continued still our communication of peace, and diuers reasons
I alleaged to him to perswade his Master to shun the battell. First, I put him in
minde of the great danger he had been in at Fornoue: secondarily, I told him
that hee fought for them that neuer had aduanced him, notwithstanding the
great seruices he had done them: wherefore his best way should be to incline to
peace, which I for my part promised to further on our side as much as in me lay.
He answered that his Master desired nothing more than peace, but that we must
make the first motion thereof, as word had been sent me heretofore, considering
that their league, that is to say, the Pope, the Kings of Romanes and Spaine, the
Venetians, and the Duke of Milan were more worthy than the King alone. I
answered, that to make such a ceremonie about so small a trifle, was meere fol-
lie: notwithstanding if any ceremonie were to be obserued, that the King ought
to haue the preheminence and honour thereof, considering that himselfe was
there in person, and the others had but their lieutenants there. But to auoide
all such fond cauillation, I offered that he and I ioyntly as mediators (if hee so
thought good) would breake the yce, so that I were sure his Master the Mar-
quesse of Mantua would agree thereunto, and proceed accordingly. Where-
upon we concluded, that the next day I should send a trumpeter to their campe,
by whom I should write to Master *Lucas Pisan*, and Master *Melchior Trevisan* the
two Venerian Prouisors, the which are officers appointed to consult with their
captaines, and to provide things necessary for their armie. According to the
which resolution, the next morning I writ vnto them the effect of that I had said
before to the steward: for I had good colour to continue still a mediator, because
I had promised so to doe at my departure from Venice. Besides that, I was sure
the King desired peace, and me thought also that our affaires required it. Lastly,
there are euer men ynow to break off a good appointment, but few that haue skil

3 His eldest
sonnes name
was *Alfonse*.
Guicciar.

4 He vsed this
colour openly
because the
Venetians
would not
seeme first to
seeke peace.

5 This Venetians name
was *Bernarde*
Contaren.
Guicciar.

and will withall to trauell for the pacification of so great a controuersie, nor that will endure so many hard speeches as are vsed of them that deale in such affaires: for in great armies all are not of one humor. The said Prouisors were glad of these newes, and promised that I should shortly haue answer of my letter: whereof forthwith they sent word to Venice in Post, and receiued answer with great expedition from the Seniorie, and not long after, sent an Earle that serued the D. of Ferrara, to our camp. The said Duke had men in their armie; for his eldest sonne was in pay with the D. of Milan³, but another of his sonnes with the King our Master. This Earles name was *Albertin*, and he pretended openly, that the occasion of his arriuall was to visit Master *Iohn Iames* of Treuoul, with whom he had a sonne in seruice⁴. He addressed himselfe to the Prince of Orenge, according to the stewards agreement and mine at our departure from Casall, and aduertised him that he had a commission from the Marquesse of Mantua, the Prouisors, and the other captaines of their armie, to demand a safe conduct for the said Marquesse and others, to the number of fiftie horses, to come and treat with such as it should please the K. to appoint; for they acknowledged that it was reason they should first come to the King and his Commissioners, and declared also that they would do him that honor. Afterward the said Earle desired to commune with the King apart: which his request being granted; he then counselled him not to make peace, reporting our enemies armie to be in so great feare, that shortly they would raise their siege and depart: by which words he seemed rather desirous to breake off the treatie than to further it; notwithstanding that his commission openly were such as you haue heard. At this communication M. *Iohn Iames* of Treuoul was present, who because he was great enimie to the D. of Milan, would also gladly haue broken off the treatie. But aboue all others, the Duke of Ferrara the said Earle *Albertins* Master (being newly arriued at the Duke of Milans campe, who had married his daughter) desired war; for he was great enimie to the Venetians, because they withheld from him diuers countries, namely, the Polesan and others. After the King had communed with this Earle, he sent for me, and debated with his Counsell, whether he should grant this safe conduct or not. Those that would gladly haue broken off the treatie, as Master *Iohn Iames*, and others (who spake in fauour of the Duke of Orleans, as they pretended) desired the battell, saying, that they were sure the enemies would shortly dislodge, because they starued for hunger: but the greatest part of those that gaue this aduise were clergie men, who would not haue been at the battell themselves. Diuers others, and my selfe among the rest, were of the contrary opinion, saying, that we should sooner starue for hunger than they, being in their owne countrey. And as touching their dislodging we answered, that their force was too great to flie for feare of vs, and by that meanes to cast themselves away. Wherefore these words (wee said) proceeded of men that would haue vs fight and hazard our liues for their particular quarrels. To be short, the safe conduct was granted and sent, and promise made, that the next day by two of the clocke at afternoone, the Prince of Orenge, the Marshall of Gie, the L. of Piennes, and my selfe should meete the said Marquesse and his colleagues between Bourg and Camarian, neere to a towre where they kept their watch, to the end we might there commune together. According to the which appointment the next day thither we went, accompanied with a good band of soldiers: and there the said Marquesse of Mantua and a Venetian that had the charge of their Estradiots met vs⁵, and gaue vs very courteous language, saying, that for their parts they desired peace. Further, we there concluded, that to

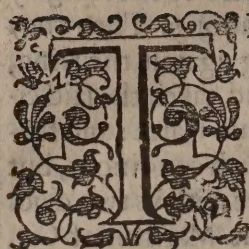
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the end we might the more conueniently commune together, they should send certaine commissioners to our campe, and afterward the King certaine of his to them: wheretunto they agreed, and sent vnto vs the next day on the Duke of Milans behalfe Master *Francisco Bernardin* Viscomte, and with him one of the Marquesse of Mantuas Secretaries; with whom we aboue named, and the Cardinall of S. Malo began to negotiate. They demanded Nouarre where the Duke of Orleans was besieged, and we Genua, saying, that it was held of the King by homage, and that the Duke of Milan had taken it by confiscation. Then they made their excuses, saying, that they had attempted nothing against the King, but only in their owne defence, that the Duke of Orleans had taken the said city of Nouarre with the Kings forces, and had first mooued this warre: and further, that they thought their Masters would neuer agree to such conditions, but willingly do any other thing to content the King. They were with vs two daies and afterward returned againe to their campe, whither the Marshall of Gie, Monsieur *de Piennes* and my selfe were sent after them, to demand the said citie of Genua; and as touching Nouarre, we offered to deliuer it to the King of Romans men that were in their campe, vnder the leading of Master *George de Pietreplane*, and Master *Frederick Capelare*, and one named Master *Hauunce*. For we could not succour it but by battell, and that we desired not: wherefore this offer wee made to discharge our selues of it with honor; for the Duchie of Milan is held by homage of the Emperor. Diuers messengers ran to and fro betweene our campe and theirs, but nothing was concluded. Notwithstanding I lodged euery night in their campe; for the Kings pleasure was that I should so doe, because he would breake off no ouerture. In the end all we aboue named returned againe to them, being accompanied with the President of Gannay, and *Moruillier* Bailife of Amiens, which two went with vs to open the articles in Latin; for hitherto I had negotiated with them in such bad Italian as I had. Our order of proceeding was this. When we arriued at the Dukes lodging, hee and the Duchesse came forth to receiue vs at the end of a gallery, and then we entred all before him into his chamber, where we found two long rankes of chaires, set neere together the one before the other; in the one of the which they sate downe, and we in the other. They sate in this order; first one for the King of Romanes, then the ambassador of Spaine, then the Marquesse of Mantua, and the two Prouisors of Venice, and an ambassador of Venice, then the Duke of Milan and his wife, and last of all the ambassador of Ferrara: of their side none spake but the Duke alone, and of our side but one. But our manner is not to proceede so calmly nor so orderly as they: for we spake sometimes two or three together; but then the Duke vsed to reclaime vs, saying ho, one to one. When we came to pen the articles, all that was agreed vpon, was written by one of our Secretaries, & likewise by one of theirs, which also at our departure the two Secretaries read, the one in Italian and the other in French, and likewise at our next meeting, as well to the end that nothing should be altered, as also for the more expedition: and sure it is a good manner of proceeding in great and waighty affaires. This treaty endured about

Seeing it was forfeited, it ought of right to haue been forfeited into the Kings hands, of whom it was held, but not to the Duke of Milan.

The Marquesse of Mantua put himselfe in hostage, because the Duke of Orleans was to passe thorough the Italians campe.

Chap. 10. How the Duke of Orleans and his company were deliuered by composition out of their great miserie in Nauarre where they were besieged: and of the Swissers arrivall that came to succour the King and the said Duke of Orleans.



He Marshall of Gie accompanied with certaine of the Duke of Milans seruants, went to Nauarre, and caused the Duke of Orleans with a small traine to come forth of the town where of he was right glad. They within the towne were so miserably persecuted with famine and sickenes, that the said Marshall was forced to leaue his nephew called Monsieur de Romfort in hostage with them, promising that within three daies they should all come forth. You haue heard before how the Bailife of Digeon was sent into Swisserland to leuie fise thousand men among their Cantons, the which were not yet arriued when the Duke of Orleans came forth of Nouarre: for if they had, vndoubtedly in mine opinion we had fought. But notwithstanding that we were certainly aduertised that there came a much greater number than we sent for: yet could we not tary their comming because of our mens great distresse in Nouarre, where there died at the least two thousand of famine and sickenes: the rest also being so poore and miserable that they seemed rather dead carcafes then liuing creatures. And I thinke verily (setting the siege of Hierusalem aside) that neuer men sustained such hunger as they did. But if at their first entrie into the towne they had made good prouision of Corne, whereof they might haue recouered plenty in the villages there about) they should neuer haue been brought to such extremity: but on the other side, their enemies haue been forced to depart with great dishonor.

Three or fower daies after the Duke of Orleans departed out of Nouarre, it was agreed by both the parties that all the soldiers should likewise be permitted to come forth, and the Marques of Mantua, and Master Galeas of Saint Seuerin, Captaines, the one of the Venetians, the other of the Duke of Milans forces, were appointed to conueigh them in safety, and so they did. Further, as touching the towne of Nouarre it was put into the citizens hands, who were sworne to receiue into it neither French nor Italian, before the treaty of peace were fully concluded. Moreouer, thirty of our men remained still in the castell, whom the Duke of Milan permitted to haue victuals for their money from day to day. Vndoubtedly a man would neuer beleue the great miserie they were in that came forth of the towne, vnlesse he had seene them. Horses they brought forth but few, for they were in manner all eaten, and there were hardly fixe hundred men among them able to doe seruice, notwithstanding that there came forth 5500. A great number lay by the waies whom the enemies themselues releued. I for my part for the value of a crowne saued fifty of them, as they lay succourlesse in a garden neere to a little castle that the enemies held called Camarian; where I caused porrige to be giuen them, which so well refreshed them that in the said garden there died but one, and afterward vpon the way about fower, for it was ten miles from Nouarre to Verceil; whither when they arriued, the King bestowed his charity vpon them, and commaunded eight hundred frankes to be deuided among them, and paide them also their wages, as well the dead as the liuing, and the Swissers in like manner, of whom about fower hundred died in

Nouarre:

Nouarre: but notwithstanding all this their good cheerishing three hundred of them died at Verceil after their returne, some by feeding too greedily after their long famine, and some by sicknesse, so that a great number lay dead vpon the dunghils of the towne. About this present, after all our men were come foorth of the towne, except thirty that remained in the castell: (some of the which also daily sallied foorth) arriued the Swissers, eight or ten thousand of the which came and lodged with vs in our campe, where were already two thousand that had been with the King in this voiage of Naples: the rest of their company being likewise to the number of ten thousand encamped neere to Verceil. The King was aduised not to suffer these two bands to ioyn together, in the which were to the number of twenty and two thousand men: so that I thinke so many soldiers of their countrey were neuer together before. For the opinion of all those that knew their countrey was, that they left but few able men behinde them, and sure the greatest part of these came whether we would or not, in such sort that their wities and children would haue come with them, had not the straights at the entrie into Piemont been defended to stop them. A man may doubt whether this their comming proceeded of good affection or no, because the late King *Lewis* had bestowed great benefits vpon them, and was the cause of the great honor and renowne they haue won in the world. True it is that there were some olde men among them, that had borne great good will to King *Lewis*: for there came a number of Captaines aboue senentie two yeeres of age, the which had serued against Duke *Charles* of Burgundy: but the chiefe cause of their comming was couetousnes and pouerty. To say the truth all the able men that they could leuie came, and such a number of tall fellows they were, and so goodly a bande, that me thought it impossible to discomfite them, otherwise than by famine or cold, or some such distresse.

Let vs now returne to the principall matter, to wit the treaty. The Duke of Orleans (after he had well refreshed himselfe eight or ten daies, being accompanied with men of all sorts) supposing his honor to be stained, because such a number of men as were with him in Nouarre, had suffered themselues through meere folly to be brought to so great extremity, began to wish that we might fight, and talked very stoutly of the battell, and one or two more of his followers. Further, Monsieur *de Ligny*, and the Archbishop of Rouen (who gouerned the said Dukes affaires) and two or three other meane personages, suborned certaine Swissers to come and offer themselues to fight. But no reason could be alleaged why wee should so do: for the Duke of Orleans had no men in the towne more than the thirtie remaining in the castle, so that there was no cause why wee should aduventure the battell; for the King had no quarrell, neither meant to fight but onely for sauing the said Dukes person and his seruants. Besides this, our enemies were mighty, and it was impossible to assaile them in their campe, as well because they were entrenched round about, and their trenches full of water, as also because of the strong feat thereof. Moreouer, they had no enemies to inuade them but vs onely, for they stood now in no more feare of the towne. They were aboue 2800. men of armes barded, and five thousand light horsemen, and 11500. Almaines led by good captaines, to wit, Master *George* of Pietreplane, Master *Frederick Capelare*, and Master *Hauvce*, besides great force of footemen of their owne countries; so that they seemed to speake but vpon a brauery, that said we might take them in their campe, or that they would flie. Besides all this, another thing there was greatly to be feared, to wit, least these Swissers if they ioyned all together, should take the King and the noble men of the army, being but a handfull

in

in respect of them, and leadethem prisoners into their countrie; for some apparance there was that they meant so to doe, as you shall heare at the conclusion of the peace.

Chap. II. How the peace was concluded betweene the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one side, and the enemies on the other: and of the conditions and articles thereof.



* This treaty of Verceil was concluded the 9. of October.

While these matters were thus debated two and fro among vs, in such heate that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange fell at variance about them, so far forth that the Duke gaue him the lie: the Marshall of Gie, the Lord of Piennes, the President Gannay, the Lord Moruillier, the Vidafme of Chartres, and my selfe returned to the enemies campe and concluded peace: which notwithstanding that we perceiued by manifest tokens to be vnlike long to endure; yet necessity forced vs to conclude it, both because of diuers reasons aboue alieaged, because the winter constrained vs thereunto, because we lacked money: and also to the end wee might depart with an honorable peace, which should be sent abroad into the world in writing, as the King had concluded with his Councell, the Duke of Orleans being there present. The articles of the peace were these. That the Duke of Milan should beare the King his faith for Genua against all men: and that in respect thereof, he should arme two ships to the sea at his owne proper costs and charges, to succour the castels of Naples which held yet for the King. And further, that the next yeere he should furnish the King of three ships, and serue him in person in the conquest of the said realme, if the King himselfe happened to returne to conquire it againe. That he should giue passage to the Kings forces. And if the Venetians would not accept the peace within two moneths, but continue to defend the house of Arragon; that then he should take part with the King against them, and imploy his person and subiects for the Kings seruice, vnder this condition, that all that should be conquered of their dominions should be his. That he should release to the King fowerscore thousand ducats of the hundred and fower and twenty thousand that he had lent him in his voiage. That for performance of these conditions, he should deliuer to the King two hostages of Genua. That the castell of Genua should be put into the Duke of Ferraras hands, as neuter for two yeeres, and that the Duke of Milan should pay the one halfe of the garrison within it, and the King the other: and further, if the said Duke of Milan should refuse to do such seruices to the King for Genua, as he was bound to doe by this treatie; that then it should be lawfull for the Duke of Ferrara to put the said castell into the Kings hands. Last of all, that the said Duke of Milan should deliuer to the King two other hostages of Milan. These he deliuered, & so would he also the others of Genua, if the King had not departed so suddenly; but so soon as he saw him gone, he made delaias.

After we were returned from the enemies campe, and had aduertised the King that the Duke of Milan had sworne the treatie, and the Venetians taken two moneths respite to accept or refuse it (for more they would not condescend vnto) the King sware it also, and the second day after determined to depart, being very desirous both he and all the company to returne into Fraunce: but the selfe same night the Swissers that were in our campe assembled together each Canton apart, and strake vp their drummes; standing in order of battell by their ensignes, as their

maner

maner is in their consultations. All the which I write vpon the report of *Lornay*, who was then, and long time before had been one of their capitaines, and vnderstandeth well their language, and lodged that night in their campe, and came and aduertised the King of all these their actions.

Some of these Swissers gaue aduise to take the King and all his company; that is to say, the principall of the armie; others would not agree thereunto, but gaue counsell to demand paiement for three moneths, saying, that the King his father had promised them this paiement as often as they should depart out of their country with ensigne displayed: others were of opinion to take the principall of the armie, not touching the Kings person. This last opinion tooke place, so farre forth that they began to dispose themselves to execute it, a great number of their men being ready within the towne: but before they had fully concluded, the King parted and went to Trin, a towne in the Marquisat of Montferrat. Sure they did vs great wrong, to demand three moneths paiement (whereas King *Lewis* had promised them but one;) especially hauing done no seruice. To bee short, in the end we made an agreement with them, but they that had been with vs at Naples, had first taken the Bailife of Digéon and *Lornay* (who had euer been their capitaines) demaunding paiement of 15. daies for their departure. But the others had three moneths pay, amounting to fife hundred thousand franks; for the which summe, they were contented to take pledges and hostages. All this disorder happened by practise of certaine of our owne men, who moued them this to do, because they misliked the peace, as one of their Capitaines came and told the Prince of Orenge, who aduertised the King thereof.

When the King arriued at Trin, he sent the Marshall of Gie, the President *Gannay* and me, to the Duke of Milan, to desire him to come and speake with him. Wee alleaged many reasons to perswade him thereunto, saying, that by this meanes the peace should be fully confirmed: but he gaue forth diuers reasons to the contrary, and refused so to do; excusing himselfe vpon certaine speeches vttered by Monsieur *de Ligny* (who had aduised to take him prisoner when he was with the King at Pauia) and likewise by the Cardinall, who had all the credite with the King. But notwithstanding that many foolish words were indeed spoken, I know not by whom; yet sure I am that at this present the King greatly desired his friendship. He was in a place called Bolie, and agreed to speake with the King, so that a grate might be betweene them built vpon a bridge ouer a riuer. Vpon the returne of which answer the King departed to Quiers, where he staid but a night or two, and then tooke his iourney to passe ouer the mountaines, and sent me againe to Venice, and others to Genua to cause the two ships to bee manned², which the Duke of Milan was bound to lende him: but he performed no whit of that he promised; for after the King had been at great charges in arming of men to the said ships, the Duke would not let them depart; but on the contrarie side sent two to our enemies.

Chap. 12. *How the King sent the Lord Argenton to Venice with certaine conditions of peace which they refused: and of the Duke of Milans false dealings.*

* The Venetians hauing sent aide to King Ferrand had won Monopoly and Pulignane. Guicciar.



My ambassage to the Venetians was to know whether they would accept the peace, and agree to these three articles. First, to restore Monopoly to the King, which they had lately woun from vs. Secondly, to reuoke the Marquesse of Mantua, and the forces they had in the Realme of Naples, from King Ferrandes seruice. Lastly, to declare King Ferrande to bee none of their confederates, because none were comprehended in their league but the Pope, the King of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Milan. When I arriued at Venice, they receiued me very honorably, though not so honorably as at my former being there, and no maruell; for then we were in peace, but now in hostility. I did my message to the Duke, who welcommed me, and told me that shortly I should receiue mine answer, but that he would first consult with the Senate. Three daies they commanded generall processions and publike sermons; and dealt great almes, desiring God of his grace to direct them into the wisest course; which manner of proceeding (as I was there informed) they vse ordinarily in such like cases. Wherefore I must needs confesse, that this citie seemed to me the most deuout, as touching matters of religion, that euer I came in, and their Churches the best decked and trimmed; so that herein I account them equall with the ancient Romanes, and am fully perswaded, that thereof springeth the greatnes of their Seniorie: which sure is worthy rather to increase than diminish. But to returne to mine ambassage, I abode there fifteene daies before I was dispatched. The answer I receiued was a flat refusall of all my demaunds, with this excuse that they were not in war with the King, neither had done any thing but in defence of their confederate the Duke of Milan, whom the King sought to destroy. Afterward they caused the Duke to commune with me apart, who offered me a good composition, to wit, that King Ferrande by the Popes consent should hold the realme of Naples of the King by homage, and pay him yeerely fifty thousand ducats for tribute, and a certaine summe of money presently, the which they offered to lend, meaning to haue in gage for it the places which they now hold in Pouille, namely Brandis, Otrante, Trani, and the rest. And further, that for performance of these conditions, the said Dom Ferrande should deliuer to the King, or leaue in his hands certaine townes in Pouille, they meant Tarente which the King yet held, and one or two more that the said Ferrande should haue deliuered, which townes they offered vs on that side of Italy, because it was the furthest from vs, notwithstanding that they pretended the offer to be, because they stood commodiously to inuade the Turke: whereof the King had put men in great hope at his first entry into Italy, saying, that he attempted this conquest of Naples, to the end he might with the more expedition transport his forces against the said Turke, which was a wicked deuice, and a meere lie; for he meant nothing lesse, but from God no man can hide his thoughts. Moreouer, the Duke of Venice offered me, that if the King would attempt any thing against the Turke, he should haue free access to these places aboue named, that all Italy should be contributors to the wars; that the King of Romanes should inuade also on the other side, and that the King and they would gouerne Italy in such sort, that

that no man should refuse to pay that he should be rated at; and further, that they for their part would aide him vpon their owne proper costs and charges with an hundred gallies vpon the sea, and fīue thousand horses vpon the land.

I tooke my leaue of the Duke and the Seniorie, saying, that I would make report of their answer to the King. Then returned I to Milan, and found the Duke at Vigefue, and the Kings ambaffador with him; who was one of the Stewards of his house named *Rigaut Dorelles*. The Duke came foorth himfelfe to meete me, vnder colour of going a hunting: for they vse there to receiue ambaffadors with great reuerence, and lodged me in his castle very honorably. I desired to commune with him a part, and he promised that I should so do, though halfe against his will as it seemed. The castle of Naples held yet for the King: wherefore I meant earnestly to presse him for the two ships promised vs by the treaty of Verceil, the which were ready to depart, he in outward apparance seemed willing thereunto: But *Peron* of Basche Steward of the Kings house, and *Stephen de Nesnes* (who were at Genua for the King) so soone as they vnderstood of my arriual at Vigefue, wrote vnto mee, complaining of the Duke of Milans fallshood, who would not suffer the two ships to depart which he had promised vs, but on the contrary side had sent two to aid our enemies. They aduertised me further, that one day the gouernor of Genua made them answer that he would not suffer the said ships to be manned with any Frenchmen, and another day that he would put into each of them but fīue and twenty at the most, with diuers such like dissimulations, dallying and delaying the time till the castle of Naples were yccided, which the Duke knew well to be victualled but for a moneth or little more. And as touching the army that the King leuied in Prouence, it was not able to succour the castle without these two ships: for the enemies lay before it with a great Nauie, as well of their owne, as of the Venetians, and the Kings of Spaines. Three daies I abode with the Duke, and one day he sate in counsell with me, seeming to be discontented that I misliked his answer touching the said ships, and alleaged that by the treaty of Verceil he had promised to serue the King with two ships, but not that they should bee manned with French men. Whereunto I answered that this seemed to me a very slender excuse: for if he should lend mee a good mule to passe the mountaines withall, and afterward make mee leade her in my hand and not to ride vpon her, but looke vpon her onely, what pleasure did he me? After much debating, he and I withdrew our selues into a gallery, where I declared vnto him what great paines, both I and others had taken to conclude this treatie of Verceil, and into how great danger he brought vs by contrarying thus his promise, and causing the King by that meanes to lose the castles of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, whereby he should also ingender perpetuall hatred betweene the King and him. Further, I offered him the Princedome of Tarente and the Duchie of Bary, the which Duchie hee had alreadie. Lastly I shewed him the danger hee put both himfelfe and the whole estate of Italie into, by suffering the Venetians to hold these places in Pouille². And hee confessed I saide true, especially touching the Venetians: but his last resolution was that he should finde no faith nor assurance with the King.

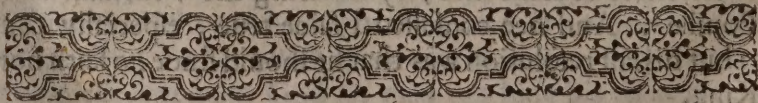
After this communication I tooke my leaue of him, he accompanied me vpon the way about a league. But euen at our very departure he deuised yet a cunninger lie than all the rest (if a man may vse such termes of a Prince,) for because I seemed to depart sad and melancholicke: he said vnto me (as a man suddenly altered) that he would do me a friendly turne to the end the K. might haue good

² For King Ferrande since King Charles his departure had ingaged to the Venetians fixe towne in Pouille vnder certaine conditions which are rehearsed hereafter. cap. 14.

cause to welcome me: for the next day he would send Master *Galeas* to Genua (more I could not wish when he named him to me) to cause the two ships to depart, and ioine with our armie; by meanes whereof he would saue the King the castle of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, as he should indeed, if he had done as he promised. He said further, that immediately after their departure he would aduertise me thereof with his owne hand, to the end I might bee the first man that should bring newes to the King, of this great seruice that I had done him, adding also that the Courier should ouertake me with his letters before my arriuall at Lyons. In this good hope departed I and tooke my iourney to passe the mountaines, thinking euery Poste that came after me to be the same that should haue brought me these letters. Notwithstanding I doubted somewhat thereof, knowing the nature of the man so well as I did. But to proceede in my voiage, I came to Chambery where I found the Duke of Sauoy who honorably intreated me; and staid me with him a day. Afterward I arriued at Lyons (without my Courier) to make report to the King of all that I had done, whom I found banketting and iusting, and wholly giuen to sport and pastime. Those that had misliked this treatie of Verceil were glad that the Duke of Milan had thus deluded vs: for their credit increased thereby, but me they potted at, as in such cases is vsuall in Princes courts, greatly to my griefe and discontentment.

³ He meaneth
the enterprise
of succouring
the castle of
Naples.

I made report to the King by mouth, and shewed him also in writing the Venetians offers aboue rehearsed whereof he made small account, and the Cardinall who gouerned all, much lesse. But that notwithstanding I mooued it to him afterward againe: for me thought it better to accept this offer then to lose all. Besides that, the King had no men about him able to deale in so waightie an enterprise: for those that were able and of experience, they that had all the credit neuer or very seldome called to counsell in any matter. The King would gladly they should oftner haue been called, but he feared to displease those that were of authority about him, especially those that gouerned his treasure, namely the said Cardinall and his brethren and kinsmen. Wherefore let all other Princes learne by the example of this, how fit and conuenient it is for themselves to take paines in the gouerning of their owne affaires; at the least sometimes, how requisite it is to call more than one or two to counsell, according to the varietie of the matters that are debated; and how necessarie it is to hold their counsellors almost in equall authoritie: for if one of them be so great, that the rest feare him (as one was both then and euer since about King *Charles*) he is King and Lord in effect, and the Prince himselfe is euill serued, as this King was by his gouernors, who sought only their owne profit and little regarded his, whereby himselfe was the lesse esteemed and the woofse thought of.



Chap. 13. How the King after his returne into Fraunce forgot those that he left behinde him in the realme of Naples: and how the Daulphine died, whose death the King and Queene much lamented.



Returned to Lyons the yeere 1495. the twelue of December, where the King was already arriued with his army, a yeere and two moneths after his departure out of his realme. The castles of Naples held yet for him as before you haue heard, and Monsieur de Montpensier his lieutenant there, was yet at Salerne in the realme of Naples with the Prince of Salerne: likewise Monsieur d'Anbigny was yet in Calabria where he had done great seruice: notwithstanding that he had beene sicke almost euer since the Kings departure. Master Gracian des Guerres was yet also in l'Abruzzo, Dom Iulian at Mont-saint-Ange, and George of Suly at Tarente: but they were all in greater distresse than is credible. Besides that, they could hardly receiue any newes or letters out of Fraunce, and those few they did receiue, were but abuses and faire promises without effect. For the King as you haue heard, dispatched nothing himselfe: and if they had been furnished in time but of the sixt part of the money that was spent afterward, they had neuer lost the realme. But in the end when all was yeelded, they receiued fortie thousand ducats onely, for part of a yeeres pay already passed: and yet if this small summe had come but one moneth sooner, the miseries and diuisions they afterward fell into, and the dishonor they receiued, had neuer chanced. All the which inconueniences hapned because the King dispatched nothing himselfe, neither would giue the messengers audience that came from them. And as touching his seruants to whom he committed the gouernement of his affaire: they were men of small experience, idle, & negligent, & some of them I thinke had intelligence with the Pope, whereby it manifestly appeared, that God had now altogether withdrawne his grace from the King, which at his going to Naples he had poured downe so plentifully vpon him.

After the King had sojourned at Lyons about two moneths, word was brought him that the Daulphine his sonne lay at the point of death, and within three daies after that hee was dead, which newes hee tooke heauily as nature would: notwithstanding his sorrowe soon ended. But the Queene of Fraunce and Duchesse of Britaine called Anne, lamented the death of her sonne, a long time, as much as was possible for a woman to do. And I thinke verily that besides the naturall griefe that women vse to conceiue in such cases, her minde gaue her that some greater euill hung ouer her head. The King her husband (as I haue said) mourned not long, but sought to comfort her, by causing certaine yoonge gentlemen to daunce before her, of the which the Duke of Orleans was one, being of the age of fower and thirty yeeres, who seemed to reioyce at the Daulphines death, because he was apparant to the crowne next after the King: for the which cause the King and he saw not one another in a long time after. The Daulphine was about three yeeres olde, a goodly childe, bolde in speech, and noe whit fearing those things that commonly children vse to feare. Wherefore (to bee plaine with you) his fathers sorrow soone ended: for hee began already to doubt if this childe grew to yeeres, and continued in his noble conditions, that happily he might diminish his estimation and authority: for the King himselfe was a man

of very small stature and of no great sense, but of so good a nature, that it was impossible to finde a gentler creature.

Hereby you may perceiue in how miserable estate Kings and Princes liue, who stand in feare of their owne children. King *Lewis* the eleuenth who was so wise and vertuous a Prince, stood in feare of this Kings *Charles* his sonne, but he provided well for it, and afterward died, leauing his said sonne King, being but fowerteene yeeres of age. The said King *Lewis* also had put King *Charles* the seuenth his father in feare of him: for being but thirteen yeeres of age, he mooued warre against him with certaine noble men and gentlemen of the realme, that misliked those that bare the sway in Court, and gouerned the estate, as King *Lewis* himselfe hath eftsoones told me: but this broile soone ended. Afterward also being come to mans estate, he fell at great variance with his father, and retired himselfe into Daulphine, and from thence into Flaunders, leauing the country of Daulphine to the said King his father, as I haue made mention about the beginning of this historie written of King *Lewis* the eleuenth. Wherefore it is manifest that no creature is exempt from trouble, but that all men eat their bread in trauell and sorrow, as God promised vs that we should soone after he had created man, the which promise he hath truly performed to al sorts of men. But great diuersity there is of troubles and sorrowes: for those of the bodie are the lesse, & those of the mind the greater: the sorrowes of wise men are of one sort, and the sorrow of fooles of another; but much greater grieve and passion endureth the foole than the wise man, and lesse comfort receiueth he in his sorrowes, though many suppose otherwise. The poore man that trauelleth and toileth his body to get foode to sustaine himselfe and his children, and paieth customes and subsidies to his Prince, should liue in too great discomfort and despaire, if Princes & great men had nothing but pleasure in this world, and he nothing on the contrary side but trauell and misery. But God hath otherwise disposed thereof; for if I should take vpon me to rehearse the sundry griefes, sorrowes, and passions that I haue seene diuers great personages sustaine, as well men as women within these thirty yeeres onely, a great volume would hardly containe them. I meane not such great personages as *Bocace* writeth of in his booke¹, but such as we see abound with wealth, and liue in health and prosperity; yea such as those that haue not bene conuersant with them as I haue been, would account in all respects happy; but I haue often seene their sorrowes and griefes arise of so small occasions, that they that were vnacquainted with them would hardly beleue it, the most part being grounded vpon ielousies and reports, which is a disease that lurketh secretly in great Princes Courts, and traineth with it infinite mischiefes both to their owne persons, their seruants, and all their subiects, and so much shorteneth their liues, that hardly any King of Fraunce since *Charles* the great hath passed the age of sixty yeeres. For the which cause, when King *Lewis* the eleuenth approched neere to that age (being sicke of this disease) he accounted himselfe a dead man. His father King *Charles* the seuenth, who had done so many noble acts in France, conceived an imagination in his sickenes, that his seruants went about to poison him, and therefore refused to receiue sustenance. Likewise his father K. *Charles* the sixt was troubled with so many suspicions, that he lost his wits, and all by reports. And sure this is the fault greatly to be blamed in Princes, that in these cases they cause not such matters as concerne themselues (be they of neuer so small importance) to be ripped vp: which if they did, they should not so often be troubled with false tales. For if they would examine the parties the one before the other, I meane the accuser, and him that is accused, no man durst report any thing

¹ Of vnfortunate noble men.

to them that were vnttrue. But some Princes there are of so doltish disposition, that they will promise and sweare to the accusers neuer to disclose their reports, whereby they are often troubled with these anguishes before mentioned, and hate and iniury their trustiest and faithfulest seruants and subiects, at the pleasure and vpon the complaint many times of lewd and naughty persons.

Chap. 14. How the King was aduertised of the losse of the castle of Naples: and how the Florentines places were sold to diuers men: of the treaty of Atelle in Pouille; to the great dammage of the French: and of the death of King Ferrande of Naples.

He Daulphin the Kings only sonne died about the beginning of the yeere 1496. which was the greatest misfortune that euer happened or could happen to the King: for he neuer had childe after, that liued. But this mischiese came not without company, for at the very same time receiued he newes that the castle of Naples was yeilded by those that the Lord of Montpensier left within it, who were forced thereunto, partly by famine, and partly to recouer the hostages deliuered by the said Montpensier to King Ferrande, whose names were Monsieur d' Alegre, one of the house of la Marche-d' Ardaigne, one called de la Capelle de Loudonnois¹, and one named Iohn Roquebertin Catelan. They that were within the castle returned by sea into France. Another great dishonor and losse receiued the King also at the same time which was this. Entragues, who held the Citadelle of Pisa (being the fort that keepeth the towne in subiection,) deliuered the said Citadelle to the Pisans contrary to the Kings oth², who had twice sworne to the Florentines to restore vnto them the said Citadelle and their other places, namely Serzane, Serzanelle, Pietresancte, Librefacto, and Mortron, which they had lent him in his great necessity at his first comming into Italy: at which time also they gaue him sixescore thousand ducats, whereof there remained vnpaid to vs but thirty thousand at our returne home, as before you haue heard. To be short, all these the Florentines places aboue named were sold: the Genuois bought Serzane and Serzanelle of a bastard of Saint Paule³, Pietresancte Entragues solde to the Luquois⁴, and Librefacto to the Venetians⁵, to the great dishonor both of the King and all his subiects, and to the vtter losse of the realme of Naples. The first oth the King sware for the restitution of these places (as before you haue heard) was at Florence vpon the high aultar of the cathedrall Church of Saint Iohn: the second in Ast at his returne, at which time the Florentines lent him thirtie thousand ducats (in his great neede) vnder condition that if Pisa were restored to them, he should repay no part nor parcell of this summe: but they would make restitution of the iewels engaged to them for it, and lend him 60000. ducats more, which they promised to cause to be paid then presently in the realme of Naples, to the Kings forces there. They offered further, to entertaine continually in the saide realme at their proper costs and charges, three hundred men of armes to do the King seruice till the said conquest were fully atchiued, of the which conditions none were performed, because of this euill dealing aboue mentioned. Besides that, wee were forced to restore the thirty thousand ducats that they lent vs, all the which inconueniences happened through disobedience and priuy whispering in the Kings care, for some of those that were neereft a-

1496.

¹ Before cap. 8. hee named him de la Chapelle d' Anion, but if Londonnois be in Anion the places be reconciled.

² The Venetians paid the money, for the Pisans were not able to redeeme it: but after the Citadelle deliuered, the

Pisans put themselves into the Venetians protection, who razed the Citadelle; Guicciar.

³ This bastards name was de Bienne. Guicciar.

⁴ Mutron was also sold to the Luquois. Guicciar.

⁵ Librefacto was sold to the Pisans, but the Venetians paid the money. Guicciar.

bout him, encouraged *Enragues* to sell these places.

* This *Virgill*
Vrsin is he a-
boue mentio-
ned, who after
the Coulon-
nois reuel-
from King
Charles, turned
to him, and of
his foe becam
his friend and
seruant.

At the selfe sametime within two moneths ouer or vnder, in the beginning of this yeere 1496. the Lord of Montpensier, the Lord *Virgill Vrsin* * Master *Camel-ly Vitelly*, and the rest of the French captaines, seeing all thus lost: put themselues into the fiede, and tooke certaine small places. But King *Ferrande* sonne of King *Alphonse*, who was entred into religion (as before you haue heard) accompanied with the Marqueffe of Mantua, brother to the said *Montpensiers* wife, and General of the Venetians, marched against them. They found the said *Montpensier* lodged in a towne called Atelle, a place very commodious for prouisions of victuals, and seated on a hill, vpon the which our enemies fortified their campe as men fearing the battell, because the said King *Ferrande* and his forces had beene discomfited in all places, as was also the Marqueffe of Mantua at Fornoue where we fought with him. The said Marques the Venetians had lent to King *Ferrande* with a certaine summe of money, but of small value in respect of the places they had in gage for it, which were these fixe townes in Pouille of great importance. Brandis, Tranie, Galipoli, Crana, Otrante, and Monopoly, the least of the which since the Kings departure they had woon from vs. Moreouer in the said summe of money they comprehended the wages of their soldiers that serued the saide *Ferrande*, so that they hold these places for two hundred thousand ducats; yea, and now they require the charges they haue beene at in the fortification and defence of them, so that I am fully perswaded they minde neuer to restore them: for they vse not so to doe, when townes lie commodiously for them, as these do, being situate vpon the Adriatike gulse, so that by meanes of them they are Lords of the said gulse, which one of the things they principally desire; and no maruell, for it is from Otrante (which is the very point of the said gulse) to Venice at the least nine hundred miles. And notwithstanding that the Pope held certaine places also vpon the said gulse intermingled among these Venetian townes: yet were all passengers forced to pay custome to Venice: wherefore the possession of these places is more beneficiall to them than the world weeneth for they receiue yeerely from thence great plenty of corne and oile, which are two necessarie things for their prouision.

At the said place of Atelle aboue mentioned, our men fell at variance as well for their victuals which began now to diminish, as also for their pay the soldiers were vnpaid for eightene moneths and more, by meanes whereof they had liued in great misery. To the Almaines also much was due, but not so much: for all the money that Monsieur de Montpensier could leuie in the realme was paid to them, yet notwithstanding they were vnpaid for a yeere and more, but they had spoiled diuers small townes whereby they were maruellously enriched. If the fortie thousand ducats promised them had beene sent in time, or if they had knowne they should haue receiued them at Florence, this variance had neuer hapned, but now they remained altogither in despaire: diuers of our captaines haue enformed me that if our men would haue agreed to fight, they were like ynough to haue obtained the victory: and if they had beene discomfited, yet should not their losse haue beene so great, as by the shamefull composition they made. *Montpensier* and *Virgile Vrsin*, who were the best men of warre among them would haue fought, and euil hap it was to them that they did not: for K. *Ferrande* brake the composition, & put them both in prison, where they miserably ended their liues. They laide the blame that they fought not vpon Monsieur *del Perfi* a yoong gentleman, of Auuergne, whom they accursed as a mutinous knight, and disobedient to his captain. You shal vnderstand that in this army were two sorts

of

of Almaines, the first were Swisſers to the number of ſiſteene hundred, whom the King left there at his departure from Naples, the which ſerued faithfully euen till the hower of death, ſo that it was impoſſible for men to ſerue more valiantly than they did. The other ſort were thoſe whom we cal commonly Lands knights (that is to ſay, ſeruants of the countrey) the which hate naturally the Swiſſers. They are of all parts of Germanie, as for example, of the countreies lying vpon the Rhine, and of Swobland, ſome there were alſo of the countrey of Vaulx in Senonie⁷, and ſome of Gelderland. Theſe were to the number of eight hundred newly ſent thither with two moneths pay, the which being ſpent before they came thither, and at their arriual there, no new pay being found: they ſeeing themſelues in this diſtreſſe, declared that they bare vs no good will as the Swiſſers do; for they practiſed with our enemies, and turned to King Ferrande, for the which cauſe partly, and partly for the diuiſion that was among our capitaines, our men made a ſhamefull appointment with our enemies, the which King Ferrande ſware to keep and obſerue, being forced ſo to doe by the Marqueſſe of Mantua, who thought thereby to aſſure the perſon of his brother in law, Monsieur de Montpenſier, yet notwithstanding the ſaid Ferrande brake the treatie, as afterward mention ſhall be made more at large.

By the ſaid compoſition they yeilded both themſelues and all the Kings artillerie to their enemies, promiſing further, to cauſe to be rendred all the places that the King held in the realme, as well in Calabria where Monsieur de Aubigny was, as in L'Abruzzo where Maſter Gratian des Guerres was, together with the townes of Caietta and Tarente; vnder this condition, that King Ferrande ſhould ſend them by ſea into Prouence with bag and baggage, which was not much worth; but notwithstanding the compoſition King Ferrande commanded them all to be led to Naples, being to the number of five or ſix thouſand perſons or more. So ſhamefull a compoſition hath not been made in our time, neither do I remember that euer I read of the like, ſaue that which the two conſuls of Rome made (as rehearſeth Titus Liuius⁸) with the Samnitiks (whom I ſuppoſe to be thoſe of Beneuent) at a place called then *Furculæ Caudina*, which is a certaine ſtraight in the mountaines: notwithstanding the Romanes would not agree to the compoſition, but ſent the two Conſuls priſoners to their enemies.

If our force had fought and been diſcomfited, yet ſhould not their loſſe haue been ſo great, as by this compoſition: for two parts of them died euer offſamine, or of the plague in their ſhips in the yle of Pruſſe⁹, whither they were ſent from Naples by King Ferrande: and namely, there died Monsieur de Montpenſier himſelfe, ſome ſay of poyſon, others of an ague, which I rather beleeu. And I thinke verily that of all this company neuer returned ſiſteene hundred: for of the Swiſſers which were thirteene hundred, returned but three hundred and ſiſtie all extreme ſicke. Their faith and loyaltie was greatly to be commended: for they all choſe rather to die than to ſerue King Ferrande, and ſo a number of them did in the ſaid yle of Pruſſe, ſome of heate, ſome of ſickneſſe, and ſome of famine: for they were held there a long time in their ſhips, in ſuch penurie and lacke of victuals, as is almoſt incredible. I ſaw them all that returned, eſpecially the Swiſſers, who brought backe with them all their enſignes: and ſure it well appeared that they had endured great miſe; ie, for they were all ſo extreme ſicke, that when they came forth of their ſhips to take the aire, they were ſaine to be ſtaied vp from falling. It was alſo agreed by the ſaid compoſition that the L. Virgil Frſh ſhould returne home to his countrey in ſafetie, and his ſonne, and all the Italians that ſerued the King: yet notwithstanding the enemies detained him ſtill,

⁷ The French corrector readeth it *Sionnie* meaning the countrey called in Latin *Valeſia Seduſicorum*, whereof *Sedunum* called in French *Sion*, is the chiefe towne: or elſe he ſuppoſeth it ſhould be *Vaulx* in Sauioy, whereof our author maketh mention lib. 5. cap. 1.

⁸ Decad. 1. lib. 9.

⁹ *Proclita* it is named by *Colleenius*, other Italians name it *Ponze*. I ſuppoſe it to be that, which *Plinie* lib. 3. cap. 6. calleth *Proclita* or *Prochita*, ſaying that it lieth in *Sinu Puteolano* not far from Naples, nor from the yle of *Ichia*. *Boccaccio* alſo Decade 2. nouell. 6. reporteth both *Proclita* and *Ponze* to be neere to Naples. *Guicciard* hath *Pozzuolo*.

and

and his said legitimate sonne also ; for he had but one : and as touching his base sonne called the Lord *Charles* (who was a very valiant gentleman) certaine Italians of their company spoiled him as he repaired homeward. If this misery had fallen but vpon them only that made this composition, they had not been greatly to be moned. Immediately after King *Ferrand* had receiued this honor aboue mentioned, and married King *Ferrand* his grandfathers daughter, being a yoong maide of thirteen or fowerteen yeeres of age, begotten of the King of Castiles sister that now reigneth (so that his wife was sister to his owne father King *Alfonse*) he fell into a continuall ague, whereof soone after he died, and the crowne of the realme descended to K. *Frederick* (the said King *Ferrandes* vncke) now presently reigning. It abhorreth me to write of such a mariage as this, notwithstanding diuers such haue been contracted in this house of Arragon within these 30. yeeres. King *Ferrande* died immediately after the composition aboue mentioned made in the towne of Atelle, the yeere of our Lord 1496. The said *Ferrand* during his life, and Dom *Frederick* also after he came to the crowne, excused the breach of this composition, because Monsieur *de Montpensier* had not performed the conditions thereof, nor rendred the places promised, which he could not to say the truth, Caietta and diuers others being out of his power. For notwithstanding that he were the Kings lieutenant, yet were not they that held these places for the King, bound to yeeld them at his commandement. Although all things well considered, the King should haue sustained no great losse, if they had then been yeelded ; for he spent afterward great treasure in defending and victualling them, and yet lost them in the end. My selfe was present three or fower times at the dispatch of those that were sent to victuall and succour, first the castles of Naples, and thrise after the towne of Caietta. And I thinke I should not lye if I said that these fower voiaiges cost the King aboue three hundred thousand franks : and yet all to no purpose.

Chap. 15. How certaine practises entertained by diuers noble men of Italy on the Kings behalfe, as well for the conquest of Naples, as of the Duchie of Milan, failed for lacke of sending thither : and how another enterprise against Genoua speed euill also.



THE King after his returne from Naples abode at Lyons a long time (as before you haue heard) holding iusts and turneies. It greeued him to lose the places in Italy aboue mentioned, which he yet held ; neither cared he what treasure he spent in defence of them, but he would take no paines himselfe in gouerning his owne affaires. Moreouer, he was aduertised daily of diuers practises entertained on his behalfe in Italy, which notwithstanding that they were both dangerous and chargeable : yet was he of power sufficient to haue atchieued them, because his realme is populous, and plentifull of graine in Prouence and Languedoc, and hath also a number of other wealthy countries, where money might haue been leuied. But if any other Prince besides the King of Fraunce should attend to these Italian practises, and aduenture to entermeddle in their enterprises, he should but vndoe himselfe, spend his treasure, and effect nothing. For the Italians neither doe nor can serue but for money, except it be a Duke of Milan, or one of the greatest Seniories : but a poore captaine be he neuer so well affectioned to

to the seruice of a King of Fraunce pretending title to the realme of Naples, or the Duchie of Milan, be he neuer so faithfull and trustie, yet shall he not be able to do him seruice any long time after his payment faileth, because his men will forsake him, and the poore captain shall be vtterly vndone: for the greatest part of them liue onely vpon the credit they win by the seruice of their soldiers, who are paid by their capitaine, and he of him whom he serueth, which is the cause why they desire in Italy nothing but factions and ciuill warres. But as touching the practises aboue mentioned, you shall vnderstand that they began before the towne of Caietta was lost, to wit, immediately after the King perceiued that the Duke of Milan would not performe the conditions of the treatie of Verceil, and continued after the losse of the said towne, the whole space of two yeeres after the Kings returne home. As touching the said Duke of Milan, he brake not his promise altogether vpon malice and trecherie, but partly for feare: for he doubted that the King would destroy him if he obtained the realme of Naples: besides that, he accounted the King a Prince in whom was no constancie nor assurance. But to proceed, one of these enterprises aboue mentioned, was to inuade the Duchie of Milan after this sort. Order was giuen that the Duke of Orleans should go to Ast to enter with a good band of men on that side, whom I saw once so neere his departure, that his traine was already gone. We were sure of the Duke of Ferraras friendship, for he had promised to aide vs (notwithstanding that he were the Duke of Milans father in law) with five hundred men of armes, and two thousand footmen, which his promise vndoubtedly he would haue performed, to the end he might haue deliuered himselfe of the danger he was in, lying iust in the midst between the Venetians and the said Duke: for not long before (as I haue already made mention) the Venetians had taken from him the Polesan, and sought wholly his destruction: wherefore he would haue preferred his owne safetie and his childrens, before his sonne in lawes friendship; yea, and peraduenture he thought that the Duke of Milan seeing himselfe in this extremitie would make some appointment with the King¹. Moreouer, by the said Duke of Ferraras meanes, the Marques of Mantua was become our friend, who lately had been and yet was generall of the Venetians, but held in great ielousie of them, and he likewise being discontented with them, soiourned with three hundred men of armes with his father in law the Duke of Ferrara: for you shall vnderstand that he then had, and yet hath to wife the Duches of Milans sister, daughter to the said Duke of Ferrara. Master *Iohn Bentiuoille* who gouerneth Bologna, and is as it were Lord thereof, promised to aide vs with a hundred and fiftie men of armes, and a good band of footmen, and to send to the Kings seruice two of his sonnes, who were captaines of certaine companies of horsemen, and such was the seat of his countrey, that he might haue done great seruice against the Duke of Milan. The Florentines who saw themselves vtterly vndone (vnlesse by large expences they recouered their losses) fearing to be diseased of Pisa and the other places aboue mentioned²; would haue furnished eight hundred men of armes, and five thousand footmen vpon their owne proper costs and charges, and had already provided their payments for sixe moneths. The *Vrsins* and the Prefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* (so often before named,) being in pay with the King, would haue furnished a thousand men of armes: but you shall vnderstand that their men of armes are not accompanied with archers as ours be, but their wages and ours are much alike: for a yeeres pay of one of their men of armes amounteth to a hundreth ducats, and the wages of one of ours is double as much because of his archers. These merce-

¹ I vnderstand against the Venetians, by the which meanes he might haue recouered the Polesan, and the rest that they withheld from him.

² For you must vnderstand that these practises began before their places were sold,

narie

marie soldiers the King should haue paid, but as touching the Florentines they should haue paid their forces themselues. The Duke of Ferrara also, the Marques of Mantua and Bentiuoille, offered this aide vpon their owne charge, for they hoped to conquer in the Duchie of Milan as much as should counteruaile their cost. And if the Duke of Milan had been suddenly inuaded by the Duke of Orleans, and all these aboue rehearsed at one instant, his confederates (namely the Venetians) could not haue succoured him (though they would haue spent all their treasure in his defence) before he must haue been forced to reuolt to the King, who would haue kept these Italians in the field a long time. And the Duchie of Milan being once woon, the realme of Naples would haue yeilded of it selfe.

The stay of this goodly enterprise proceeded of the Duke of Orleans, who suddenly altered his minde the night before he should haue departed: for he had already sent before him all things necessarie for his person, and none remained to depart but himselfe onely: for the army was in a readinesse, their wages paid them, and they all gone before to Ast, being to the number of eight hundred men of armes French, and six thousand footmen: among the which were fower hundred Swissers. But the said Duke of Orleans being thus suddenly altered, besought the King twice, to propound this matter againe to his Counsell, and so he did, my selfe being present at the debating of it both times, and the whole Counsell concluded that he should go, not one man speaking to the contrary: notwithstanding that there were present at each time ten or twelue Counsellors at the least. And sure so had it been most conuenient, considering that we had therof assured our friends in Italy aboue named: all the which had been at great charges, and were in a readinesse. But the Duke of Orleans being present at the debating of this matter himselfe, made answer (either by the aduise of some one, or for that he shunned this enterprise, because he saw the King euill disposed of his body, whose heire he should be if he died) that he would neuer take vpon him this voiage for his owne particular quarrell, but willingly by the Kings commandement as his lieutenant, with the which answer the counsell arose. The next day and many daies after, the ambassadors of Florence and diuers others, pressed the King earnestly to command the Duke to depart. Whereunto the King answered, that he would neuer force him to the wars against his will. Thus was this voiage dashed to the Kings great griefe, both because of the great charges he had sustained; and also because he was in good hope (if it had proceeded) to haue been reuenged of the D. of Milan, considering what intelligences he had already, and what other intelligences he might haue had at that time, by meanes of Master *Iohn Iames* of Treuoul, lieutenant generall for him and the Duke of Orleans in these Italian wars, who was a Milanois borne, and very well beloued and friended in his countrey, where he had good intelligence with many both of his kinsmen and others. This enterprise thus failing another succeeded, yea two or three at a clap against Genua: where the people are euer inclined to diuision; one of these enterprises was managed by Master *Baptiste de Campesfourgouse*, who was chiefe of one of the factions in the towne, but banished, and his faction of no authoritie at that time, neither yet the house of Orie, who are gentlemen, and they of Fourgousi none. The said *D'Orie* take part with the Fourgouses, but none of them may be Duke, because they are gentlemen, for no gentleman may be Duke of Genua: but this *Baptiste* had been Duke not long before, and lost the gouernment by the trecherie of his vnckle the Cardinall of Genua, who of late yeeres put the Seniorie of Genua into the Duke of Milans hands.

hands. So that at this present the *Adornes* governed Genua, who in like manner are no gentlemen, but haue often been Dukes by helpe of the Spinolles who are gentlemen; so that the gentlemen make the Duke of Genua, but cannot be Dukes themselves. This *Baptista* trusted that his faction would arise in his fauor, both in the towne and countrey, and that the towne being recovered, the soueraigntie thereof should remaine to the King, but he and his faction gouerne, and banish their enemies. The other enterprise was this, diuers of Sauonne addressed themselves to the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* ³, and promised to yeeld the towne to him, hoping thereby to recouer their libertie; for they are vnder the Genuois gouernment, and pay tribute to them. If we had entred into this place, Genua should haue been greatly distressed, the countrey of Prouence being in subiection to the King, and Sauoy wholly at his deuotion. Wherefore the King being aduertised of all these enterprises, wrote to Master *John Iames* of Treuoul to aide Master *Baptiste de Campesfourgouse* with force to conueigh him to the gates of Genua, to see whether his faction would arise in his fauour. And on the other side he was so earnestly pressed by the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*, that he sent other letters at the selfe same time to the said Master *John Iames*, commanding him to lend the said Cardinall men to conueigh him to Sauonne: and the like commandement sent he him also by mouth by the Lord of Sernon in Prouence, who was great friend to the said Cardinall and a stout talker. Besides these two commandements, came yet a third, which was, that the said Master *John Iames* should retire into some place where he might conueniently aide both these parties aboue mentioned, and yet attempt nothing against the Duke of Milan, nor the treatie of peace made the summer before with him, which commandement was cleane contrary to the two former.

Thus you see how great Princes affaires are gouerned when they vnderstand them not themselves, but command letters and dispatch men vpon a sudden, before they heare matters well debated. For as touching the demaunds of Master *Baptiste de Campes* and the said Cardinall, it was impossible to satisfie them both at once, for *Baptiste* durst not go to the wals of Genua without great force, because the towne is very populous, and the people well armed, and hardy and valiant soldiers: wherefore if Master *John Iames* should at the same time haue lent men also to the Cardinall, his army had been diuided into three companies; for part of the force must haue remained with himselfe. In the meane time diuers bands arriued at Genua, and at Sauonne, sent thither by the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, who both feared greatly the reuolt of Genua, as did also Dom *Frederick* and the Pope.

Besides these two enterprises, the said Master *John Iames* had yet a third in his head, of his owne deuise, which was this, he would haue broken off both these other enterprises, and haue marched with the whole force straight against the Duke of Milan, and vndoubtedly if he had not been countermaunded, he would haue done some great exploit. His enterprise he was already entred into, and had aduertised the King thereof, pretending that he could not otherwise aide them that should go to Genua or Sauonne to the enterprises aboue mentioned. Wherefore vnder colour thereof, he led his army into the high way between Alexandria and Genua (which was the onely way the Duke of Milan could send to inuade our bands that should go to Genua and Sauonne) and three or fower small townes he tooke, which voluntarily receiued him, aduertising the King that this notwithstanding, he made no war vpon the Duke of Milan, seeing he was forced of necessitie (for the safetie of those that should go to the other enterprises) to

³ This Cardinall was borne at Sauonne.

doe

doe as he did: adding, that the King could not be said to make warre vpon the Duke of Milan, for seeking to conquer Genua or Sauonne, because they were held of him and forfeited to him; but this enterprife was dashed by the Kings commandement. Further, to satisfie the Cardinall, the said Master *John Iames* lent him part of the army to conueigh him to Sauonne, but he found the place manned, and thereupon gaue ouer his enterprife and returned. He lent men also to Master *Baptiste* to conueigh him to Genua, who assured him that his enterprife should take effect: but when he was three or fower leagues vpon the way, they that accompanied him began to be ielous of him, as well the Almaines as the French, wherein notwithstanding that they did him wrong, yet sure their company being but small, should haue put themselves in great danger, if they had gone to Genua, and his faction had not hapned to arise. Thus all these enterprifes sped euill, and the Duke of Milan, who had been greatly distressed, if Master *John Iames* had been suffered to inuade him with the whole force, was now strong; for the Venetians had sent diuers bands to his aide. Whereupon our army retired, our footmen were dismissed, and these little townes that were taken abandoned: and thus ended these warres, smally to the Kings profit, who consumed infinite treasure therein.

Chap. 16. Of certaine controuersies between King Charles and Ferrande King of Castile, and of the ambassadors that were sent to and fro to pacifie them.

1 Gauciar reporteth that the Cardinall indeede was anemie to the voyage of Naples, and itared all dispatches and payments of money: whereby it was thought that he had intelligence with the Pope, though outwardly he seemed a friend to the enterprife.

2 The Seneschall came by sea out of the realm of Naples into France to demand aide, but before he could returne the realme was lost.

3 As Virgill Æneid. lib. 3.

4 This straight was called in times past *Ætium Siculum*, in the which are the famous rocke of *Sylla* and gulf of *Charibdis*. To the



What hapned from the Kings returne out of Italy (which was about three or fower moneths before the end of the yeere 1495.) till the begiuning of the yeere 1498 I haue already rehearsed: for all that space I was resident in the Court, and present at the debating of most part of those affaires. The King rode about from Lyons to Moulins, and from Moulins to Tours, holding tourneies and iusts in all places, and minding nothing else. Those that were of the greatest authoritie about him, were so diuided, that more they could not be; for some of them would that the conquest of Naples should still continue, because their profit and credit depended thereupon, namely, the Cardinall¹, and the Seneschall², who gouerned all the Kings affaires: on the other side, the Admirall, who before this voyage had borne all the sway with the yoong King, would in any wise that these Italian enterprises should cease, and travelled to ouerthrow them, knowing that the quailing of them would turne greatly to his profit, and be a meanes whereby he might recouer his former credit and authoritie, and the others fall into disgrace.

Thus passed the Kings affaires about a yeere and a halfe, during the which space he sent ambassadors to the King and Queene of Castile, who were in warre with him, and whose friendship he greatly desired, because they were mighty both by sea and land. And notwithstanding that they did no great exploit vpon the land, yet had they sent great aide by sea to King *Ferrande* and King *Frederick* of Naples: for the yle of Sicilie is distant from Reges in Calabria but a league and a halfe, so that some hold opinion it was once firme land with Italie³, and that the sea breaking in, made this straight⁴ now named

the Far⁵ of Messine. The said yle of Sicilie was then and yet is, in subiection to the King and Queene of Castile, who sent from thence great aide to Naples, as well of great ships called Carauels that came out of Spaine, as also of men. Moreouer, in the yle of Sicilie it selfe, a company of men of armes was leuied, the which passed into Calabria with a certaine number of genetaries⁶, and made war vpon the Kings forces there. Besides this, their ships were continually with the confederates nauie, by meanes whereof, when all their forces were together, the King was much too weake for his enimies vpon the sea, but otherwise the King of Castile endammaged him not much. True it is, that once a great company of horsemen entred into Languedock, and spoiled the countrey, and lodged in it three or fower daies; but other exploit did they none. Then the Lord of Saint André in Bourbonnois, who defended those frontiers for the Duke of Bourbon the Kings lieutenant in Languedock, attempted to take Sausses a little towne in the countrey of Rouffillon, because on that side they had inuaded the Kings dominions about two yeeres before. For you shall vnderstand, that the King had restored vnto them the said countrey of Rouffillon⁷, whereof the territorie of Parpignan is parcell, in the which this little towne of Sausses is situate. His enterprife was great and dangerous, for the towne was well manned though it were but small, and a great number of gentlemen of the King of Castiles house were within it; besides that, their army being stronger than ours lay abroad in the fields encamped within a league of the place: yet notwithstanding the said Lord of Saint André so wisely & closely guided his enterprife, that within ten houres he tooke the towne by assault, as my selfe can witnesse, and at the breach were flaine thirty or forty Spanish gentlemen of marke, among whom was the Archbishop of Saint James his sonne, besides three or fower hundred common soldiers. They thought not that the towne could haue been taken so suddenly; for they vnderstood not the feate of our artillerie, which vndoubtedly is the best in the world:

This is all the exploit that was done betweene these two Princes, whereof though the effects were but small: yet great was the shame and dishonor the King of Castile receiued thereby, his army being so strong as it was: but where God is disposed to punish, commonly such small scourges runne before. For the said King and Queene of Castile were shortly after otherwise punished, and so were we also. But sure as touching them they much stained their honor in violating their oath giuen to the King, who had dealt so bountifully with them, by restoring them the countrey of Rouffillon, the fortification and defence wherof had been so chargeable to his father, who had it in pawn for three hundred thousand crownes, which summe also the King forgaued them, all to the end they should not impeach nor hinder his voyage to Naples. Moreouer, they renewed the ancient league between Fraunce and Castile, which is between King and King, realme and realme, and man and man of their subiects, and promised not to hinder his said conquest, nor marry any of their daughters into Naples, England or Flanders, which straight offer of mariage proceeded of themselues: for a Frier Franciscan called Frier *Iohn de Mauleon* made this ouerture on the Queene of Castiles behalfe. Yet all this notwithstanding so soone as they saw the war begun, and heard that the King was at Rome, they sent ambassadors round about to enter into league against him, and namely to Venice, I being there present, where the league aboue mentioned was concluded between the Pope, the King of Romans, them, the Seniorie of Venice, and the Duke of Milan: immediately whereupon they inuaded the Kings dominions, alleaging that such a

⁵ Pharus here named Far, is a towre vpon the promontorie Polorus, ten miles from Messine; vpon the very straight between Reges and Sicilie, to giue light to those that passe in the night through the straight: of this towre the straight is now named Far.

⁶ These be Spanish horsemen so named of their ginnets.

⁷ Vnderstand before his voyage to Naples.

promise was not to be performed, meaning the mariage of their children (being fower daughters and one sonne) into the houses aboue mentioned, which ouerture notwithstanding proceeded of themselves, as before you haue heard.

But to returne to the matter. After these wars in Italie were ended, and all lost in the realme of Naples saue Caietta, which the King yet held when these treaties of peace began between him and the King and Queene of Castile: but soon after lost also, and the wars in the countrey of Roussillon being in like manner ended, so that none sought to endamage other, but each party to defend their owne: they sent to King *Charles* a gentleman accompanied with certaine Monks of Montferrat, for all their affaires they gouerned by such men, either to saue charges thereby, or to dissemble by such instruments with the lesse suspicion, as for example they did by *Iohn de Mauleon* the Frier Franciscane aboue named, who perswaded the King to restore vnto them the countrey of Roussillon. These ambassadors at their first audience, besought the King to forget the great wrong the King and Queene had done him. I name alwaies the Queene because the crowne of Castile mooued by her, and because her authoritie was greater there than her husbands: and vndoubtedly this was a very honorable mariage between the King her husband and her. Then these ambassadors began to treat of truce, desiring to haue all their league comprehended therein. The ouertures they made were these: that the King should keep the possession of Caietta, and the other places he yet held in the realme of Naples, and that during the truce he might victuall them at his pleasure. Further, that there should be a place assigned whither all the Princes of the league should send their ambassadors (at the least, as many as would) to treat of peace, the which being concluded: the said King and Queen meant to continue their conquest or enterprise against the Moores, and to passe the sea out of Granado into Africke, there to inuade the King of Fessa who was their next neighbour on that side. Notwithstanding some were of opinion that they meant rather to hold themselves contented with that they had already conquered, I meane the realme of Granado, which vndoubtedly was the greatest and honorablest conquest that hath been obtained in our time⁸; yea such as their predecessors were neuer able to atchieue. And I wish with all my heart for the honor I beare them, that they had neuer mooued other warre than this, but had faithfully performed their promise to the King. The King sent the Lord of Clerieux in Daulphine backe into Castile with their ambassadors, and sought to conclude a peace or truce wherein their confederates should not be comprehended: notwithstanding if he had accepted their offer made by these their ambassadors, he had saued Caietta, which had been sufficient for the recouerie of the whole realme of Naples, considering the great fauour he had there. The said *de Clerieux* at his returne brought a new ouerture (for Caietta was lost before he entred into Castile) which was, that the King and they should renew their former ancient league, and attempt between them at equall charges the conquest of all Italy, whereat the two Kings should be together in person: but they said they would first conclude a generall truce, wherein all their league should bee comprehended, and then assigne a diet at some place in Piemont, whither euery of their confederates should send their ambassadors, to the ende they might honorably depart from their said league. All this ouerture as we suspected then and vnderstood perfectly afterward, was but meere dissimulation to win time, to the end King *Ferrand* while he liued, and afterward Dom *Frederick* newly crowned King might repose themselves: notwithstanding I thinke they wished with all their hearts the said realme of Naples

⁸ They conquered Granado anno 1486. which the Sarracens had held 700. yeeres.

to be their owne, and sure they had better title to it, than they that possessed it. ⁹ How they had better title, and how the house of Anion had the best, the pedigree in the end of the booke will declare.

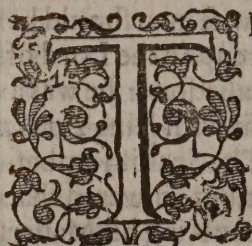
But vndoubtedly the house of Anion right which the King had was the best, although to say the truth considering both the seate of the countrey, and the disposition of the people that inhabite it, me thinke he hath best right to it that can get it, for they desire nothing but alteration. The K. afterward sent the aboue named *de Clerieux* backe againe into Castile and one *Michael* of Grammont with him, with certaine other ouuertures. This *de Clerieux* bare some affection to these Princes of Arragon, and hoped to obtaine of them the Marquisat of Cotron in Calabria, which the King of Spaine conquered in the last voiage that his men made thither. The said *de Clerieux* pretended title to it, and he is a good plaine dealing man, and one that will easily giue credit, especially to such personages as these were. At his second returne he brought with him an ambassador from the King and Queene, and made his report to the King, which was, that they would hold themselves contented with that part of the realme of Naples that lies next to Sicilie (to wit, Calabria) for the right that they pretended to the said realme, and that the K. should hold the rest: and farther that the said K. of Castile would be in person at this conquest, and beare equall charges in all things with the King, and indeed he held then and yet holdeth fower or fife strong places in Calabria, whereof Cotron is one, which is a good and a well fortified citie. I was present at this report, which seemed vnto most of vs but meere abuse and dissimulation. Wherefore it was determined that some wise man should be sent to them to found the bottom of this ouverture, and thereupon the Lord of Bouchage was ioyned in commission with the former ambassadors: he was a man of deep iudgment, and one that had been in great credit with King *Lewis*, and so is he also at this present with King *Charles* his sonne. The Spanish ambassador that came with *de Clerieux* would neuer auow his report, but answered that he thought the said *de Clerieux* would not make the report, if the King his Master and the Queene had not willed him so to doe; which answer caused vs so much the more to suspect their dissimulation: besides that, no man would beleue that the King of Castile would goe in person into Italy, or that he either would or could beare equall charges with the King.

After the said Lords of Bouchage, *Clerieux*, and *Michael* of Grammont with the rest of their colleagues were come to the King and Queene of Castiles court, they lodged them in a place where no man could come to commune with them, for the which purpose also certaine were appointed to watch their lodgings. But they themselves spake thrise with them: and when the said *du Bouchage* aduertised them of the report aboue mentioned made to the King by *de Clerieux*, and *Michael* of Grammont: they answered that they would willingly endeuer themselves to conclude a peace for the Kings honor and profit. And as touching the said report, they confessed that indeed such speech had passed them by way of communication but not otherwise, with the which answer *de Clerieux* being discontented and not without cause, aduowed his report to be true for them both, in the presence of the said Lord of Bouchage, who with the rest of his companions concluded a truce, (the King hauing two months respite to accept it or refuse it) wherein their confederates were not comprehended, but their sonnes in law, and the fathers of their sonnes in law, namely the Kings of Romanes and England ¹⁰ (for the Prince of Wales was at that time very yoong) were comprehended therein, they had fower daughters, the eldest of the which was a widow, and had been married to the King of Portugales sonne that last died, who brake his necke before her as hee passed a carreer vpon a ginner within

10 Their eldest daughter married first *Alphonse* Prince of Portugale, son to *Iohn* the second King of Portugale, who brake his neck passing a career, as here is mentioned in this chap. and afterward she married *Emanuel* King of Portugale, as is mentioned in the next chapter, and died in childe bed. *Philip* Duke of Austrich son and heire to *Maximilian* King of Romanes, married the second daughter: and *Arthur* Prince of Wales son to King *Henry* the seventh, the third: and the fourth whom our author heere reporteth to be at that time vnmarrried, was afterward married to the same *Emanuel* K. of Portugal her eldest sisters husband: so that the said K. married two sisters both daughters to the K. of Castile. The eldest daughters name was *Isabel*, the second *Jane*, the third *Katherine*, and the fourth *Marie*.

three moneths after their mariage. The second and the third were married the one in Flaunders, and the other in England, and the fourth is yet to marry. After the Lord of Bouchage was returned, and had made his report, the King perceived that *de Clerieux* had been too credulous, and that he had done wisely in sending *du Bouchage* thither, because he was now assured of that which before he stood in doubt of. The said *de Bouchage* aduertised him further, that he could effect nothing but the conclusion of the truce, the which he had liberty either to accept or refuse at his pleasure. The King accepted it, and sure it serued him to good purpose: for it was the breach of their league which so much had troubled his affaires, and which hitherto he could by no meanes dissolue, notwithstanding that he had attempted all waies possible. Thirdly, the said *de Bouchage* informed the King, that the King and Queene of Castile had promised him at his departure to send ambassadors immediately after him, with full authoritie to conclude peace. Lastly, he told him, that at his departure he left the Prince of Castile their onely sonne extreame sicke.

Chap. 17. *A discourse of the misfortunes that hapned to the house of Castile, in the Lord of Argentons time.*



HE said *du Bouchage* about ten or twelue daies after his returne, receiued newes from one of the Kings heraults, whom he left behinde him in Castile, to conuey the ambassage that should come into Fraunce; that the sending of the said ambassadors was deferred for a time, because the Prince of Castile was departed this life, whose death the King and Queen lamented aboue all measure, especially the Queene, who seemed liker to dye than to liue; and vndoubtedly neuer was such solemn mourning for any Princes death, as for his through all their dominions: for all men of occupation ceased from their labour forty daies, as their ambassadors afterward aduertised me, and euery man was clothed in thicke blacke cotton; so that the noble men and gentlemen couered their mules therewith downe to the knees, in such sort that only their eyes appeared. Moreouer, blacke banners were set vpon the gates of euery town. When these pitifull newes came to the eares of the Lady *Margaret*, daughter to the King of Romanes, sister to the Archduke of Austria, and wife to the said Prince: shee suddenly fell in trauell being gone sixe moneths with childe, and was deliuered of a daughter dead borne. Were not these grievous tidings to these Princes? yes vndoubtedly, and so much the more grievous, because they had hitherto reigned with such honor, and liued in such felicitie, that God seemed wholly bent to aduance them, and the world to honour them, more than any other Prince liuing. For they possessed larger and ampler dominions than any Prince in Christendome (I meane of inheritance) they had brought their subiects to due obedience, and were in perfect health as touching their persons. Moreouer, they had obtained this goodly conquest of Granado, and caused a King renowned through the whole world, to depart out of Italy, and faile of his enterprise, which they accounted a great matter, as did the Pope himselfe also, who vnder colour of the said conquest of Granado would haue giuen them the ritle of *Most Christian*, and taken it from the King of Fraunce, so farre forth that diuers letters he sent them with that superscription. But perceiuing many of his Cardinals to gaine say it, he

1 This he seemeth to adde, because the empire was greater, but it was not the Emperors inheritance.

he gave them another, to wit, the title of *Most Catholike*, which continueth yet, and is still like to continue at Rome. But in the midst of all these their good successes, hapned this their sonnes death, which so much tormented them, that it seemed fully to counterwaile all their former honor and felicitie.

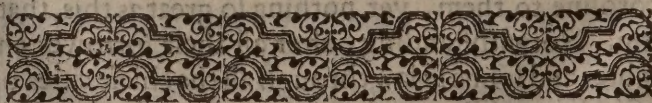
Yet was not this their last trouble, for their eldest daughter whom they loved above all their children next to their sonne the Prince of Castile lately deceased, was forced to depart from them, being affianced a little before the said Princes death, to *Emanuel* King of Portugale, a yoong Prince lately come to the crowne by succession, after the death of the bloudy King of Portugale last deceased, who cruelly caused to be beheaded his wifes father, and slew afterward her brother, being elder brother to this King of Portugale now reigning, whom also he held in great feare. He murdered likewise with his owne hand his owne brother as he sate at dinner with him, in the presence of his wife, to the end he might make a bastard that he had his heire. But hauing committed these two cruell murders, he began to liue in great feare and suspicion, and soon after lost his onely sonne, who brake his necke as before you haue heard, in passing a career vpon a gennet: which sonne was this Ladies first husband now mentioned, who married at this present the King of Portugale now reigning, so that she hath been twise married into Portugale. She is a Lady as the report goeth, worthy to be compared in wisdom and vertue, with the worthiest in the world. But to proceed in the rehearsall of the miseries that hapned to this house of Castile in short space, you shall vnderstand that this K. and Queene of Castile (who had liued in such glory and felicitie till this present, that is to say, till the fiftieth, & she till the two and fiftieth yeere of their age) had giuen their daughter in mariage to the K. of Portugale for diuers respects: first to the end they might haue no enimie in Spaine, which is all vnder their subiection saue Nauarre, whereof also they dispose at their pleasure, for they hold fower of the strongest places in it: secondarily, to pacifie by that meanes the contention that was about the said Ladies dowrie and her mariage money: thirdly, to benefit thereby certaine noble men of Portugale their friends. For you shall vnderstand that diuers Lords and gentlemen were banished the realme, and had lost all their lands by attainure, at the same time that the K. that last died put to death the two Lords above mentioned, the which attainure stood yet in full force: notwithstanding that the only cause of their attainure, was for that they had attempted to make him King of Portugale that now reigneth. These Lords therefore and gentlemen were by meanes of this mariage recompensed in Castile by the King and Queene, and their lands which they had forfeited in Portugale by attainure, assigned to the Queene of Portugale (now mentioned) daughter to the said King and Queene of Castile. But notwithstanding all these considerations, the said K. and Queene repented them of this marriage: for you shall vnderstand that there is no nation in the world that the Spaniards hate more than the Portugales, so farre forth that they disdain and scorne them: wherefore the said King and Queene lamented much that they had bestowed their daughter vpon a man that should not be beloued in the realme of Castile and their other dominions: and if the mariage had been then vnmade, they would neuer haue made it, which vndoubtedly was a great corosiuie to them, yet nothing so great as this, that she should depart from them. Notwithstanding, after all their sorrowes ended, they led their said daughter and sonne in law through all the chiefe cities of their realme, and made the said King of Portugale to bee receiued for their Prince, and their daughter for Princesse, and proclaimed them their successors after their death.

Some comfort they receiued after all these sorrowes, for they were aduertised that the said Lady Princeesse of Castile and Queene of Portugale, was great with childe; but this ioy prooued in the end double grieffe, so that I thinke they wished themselues out of the world: for this Lady whom they so tenderly loued and so much esteemed, died in trauell of the said childe, not past a moneth agone, and we are now in October in the yeere 1498. but the childe liueth⁴ and is called *Emanuel* after his fathers name. All these great misfortunes hapned to them in the space of three moneths.

⁴ But the child died also afterward, and the crowne of Spaine descended to *Jane* the second daughter, wife to *Philip* Duke of Austrich, and mother to the Emperor *Charles* the first. Further, you shall vnderstand that our authors memory failed him here: for this Princes name was not *Emanuel* as *Commines* here writeth, but *Michael*, according to all good authors and pedegrees both of Spain & Portugale.

Now to returne to the estate of Fraunce. You shall vnderstand that about fower or fise moneths before the said Ladies death, a great misfortune hapned also in this realme: I meane the death of King *Charles* the eight, whereof hereafter you shall heare at large. It seemed therefore that God beheld both these houses with an angry countenance, and would not that the one realme should scorne the other. For although the death of a Prince seeme but a trifle to many, yet it is sure far otherwise: for change of the Prince neuer hapneth in any realme, but it traineth with it great sorrowes and troubles; and notwithstanding that some gaine by it, yet an hundred fold more lose, because at an alteration men are forced to change their manner and forme of liuing: for that that pleaseth one Prince, displeaseth another. Wherefore (as before I haue said) if a man well consider the sharpe and sudden punishments that God hath laid vpon great Princes within these thirty yeeres, in Fraunce, Castile, Portugale, England, Naples, Flaunders, and Britaine, he shall finde that they haue been heauier and grievouiser than hapned in two hundred yeeres before: and whosoever would take in hand to discourse vpon all the particular misfortunes that my selfe haue seene, and in a manner knowen all the persons as well men as women to whom they haue hapned, should make thereof a huge volume and that of great admiration, yea though it contained onely such as haue chanced within these ten yeeres. By these punishments, the power of God ought to be the better knowen, for the plagues he powreth downe vpon great personages are sharper, grievouiser, and endure longer than those he sendeth to the poorer sort. To conclude therefore, me thinke all things well weighed, that Princes are in no better estate in this world than other men, if they consider by the miseries they see happen to their neighbours what may happen to themselues. For as touching them they chastice their subiects at their pleasures, and God disposeth of them at his pleasure, because other than him they haue none ouer them: but happy is the realme that is gouered by a Prince that is wise and feareth God and his commandements.

I haue briefly rehearsed the misfortunes that hapned in three moneths space to these two great and mighty realmes, which not long before were so inflamed the one against the other, so busied in enlarging their dominions, and so little contented with that they already possessed. And notwithstanding that alwaies some (as before I said) reioyce at changes, and gaine by them: yet at the first (euen to them) the death, especially the sudden death of their Prince is very dreadfull and dangerous.



Chap. 18. Of the sumptuous building King Charles began a little before his death, of the great desire he had to reforme the Church and himselfe, to diminish his reuenues, and to redresse the processe of the law: and how he died suddenly in this good mind in his castle of Amboise.



Will heere cease further to discourse of the affaires of Italie and Castile, and returne to our owne particular sorrowes and troubles in Fraunce, which notwithstanding were pleasant newes happily to those that gained by them. I will write of the sudden death of King Charles the eight, who being in his castell of Amboise, had begun the sumptuouslest building, both in the castle and the towne, that any King tooke in hand these hundred yeeres, as appeareth by the towers, vp to the which men ride on horsebacke, and by the foundation laid in the towne, the platformes whereof were drawne of such exquisitenes, that they well declared it to be a worke of maruellous charge, and that could not haue beene finished in long time. For you shall vnderstand, that the King had brought with him from Naples, many excellent workemen in all kind of arts, especially grauers and painters, and sure it seemed by the foundation, an enterprife of a yoong King that thought not to die, but hoped of long life: for he ioyned, together all the goodly things that were commended to him, were they in Fraunce, Italy, or Flaunders. Further, he continued still desirous to returne into Italie, and confessed that he had committed many errors in his voiage thither, and oftentimes rehearsed them, determining if his fortune were to returne againe and recouer his losses; to giue better order for the defense of the countrie. Therecouery also whereof (because he had great intelligence in all places) hee purposed to attempt, and to send thither fifteene hundred men of armes, Italians, vnder the leading of the Marqueesse of Mantua, the *Vrsini*, the *Vitellies*, and the praefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall Saint. *Peter ad Vincula*. Moreouer, Monseur d' *Aubigny* who had done him so great seruice in Calabria, was ready to take his iourney towards Florence; for the Florentines offered to beare the halfe of these charges for sixe moneths, to the end the King with these forces about mentioned, might first take Pisa¹, at the least the small places about it, and then altogether enter into the realme of Naples, from whence messengers came daily to him. *Alexander* the Pope that now is, practised with him, and offered to become his perfect friend; for there was a breach betweene him and the Venetians; so far forth that he sent a secret messenger into Fraunce, whom my selfe conuied into the Kings chamber a little before his death. The Venetians were ready to practise against Milan: as touching Spaine, you haue heard how it was affected to him. The King of Romanes desired nothing so much as his friendship, and that they two might ioyne their forces together, to recouer that which appertaineth to them in Italy: for the said *Maximilian* was great enemy to the Venetians, because they withhold diuers things both from the house of Aufrich (whereof he is heire) and also from the empire.

¹ Vnderstand, to the end he might deliuer it to the Florentines.

² They withhold from the house of Aufrich a part of Istria & Furlie, and from the empire of Padua and Veronne.

Moreouer, the King was well disposed a little before his death to lead his life according to the commandements of God, to reforme all abuses in the law and the Church, and to diminish his reuents and reuenues, purposing to leuy of his people only twelue hundred thousand frankes ouer and aboue his demaines, which

which sum the three estates granted him by way of subsidie at Towers at his first comming to the crowne, and this money he meant to imploy vpon the defence of the realme. But as touching himselfe he would haue liued vpon his demeanes, according to the manner of the ancient Kings of Fraunce, and so might he well haue done: for the demanes are great, yea so great, if they were well ordered, that they surmount a million of franks, certaine customes and subsidies being annexed to them. If this his determination had taken effect, hee should thereby much haue eased his people, who pay at this present aboue two millions and a halfe of franks by way of subsidie. Moreouer, hee tooke great paines in reforming the abuses of the order of Saint Benet, and other orders of religion: hee called neere about him holy religious men, and often heard them preach: hee would willingly haue brought to passe if he could, that a Bishop should haue had but one Bishopricke, and a Cardinall but two, and that the clergie should haue been resident vpon their benefices: but it had been a hard matter to reforme the Church men. He gaue great almes to poore people a little before his death, as his confessor the Bishop of Angers (who was a worthy prelate) enformed me. Lastly, he had built a publike audience where himselfe heard the sutes of all men, especially of the poore, and dispatched many matters: my selfe saw him in this place two houres together but eight daies before his death, which was the last time that euer I saw him: no matters of great importance were dispatched there, but by this meanes he held men in feare, especially his officers, some also of the which he displaced for extortion and briberie.

But the eight day of Aprill, the yeere 1498. vpon Palme sunday euen, the King being in this glorie as touching the world, and in this good minde towards God: departed out of the chamber of Queene Anne Duches of Britaine his wife, leading her with him to see the tennice players in the trenches of the castle, whither he had neuer led her before, and they two entred together into a gallery, called *Haquelebac* gallery, because the said *Haquelebac* had in times past held watch and ward in it. It was the vncleanest place about the castle, for euery man made water there, and the entrie into it was broken downe: moreouer, the King as he entred, knocked his browe against the doore; notwithstanding that he were of very small stature. Afterward he beheld a great while the tennice playing, talking familiarly with all men. My selfe was not present there, but his said confessor the Bishop of Angers, and those of his chamber that were neereft about him, haue enformed me of this I write: for as touching my selfe, I was gone home eight daies before to my house. The last word he spake being in health was, that he hoped neuer after to commit deadly sinne, nor veniall if he could: in vttering the which words he fell backward and lost his speech, about two of the clocke at after noone, and abode in this gallery till eleuen of the clocke at night. Thrice he recovered his speech, but it continued not with him, as the said confessor told me, who had shriuen him twise that weeke, once of ordinarie, and once for those that came to be cured of the Kings euill. Euery man that list ed entred into the gallerie, where he lay vpon an olde mattresse of strawe, from the which he neuer arose till he gaue vp the ghost, so that nine howers hee continued vpon it. The said confessor who was continually by him told me, that all the three times he recovered his speech hee cried; My God, and the glorious virgine Mary, Saint Claude, and Saint Blasé helpe me. Thus departed out of this world this mighty puissant Prince in this miserable place, not being able to recover one poore chamber to die in: notwithstanding that he had so many goodly houses, and built one so sumptuous at that present. These two examples aboue rehearsed declare the

the greatnes of Gods power, and the shortnes and miserie of mans life, which traineth with it great cares, for the purchasing of worldly goods and honors, and shew with all that death is common to all men, the which a Prince can no more auoide than a poore plowman.

Chap. 19. How the holy man, Frier Hierom was burned at Florence by the procurement of the Pope, and of diuers Florentines and Venetians his enemies.



Hauetold you before in this discourse of our voiage to Naples that there was at Florence a Frier *Iacobin* called *Hierome*, who had been resident there the space of fifteen yeeres, being a man famous for his holy life, and whom my selfe saw and communed with in the yeere of our Lord 1495. The said Frier as aboue is mentioned foretold diuers things, and affirmed alwaies that the K. should passe ouer the mountains into Italy, and preached so openly, saying, that he vnderstood both this and all the other things whereof he spake by reuelation. He said further, that the King was chosen of God to reforme the estate of the Church with the sword, and to chastice Tyrants. But because he affirmed that hee vnderstood these things by reuelation, many murmured against him, and he procured himselfe the displeasure of the Pope and of diuers others in the towne of Florence. He led the holiest life that any man could leade, as appeared both by his conuersation, and also by his sermons, wherein he preached against all kinde of vice, so that he reformed the loose liues of many in the said city. But in this yeere 1498. about the selfe same time that King *Charles* ended his life, died also this Frier *Hierom*, within fower or fise daies the one of the other. The cause why I writethis vnto you, is for that he preached alwaies openly that the King should returne again into Italy, to execute the commission that God had giuen him, which was to reforme the Church by the sword, and to chase tyrants out of the country; and that in case he did it not, God would punish him cruelly; and all his former sermons, and all that he made at this present he put foorth in print, and they are to bee sold. This threatning that he vsed against the King, saying that God would punish him cruelly vnlesse he returned: the said Frier writ also diuers times to him before his death, and the like told he me with his owne mouth, when I spake with him at our returne out of Italy, saying that God had pronounced sentence against the King in heauen, vnlesse he executed that which he commanded him, and restrained his men from spoile. Now you shall vnderstand, that about the time of the Kings death, the *Florentines* were at great variance within the city: some desired the Kings returne, and waited daily for it, because of the great hope *Frier Hierome* gaue them thereof: but in the meane time they consumed themselues and waxed maruellous poore, by reason of the great charges they sustained in hope to recouer *Pisa*, & the other places that they had put into the Kings hands, whereof the *Venetians* held *Pisa*. But othersome gaue aduise to take part with the league, and vtterly to abandon the King, saying that they were abused, that it was folly to looke for his returne, and that Frier *Hierom* was an heretike, and a whooremaster, and that it were almes to put him into a sacke, and throwe him into the riuer; but he was so friended in the towne, that they durst not attempt it. The Pope also and the Duke of Milan writ often against this Frier, offering the *Florentines* to cause *Pisa* and their other places to be restored them, if they would

would depart from their league with the King, and take Frier *Hierom* and punish him. And by chance at that present a newe Seniorie was chosen in Florence, whereof many were enemies to this Frier. For you shall vnderstand that the said Seniorie changeth at euery two moneths end. Wherefore the said *Hieroms* enemies suborned a Frier Franciscan to picke a quarrell to him and call him heretike, affirming that he abused the people, in saying he vnderstood any thing by reuelation: for prooffe whereof he offered himselfe to the fire, and these wordes hee spake before the Seniorie. Frier *Hierom* would not present himselfe to the fire, but a companion of his said, that hee would enter into the fire for him: and then another companion of the Frier Franciscans presented himselfe on the other side: whereupon a day was assigned when they should enter into the fire. Vpon the which they both came accordingly, accompanied each of them with his couent; but the Iacobine brought the Sacrament in his hand, which the Friers Franciscans and the Seniorie also commanded him to lay downe, which he refused to doe: wherefore they returned againe to their couents. Then the people moued by the said Frier *Hieroms* enemies, went with the Seniories commission and tooke him, with two others of his companions in his couent, and at the very first racked him cruelly; they slue also the chiefeest citizens in the towne called *Francis Vallorie*, because he was the said Friers great friend. Moreouer, the Pope sent his commission, whereby he authorized them to make their processe; and in the end they burned them all three. They charged him with these two points onely; first, that he raised discord in the towne: and secondarily, that he vnderstood by his friends of the counsell, all that he vaunted to know by reuelation. For my part I will neither accuse them, nor excuse them for this deede; neither know I whether they did well or euill, in putting him to death: but sure he told many things that prooued true, which hee could not receiue from the counsell of Florence. And as touching the King, and the euils he said should happen to him, they came to passe as he prophesied: for first hee told him, of the Daulphin his sonnes death, and after of his owne, as my selfe can witnesse, for I haue seene the letters he writ thereof to the King.

Chap. 20. *Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the eight, and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12. his successor, with the genealogies of the Kings of Fraunce continuing to the said Lewis.*



He Kings disease was a Catarre or an Apoplexie: his Phisitions hoped it would haue fallen downe into one of his armes, the losse whereof they somewhat doubted, but feared no whit any danger of death: notwithstanding the contrarie to their expectation hapned. He had fower Phisitions, but gaue credit onely to the worst of them, and that so great, that the others durst not vtter their minds: for they would gladly haue purged him foure daies before he died, because they saw in his body the occasions of his death. Euery man ran to the Duke of Orleans, who was to succeede him as next heire to the crowne. But King *Charles* his chamberlaines caused him to be richly buried, and immediately after his death began solemne seruice for him, which continued both day and night: for when the cannons ended, the Friers Franciscans began; and when they ended the *Bons-hommes*¹, which was an order founded by himselfe: his body remained at Amboise eight daies, partly in

¹ This was an order of religion deuised by the King.

in his chamber, which was richly hanged, and partly in the Church. All solemnities belonging to his funerals, were more sumptuous than euer were any King of Fraunce: for his chamberlaines, officers, and those that were neere about him, neuer departed from his bodie till it was laid in the ground, which was about a moneth after his death, all the which space this solempne seruice continued; so that the charges of his funerals amounted to fise and fortie thousand frankes, as diuers of the receit haue informed me. I arriued at Amboise two daies after his death, and went to say my prayers ouer his body, where I abode fise or fixe howers. And to say the truth, I neuer saw so great mourning, and lamentation, nor that continued so long for any Prince as for him: and no maruell; for he had bestowed vpon those that were neere about him, namely his chamberlaines, and ten or twelue gentlemen of his priue chamber, greater offices and gifts than euer did King of Fraunce, yea, too great to say the truth. Besides that, he was the mildest and courteousest Prince that euer liued; for I thinke he neuer gaue foule word to any man: wherefore in a better hower could he not die, both to leaue his fame behinde him in histories, and to be bewailed of those that serued him. And I thinke verily, that my selfe am the man whom of all other hee vsed roughliest, but because I knew it to be the fault of his youth and not to proceede of himselfe, I could neuer loue him the worse for it.

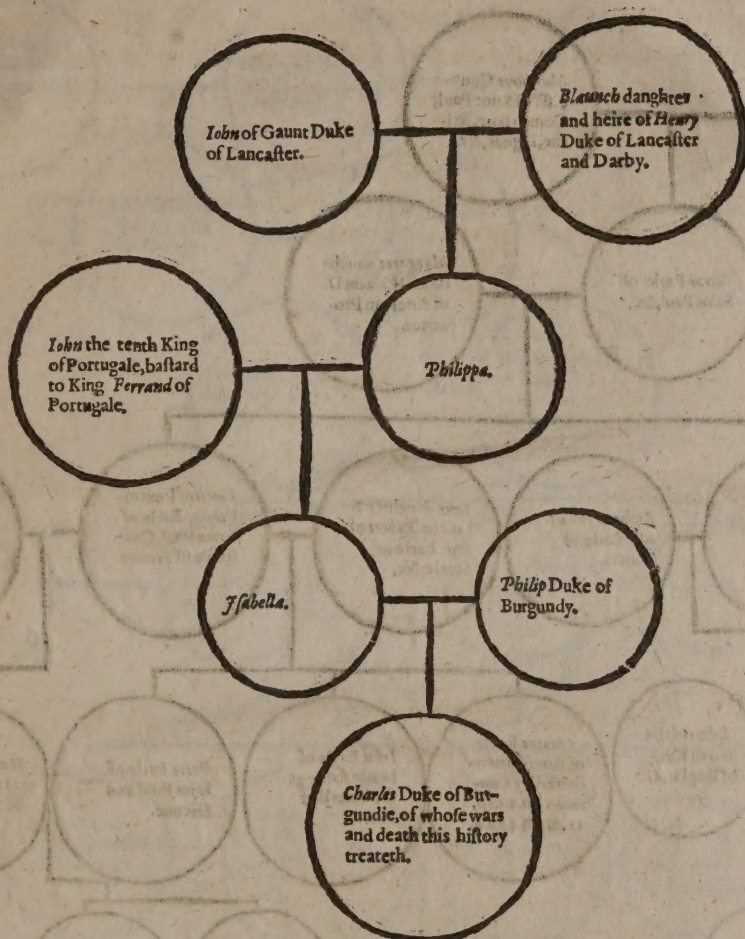
After I had staid one night at Amboise, I went to the new King, with whom I had beene more familiar than any man: and further, for his sake had susteined all my troubles and losses, which now he seemed little to remember: notwithstanding with great wisdom he tooke possession of the crowne, for he changed no pensions that yeere, though halfe the yeere were yet to come, neither displaced many officers, but said that he would maintaine euery man in his estate; wherby he wan great honor. Moreouer, with all speede possible he went to his coronation, wher at my selfe was present. And these that follow represented the peeres of Fraunce. The first was the Duke of Alençon, who represented the Duke of Burgundie; the second the Duke of Bourbon, who represented the Duke of Normandie; the third the Duke of Lorraine, who represented the Duke of Guienne. The first Earle was *Philip* Lord of Rauastaine, who represented the Earle of Flaunders; the second *Engilbert* of Cleues, who represented the Earle of Champagne; the third the Earle of Foix, who represented the Earle of Thorouze. And the said King *Lewis* the twelfth now raighing, was crowned at Reims the 27. of May, the yeere 1498. and is the fourth that hath come to the crowne by collaterall line. The two first were *Charles Martell*, or *Pepin* his sonne, and *Hugh Capet*, who were both of them Masters of the pallace or gouernors of those Kings, whom they deposed from the crowne, which afterward themselves vsurped; the third was King *Philip* of Valois; and the fourth the King that now raigneth: but these two latter came to the crowne by iust and lawfull title. The first genealogie of the Kings of Fraunce beginneth at *Meronee*: two Kings had raigned in Fraunce before the said *Meronee*, namely *Pharamond*, who was first chosen King of Fraunce (for his predecessors were called Dukes or Kings of Gaule) and his son *Claudio*. The said *Pharamond* was chosen King the yeere of grace 420. and raigned ten yeeres, and his sonne *Claudio* eightene, so that these two Kings raigned eight and twentie yeeres: and *Meronee* who succeeded next after, was not sonne, but cosen to the said *Claudio*. Wherefore it seemeth that the right line of the Kings of Fraunce hath failed fise times: notwithstanding (as before I said) men beginne the first line at *Meronee*, who was crowned King in the yeere of our Lord 448. from the which time to the coronation of King *Lewis* the twelfth are num-

bred

bred 1050. yeeres. But if you reckon from *Pharamond*, you must adde eight and twentie more, which make 1078. yeeres since there was first King of Fraunce. From *Meronee* to the raigne of *Pepin* when the line of the said *Meronee* failed) are numbred 333. yeeres. From *Pepin* to *Hugh Capet* raigned the true line of the said *Pepin*, and *Charlemaine* his sonne, the space of 237. yeeres. The right line of *Hugh Capet* raigned 339. yeeres, and ended in King *Philip* of Valois : and the right line of the said King *Philip* of Valois continued till the death of King *Charles* the eight, which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1498. The said King *Charles* was the last of this line, the which had continued 169. yeeres, during the which space, these seuen Kings raigned in Fraunce, *Philip* of Valois, King *Iohn*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixt, *Charles* the seuenth, *Lewis* the eleuenth, and *Charles* the eight, in whom the right line of *Philip* of Valois ended.



How *Charles Duke of Burgundie* was of the house
of *Lancaster*, as *Commynes mentioneth*
lib. 1. cap. 5. and in other places.

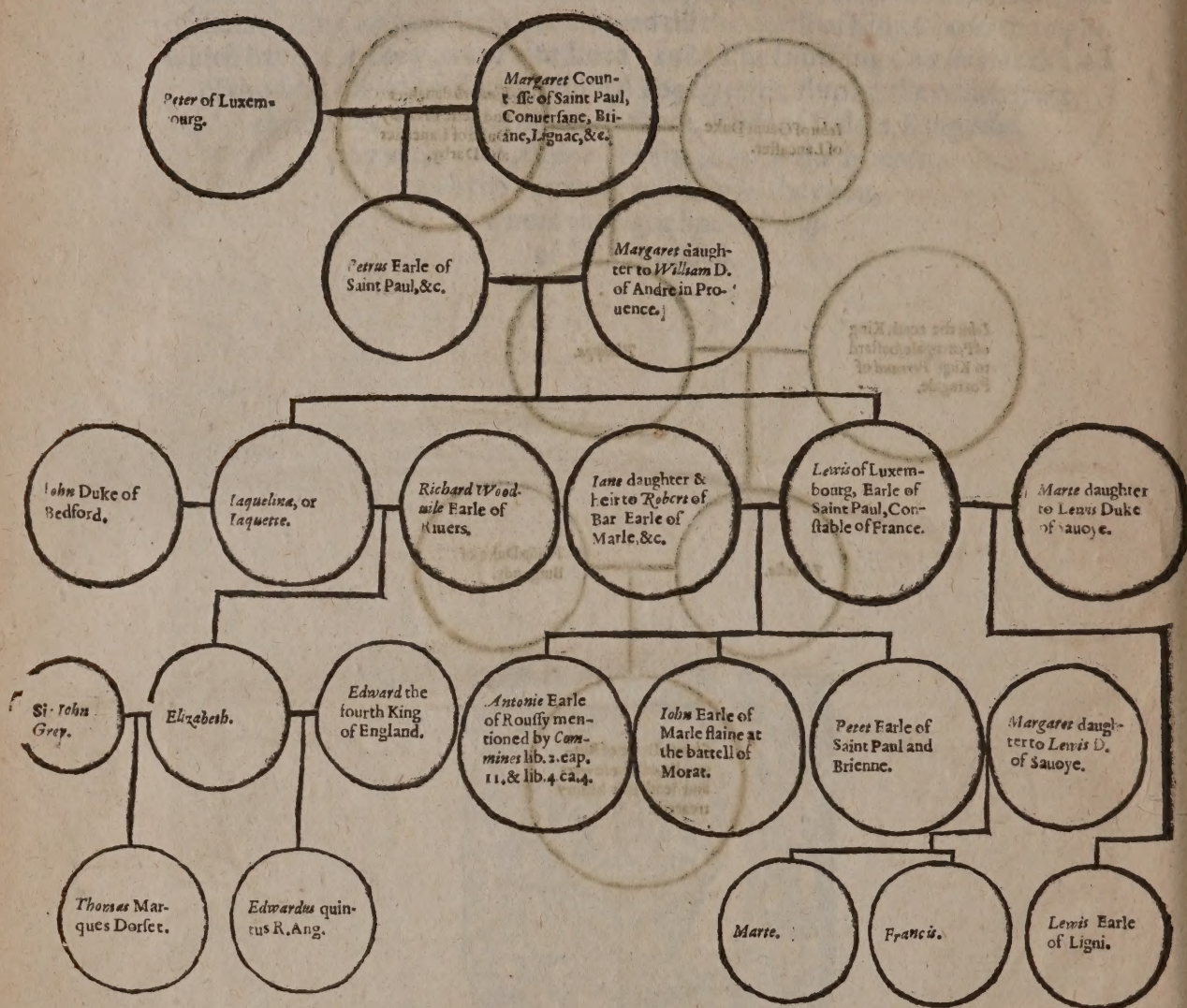


H h

How

How *Elizabeth* wife to King *Edward* the fourth, was
 neece to the Constable of *Fraunce*, as mentioneth

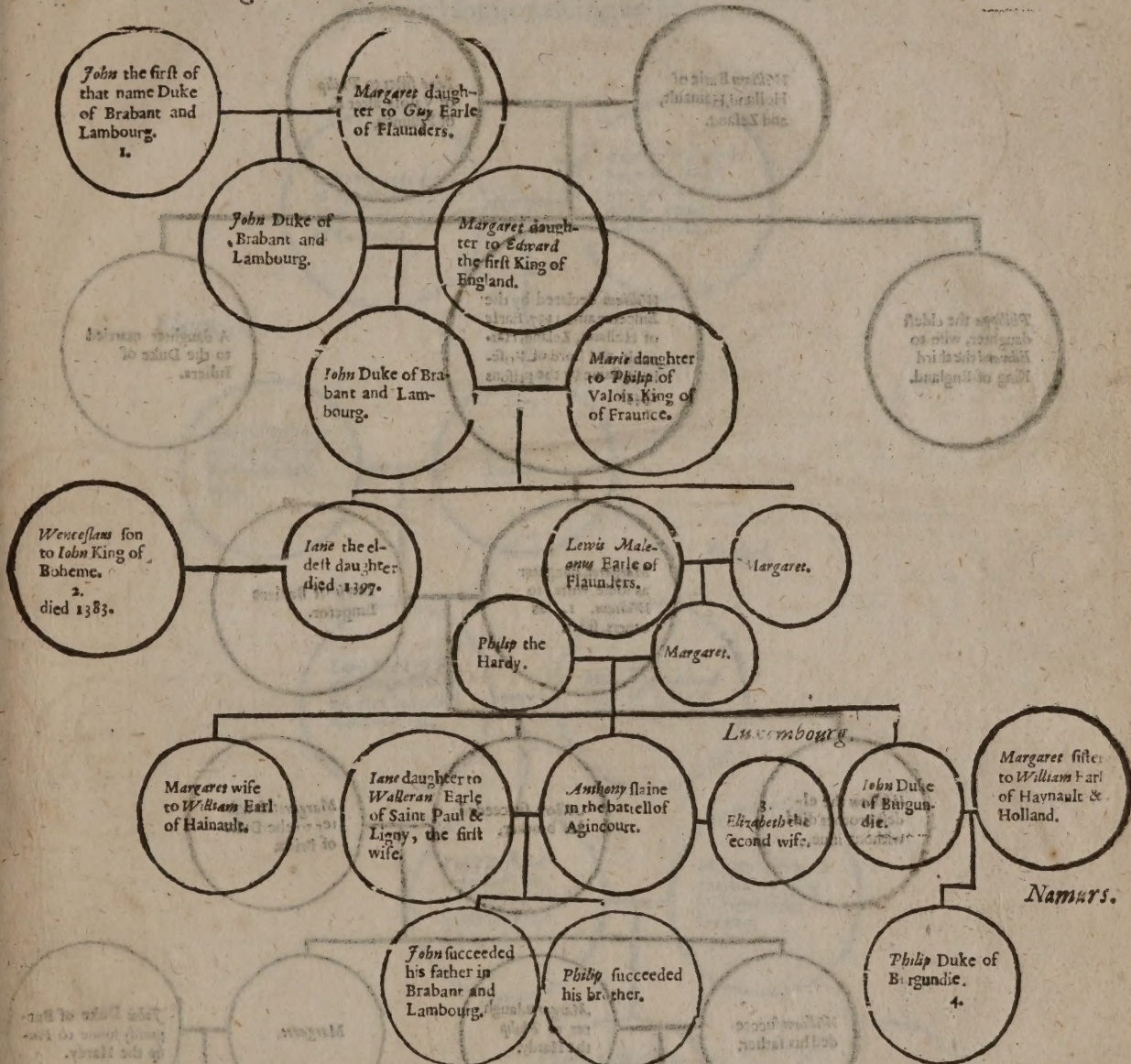
Commynes lib. 4. cap. 5.



How

How Brabant, Lamburg, Luxemburg and Namurs came to Philip Duke of Burgundie, as mentio- neth Commynes lib. 4. cap. 13.

Brabant. Lambourg.



1. Lambourg was erected into a Duchie 1172. and Henry the last Duke thereof (who died without issue 1293.) sold it to John the first of that name Duke of Brabant. But Henry Earle of Luxembour father to Henry the Emperor, the Bishop of Colyn, and one called the Earle Ghelric invaded the Duchie of Lambourg, with them Duke John fought neere to the castle of Vorone, and tooke the Earle Ghelric (who pretended title to Lambourg) & the Bishop of Colin prisoners: the Earle of Luxembour with two of his brethren was slaine, the castle of Vorone razed, since the which time, Lambourg hath remained quiet vnder the Dukes of Brabant.

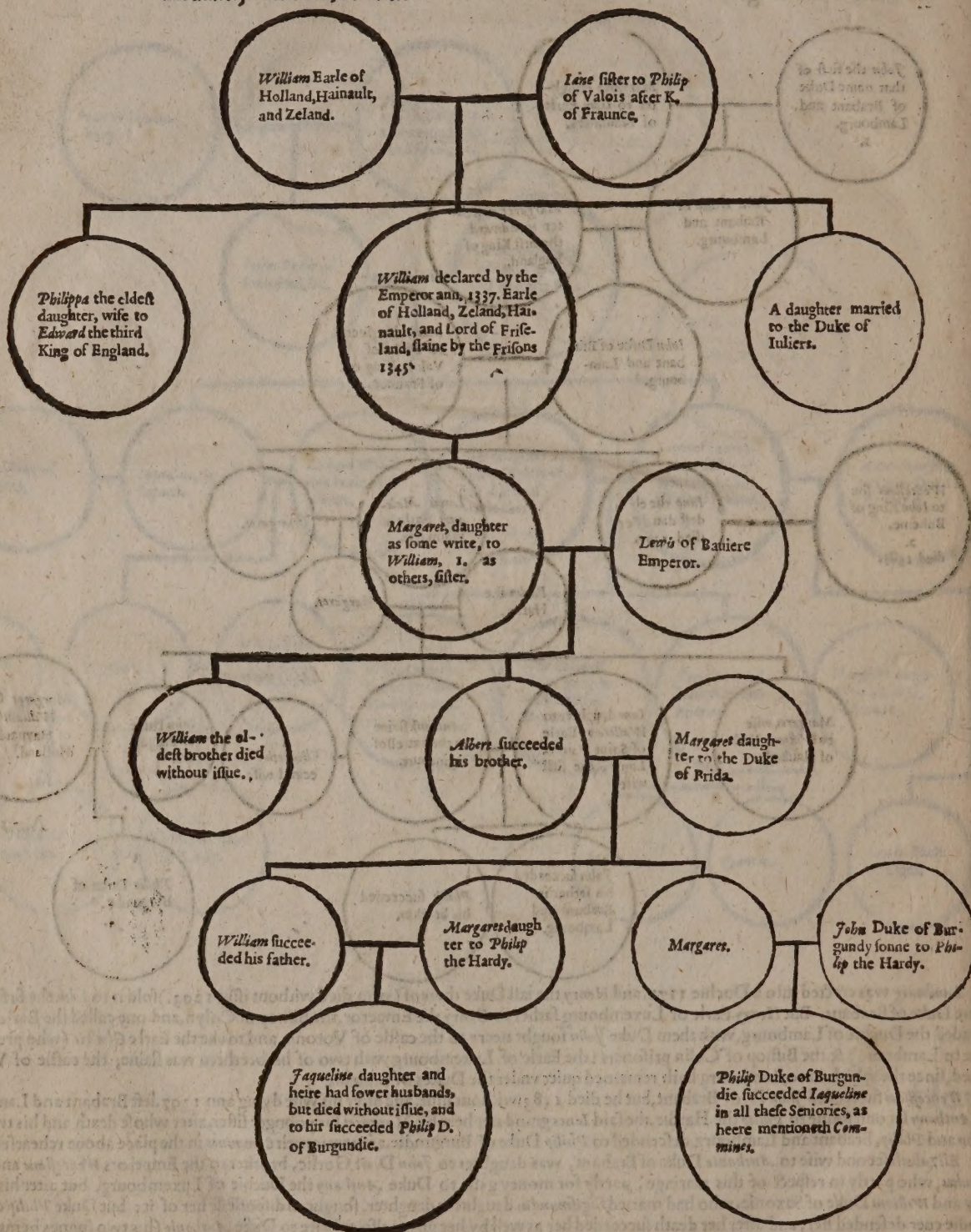
2. Wenceslaus succeeded John D. of Brabant, but he died 1383. without issue, and after his wife dying ann. 1397. left Brabant and Lambourg to Anthony second sonne to Philip the Hardy, the said Janes grand nephew by Margaret his younger sister, after whose death and his two sons John and Philip, Brabant and Lambourg descended to Philip Duke of Burgundie, as mentioneth Commynes in the place above rehearsed.

3. Elizabeth second wife to Anthony Duke of Brabant, was daughter to John D. of Gorlic, brother to the Emperors Wenceslaus and Sigismundus, who partly in respect of this marriage, partly for money gave to Duke Anthony the Duchie of Luxembour, but after his death, they and William Duke of Saxonic, who had married Sigismundus daughters daughter, sought to dispossesse her of it: but Duke Philip of Burgundie ever defended her, and after her death succeeded her as well by her gift as also as heire to Duke Anthony (his two sonnes being dead) who had paid money to Wenceslaus and Sigismund for it: afterward also Charles Duke of Burgundie bought the title of Isabella (wife to Casimirus King of Polonia, and neece to the Emperor Sigismund) to the Duchie of Luxembour to hold it without quarrell.

4. As touching Namurs, Duke Philip bought it for his money of diuers that pretended title to it, especially of John Earle of Namur, who sold it to Duke Philip vnder condition to hold it during his life, which hapned 1428.

How Holland, Hainault, and Zeland came to Duke Philip, as mentioneth Commynes lib. 4. cap. 13. where also the Queenes Maiesties title to the said countries is somewhat touched.

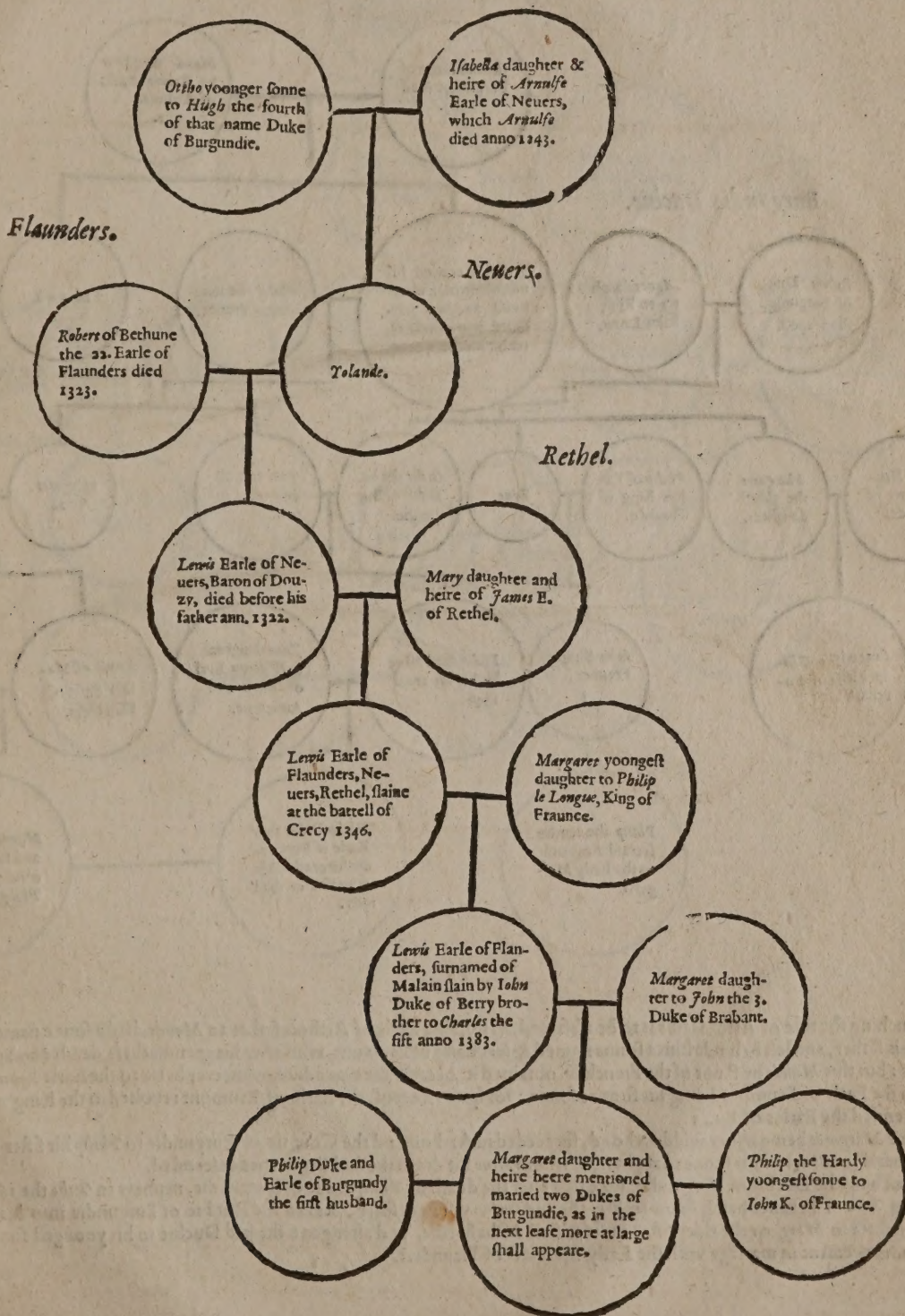
Holland, Hainault, Zeland.



¶ This Margaret, Guicchiardin writeth to have been daughter to William the younger Earle of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, but *Annales Genealogiques France* say that she was sister not daughter to William, as do also other most approved Authors. And if she were but sister, then the Queenes Maiestie being descended of Philippa the said Williams eldest sister, is right heire of all these countries. *Meyerus* lib. 12. fol. 140. pag. 2. and fol. 147. pag. 1. saith, that Margaret was sister not daughter to Duke William, which also is the more manifestly prooved, because the wife of this William was Jane the eldest daughter to John Duke of Brabant, who overliued hir husband, and after married Wenceslaus brother to the Emperor Charles the fourth: which woman neuer had issue, yet finde we no mention of any other wife that William the younger Earle of Hainault had.

How

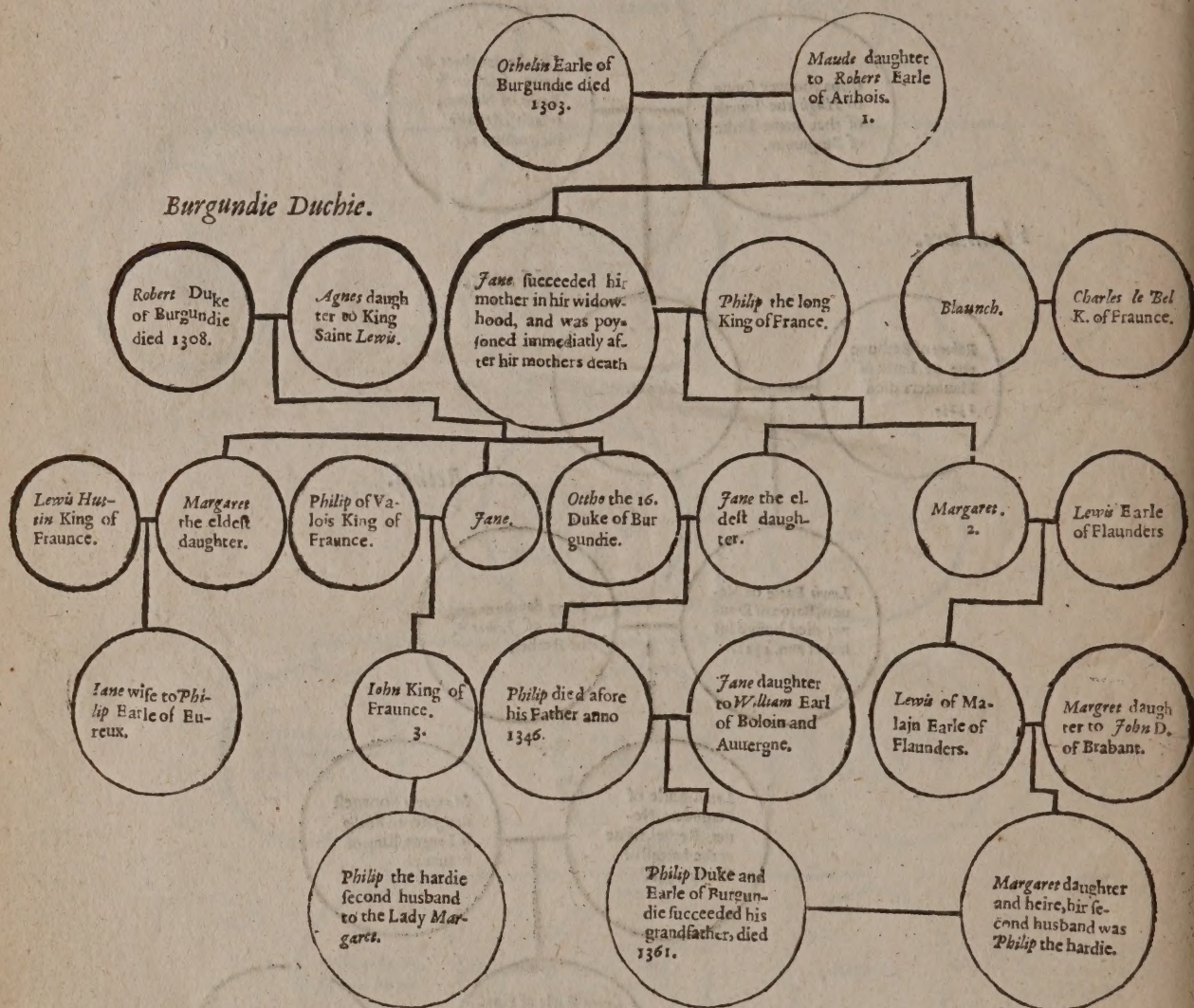
How *Margaret* of Flaunders was heire of Flaunders, Neuers and Rethel, as mentioneth *Commines lib. 4. cap. 13. & lib. 5. cap. 11.* the which *Margaret* married with *Philip the Hardy* yoongest sonne to King of Fraunce.



How Arthois and the County of Burgundy descended to the said Lady Margaret above mentioned, and how she married two Dukes of Burgundie, and how Philip the Hardy hir second husband obtained the Duchy of Burgundie after the death of Philip Duke of Burgundie her first husband.

Burgundie Countie.

Arthois.



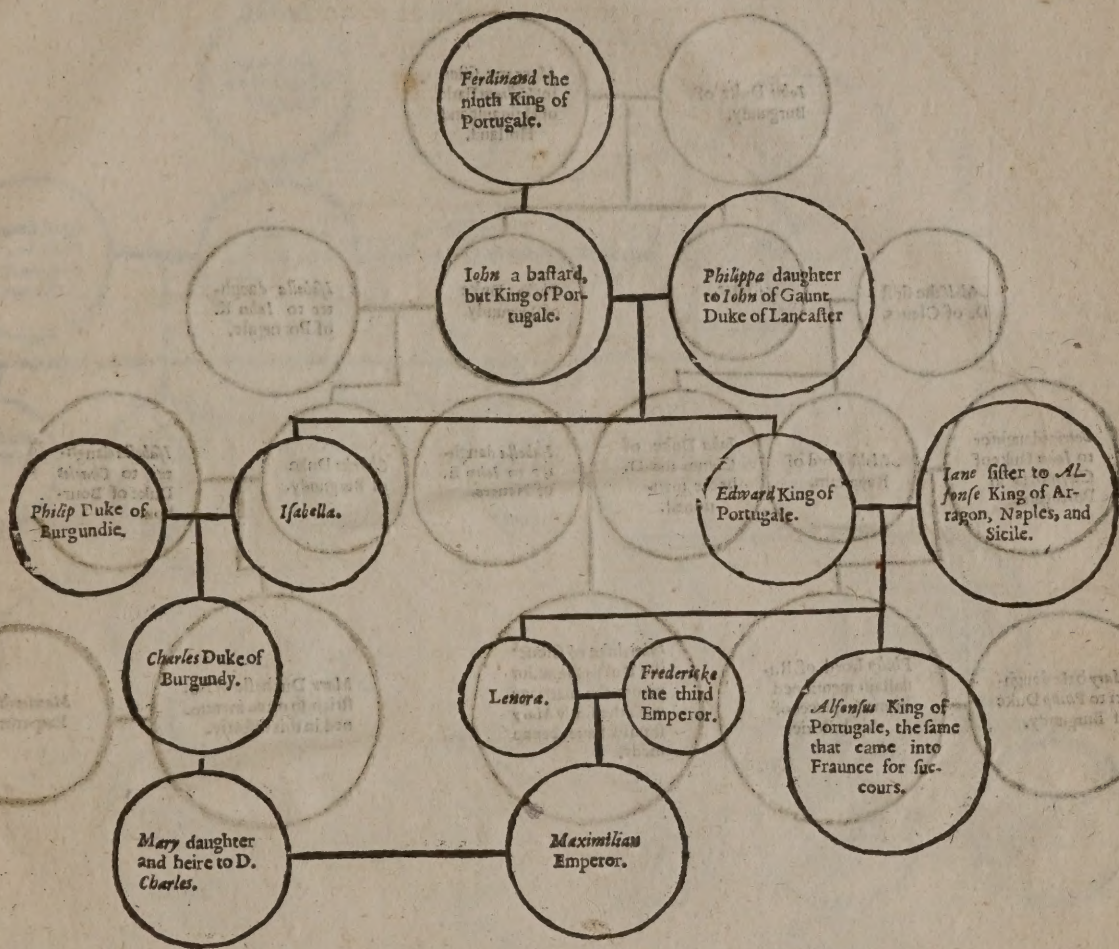
1. Touching the title of Arthois this is to be observed, that Robert Earle of Arthois father to Maude, had a sonne named Philip, who died before his father, and left behinde him a sonne named Robert Earle of Beumont, who after his grandfathers death demanded the country of Arthois: but this Maude by fauor of the French K. obtained it, because she was adiudged neerer heire to the Earle Robert being his daughter, than the Earle of Beumont being his sonnes sonne: for spite whereof, the Earle of Beumont revolted to the King of England, of him are descended the Earles of Eu.

2. This Margaret being in her widdowhood, succeeded in Arthois and the Countie of Burgundie to Philip hir sister Janes sonnes sonne, and husband to Margaret hir sonnes daughter, to whom after hir death the said Segniories descended.

3. Touching the Duchie of Burgundie, note that after the death of Philip Duke of Burgundie, nephew to Ottho the 16. Duke of Burgundie, King John of Fraunce being sonne to Jane the said Otthos yoonger sister, seized the Duchie of Burgundie into his hands, excluding Jane daughter to Margaret the elder sister as suspected of bastardie, and after gaue the said Duchie to his yoongest sonne Philip the hardie for his aduancement in mariage with the Lady Margaret of Flaunders.

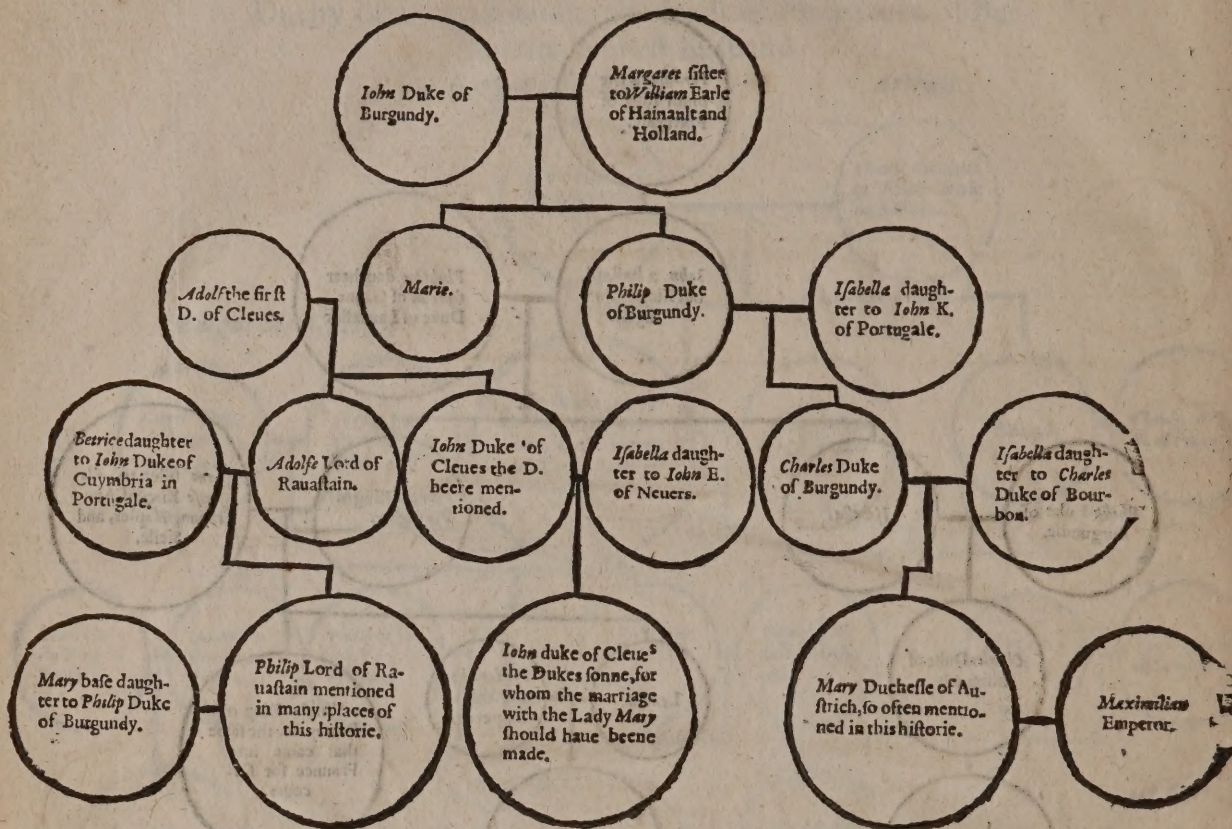
How

How the King of Portugale was cofin germaine to the Duke
of Burgundie, as is mentioned Lib. 5. cap. 7.



How

How the Duke of Cleves was the Lady of Burgundies nearest
kinsman by his mother, as is mentioned Lib. 5. cap. 16.



How

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How

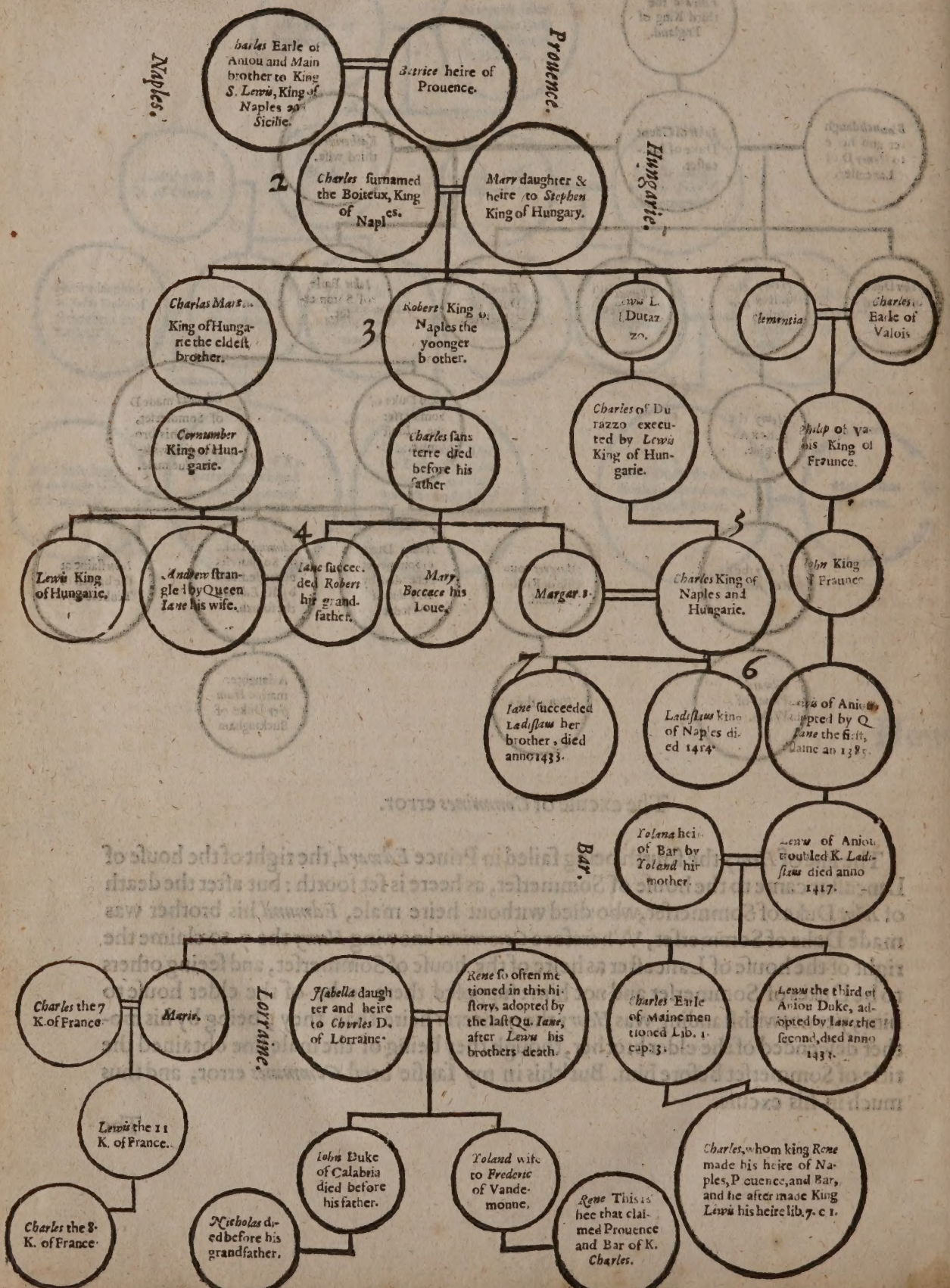
The excuse of *Commines* error.

The

The title the Duke of Lorraine had to the realme of Sicilie, countie
of Prouence, and Duchy of Bar, mentioned by Communes Lib. 7.

cap. 1. and the Kings title thereto : together with the whole quarrell
betweene the house of Arragon and Aniou : and why the house
of Aniou had the best title, as mentioneth

Communes Lib. 8. Cap. 16.



Hereby appeareth that the Duke of Lorraine had the best title to Prouence, as heir to *Lewis* the first of that name Duke of Anjou, to whom Queene *Jane* gave it: to Naples likewise as heir to the house of Anjou, by being daughters sonne to *Rene*, to whom Queene *Jane* the second left it by her last will and testament, of Bar he was heir as heir to *Yolande* his great grandmother: and as touching the testaments of the two first *Charles* Kings of Naples, who, as it is alleged, so vntied Prouence, that it could not be severed from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the heir female as long as a male was living. First, the example of Queene *Jane* who succeeded *Robert* her grandfather diuers males living, proued there was neuer any such testament: besides that, King *Charles* was no more heir male to those Kings than the Duke of Lorraine, for they both descended of them by a woman, namely *Clementia*, wife to *Charles* of Valois. So that the King had no colour to Naples or Prouence, but at this day the whole title of the house of Anjou thereto, resteth in the now Duke of Lorraine, who is lineally descended of King *Rene*. Lastly, the reason whereupon *Communes* groundeth the house of Anjou's title to the realme of Naples to be best: is onely because *Lewis* of Anjou was made heir thereof by Queene *Jane*'s last testament, which reuoketh all former testaments.

The storie of this pedegree of Naples and Sicilie.

1. *Charles* brother to Saint *Lewis* King of Fraunce obtained Prouence by marriage of *Betrice* daughter to *Raymond*, or *Robert*, or *Berengarius* Earle of Prouence, who made her his heir, though she were his younger daughter, after *Vrbane* the fourth Pope of Rome called him into Italy against *Manfredus* King of Naples and Sicily, whom *Charles* slew in battell, and after beheaded *Conradinus* also, who quarreled the realmes of Naples and Sicily: but soone after *Peter* King of Arragon, who had married King *Manfredus* daughter, revolted Sicily from him, slew all the French men in an evening, and possessed Sicily, as his posterity namely King *Philip* doth yet at this day. *Charles* was crowned King of Naples by *Vrbane* the fourth, anno 1255. and after confirmed by *Clement* the fourth, and died anno 1274.

2. *Charles* his sonne in his fathers time seeking to recouer Sicilie, was taken prisoner by King *Peters* forces, and carried into Arragon, where he should haue been executed in reuenge of *Conradinus* death (as 200. gentlemen and nobles taken with him were) had not *Constance* King *Peters* wife saued his life: after he was restored to Naples, paying for his ranfome 30000. markes, and married the daughter and heir of *Steuens* King of Hungarie, by whom he had nine sonnes and five daughters, whose offspring looke in *Onufrius* pag. 309 he died anno 1319. These two Kings are they that our author mentioneth lib. 7. cap. 1. that were said to haue made testaments that Prouence could not be severed from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the female as long as there was an heir male living, which appeareth to be false in the example of Queene *Jane*.

3. *Robert* King of Naples crowned by *Clement* the fifth, died without issue male anno 1342. and left his realme to *Jane* his sonnes daughter, vnder condition that she should marrie *Andrew* younger sonne to *Cornumbert* King of Hungarie her cosin germaine remoued: here is to be obserued that this *Robert* was younger sonne to King *Charles*, but the said king gaue to *Charles* his eldest sonne his realme of Hungarie, and Naples to this *Robert*. In his time liued *Petrarcha* and *Boccace*.

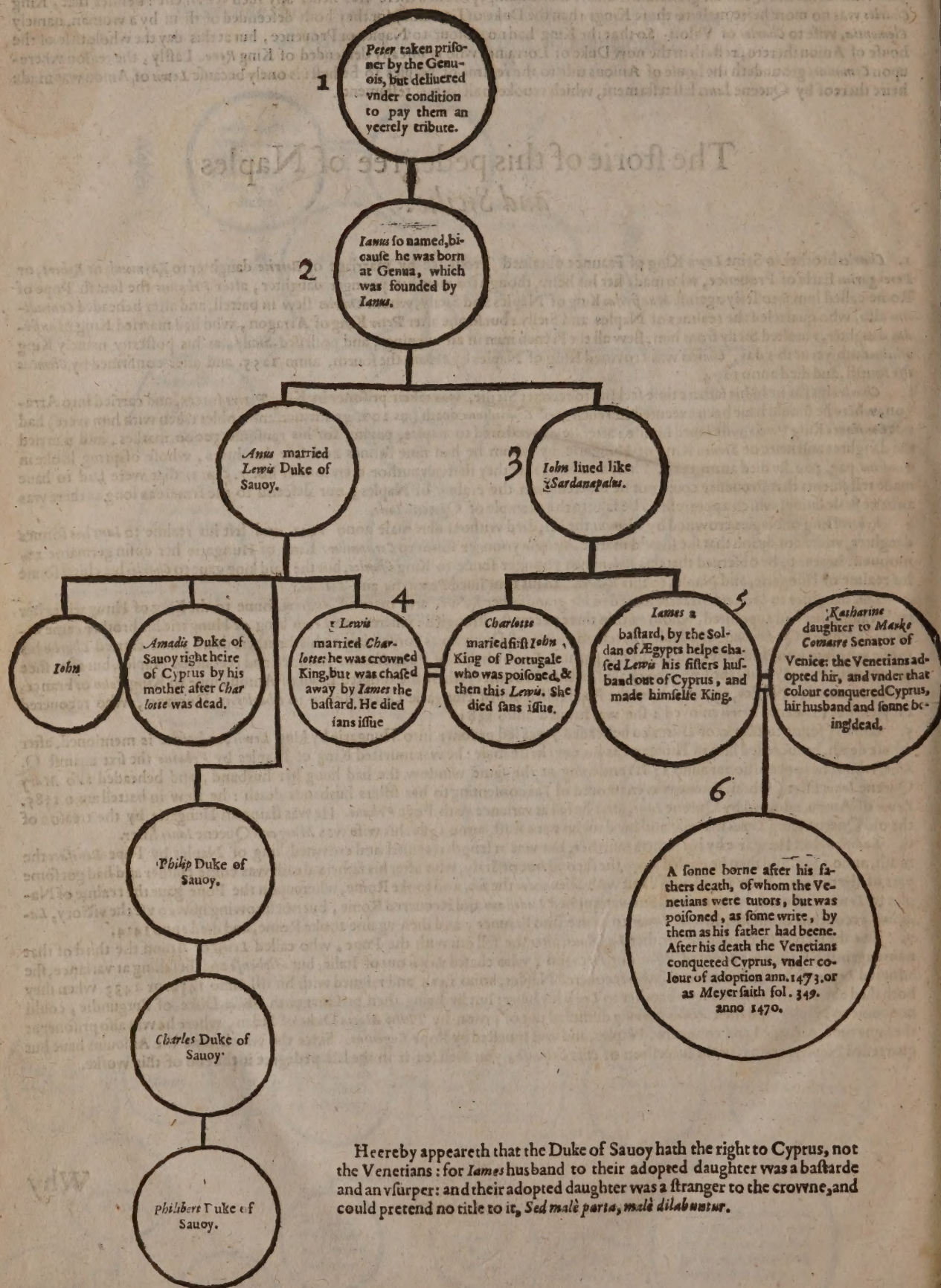
4. *Jane* daughter to *Charles* sans terre succeeded her grandfather *Robert*, and married *Andrew* sonne to the King of Hungarie as her laid grandfather had appointed, whom within three yeeres she strangled: whereupon *Lewis* king of Hungarie his brother came into Italie, chased *Q. Jane* out of Naples, executed *Charles* of Durazzo as consenting to his brothers death, and carried *Charles* his sonne with him into Hungarie; after whose departure, *Jane* by helpe of Pope *Clement* returned and recovered Naples, but after she fell out with Pope *Vrbane* the sixt, who chased her into Prouence, where she adopted *Lewis* of Anjou sonne to King *John* of France, and so returned to Naples, against whom the Pope called out of Hungarie *Charles* sonne to *Charles* of Durazzo, who recovered Naples, but Prouence *Lewis* enioyed: she was hanged anno 1381.

5. *Charles* (sonne to *Charles* of Durazzo beheaded) was led prisoner into Hungarie by king *Lewis*, as before is mentioned, after whose death, he succeeded him in Hungarie as his next heir male: he was inuested King of Naples by *Vrbane* the sixt against *Q. Jane*, whom he tooke prisoner anno 1381. and hung at the same window he had hung her husband, and beheaded also *Mary* Queene *Janes* sister (whom *Boccace* was enamored of) as consenting to her sisters husbands death: he slew in battell anno 1385. *Lewis* of Anjou, adopted by Queene *Jane*, after he fell at variance with Pope *Vrbane*. He was slaine in Hungarie by the treason of the old Queene King *Lewis* his wife and her daughter at a feast, anno 1386. his wife was *Margaret* Queene *Janes* sister.

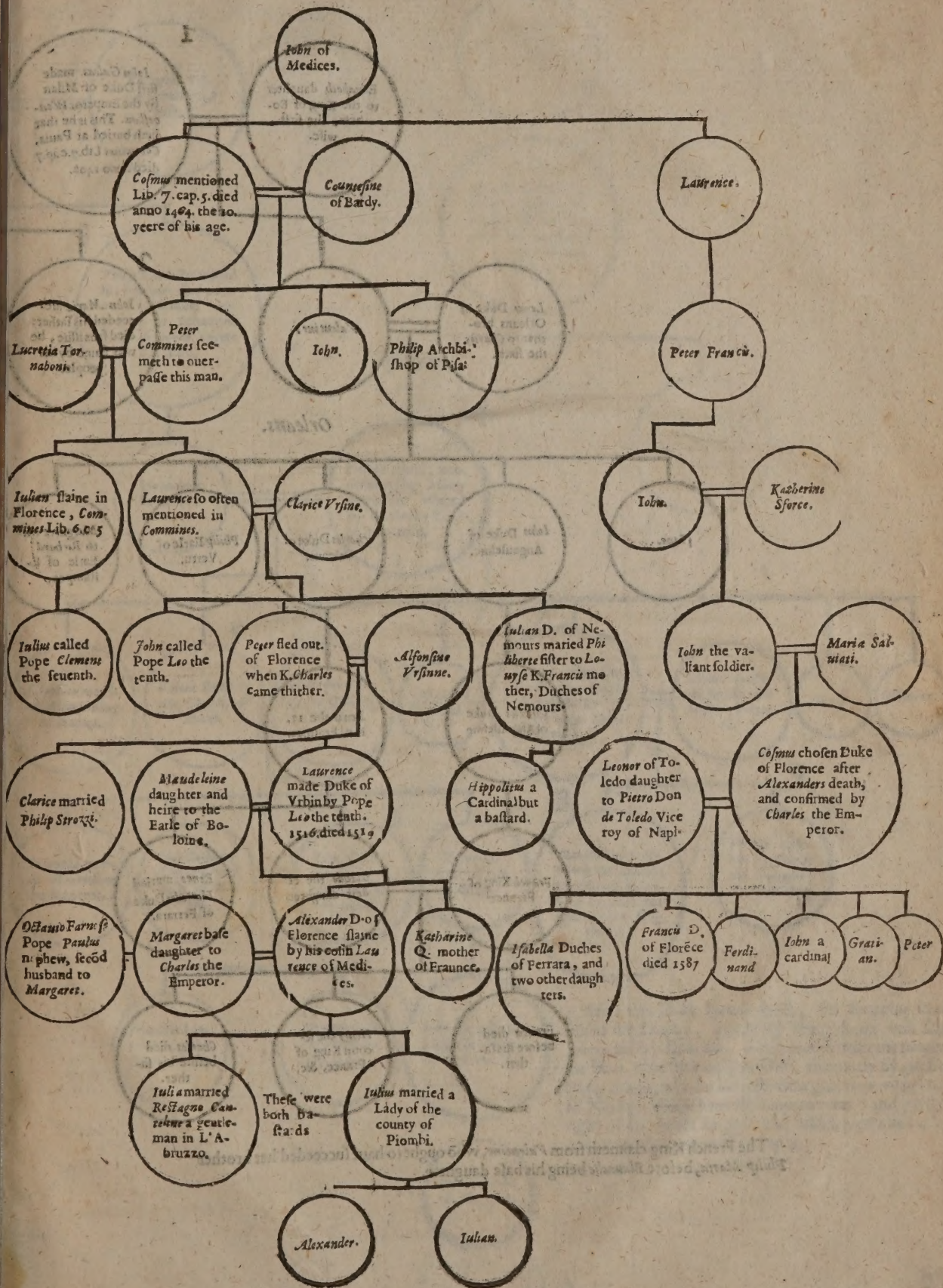
6. *Ladislaus* lost Hungarie by his fathers murder, but was at length receiued and crowned king of Naples by Pope *Boniface* the ninth, anno 1390. and then he chased *Lewis* the second out of Italy, who after his fathers death was come thither and had got some part of the realme. After *Ladislaus* fell out with *Alexander* the fift, and tooke Rome, whereupon the Pope gaue the realme of Naples to *Lewis* of Anjou, who returned and vanquished *Ladislaus* and recovered Rome, but not knowing how to vse the victory, *Ladislaus* recovered himselfe, forced *Lewis* to retire into Fraunce, and then againe tooke Rome, and died anno 1414.

7. *Jane* the second succeeded her brother *Ladislaus*, after she fell out with the Pope, who called *Lewis* of Anjou the third of that name against her, then she adopted *Alfonse* of Arragon, who chased *Lewis* out of Italie, but *Alphonse* and she falling at variance, she adopted *Lewis* of Anjou her enemy, who recovered Naples, anno 1424 and reigned with her till anno 1432. or 1433. when they both died: and then she made *Rene* brother to *Lewis* his heir: but he being then prisoner with *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, could not come to Naples, and then *Alphonse* being dismissed out of prison by *Philip Maria* Duke of Milan, where he was also prisoner at the same time, preuailed and conquered Naples, and was inuested by Pope *Eugenius*. Since the which time the Anjouns haue but quarrelled Naples, and as for the succession of this *Alfonse*, you shall see it in the last pedegree in the end of this worke.

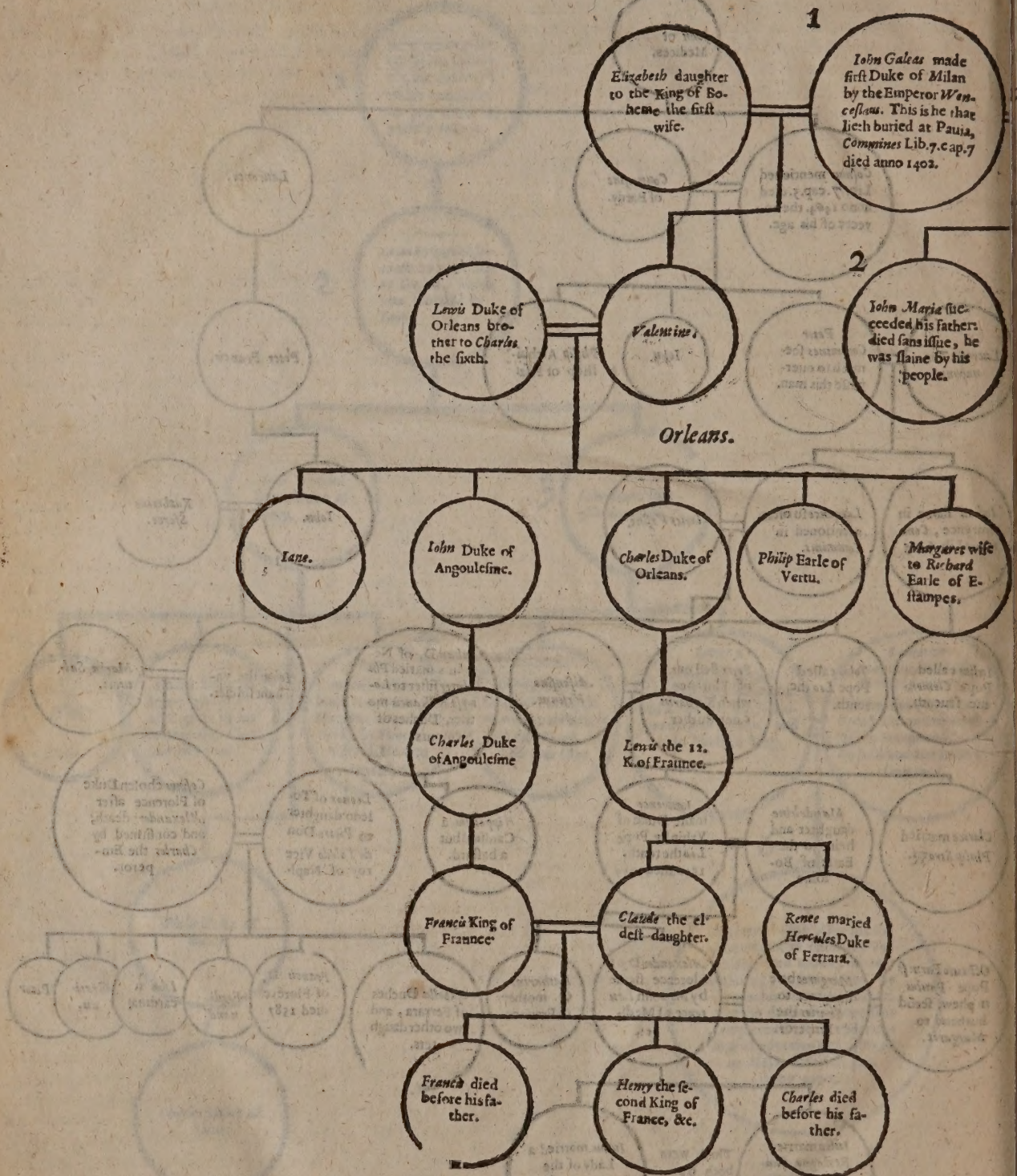
Why the Venetians had no right to the realme of Cyprus,
as Commynes writeth Lib. 7. cap. 4.



The house of Medices, whereof so ample mention
is made Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

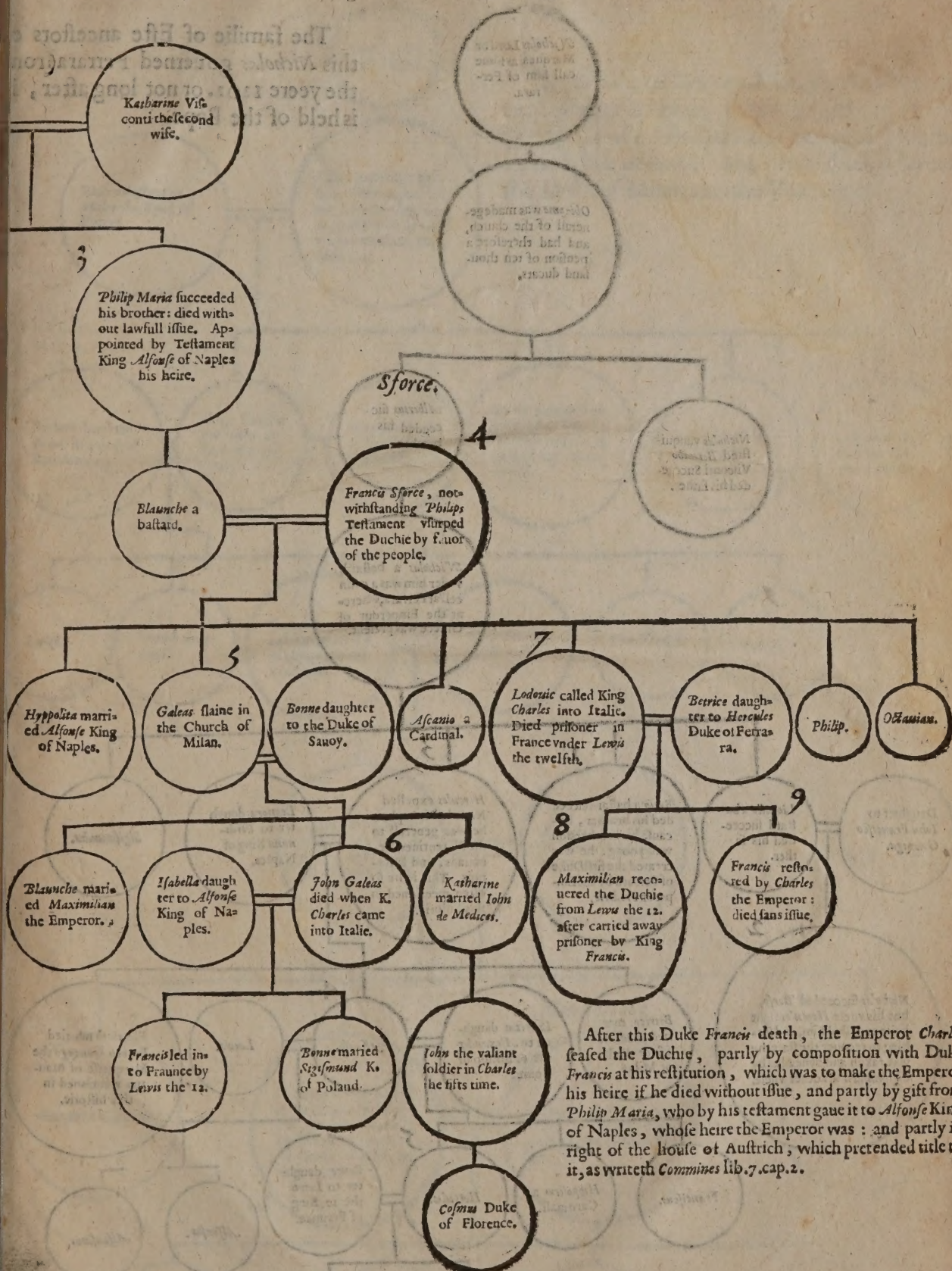


How *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, called after
of *Milan*, as *Commines* mentioneth



The French King claimeth from *Valentine*, who ought to have succeeded her brother *Philip Maria*, before *Blanche* being his base daughter.

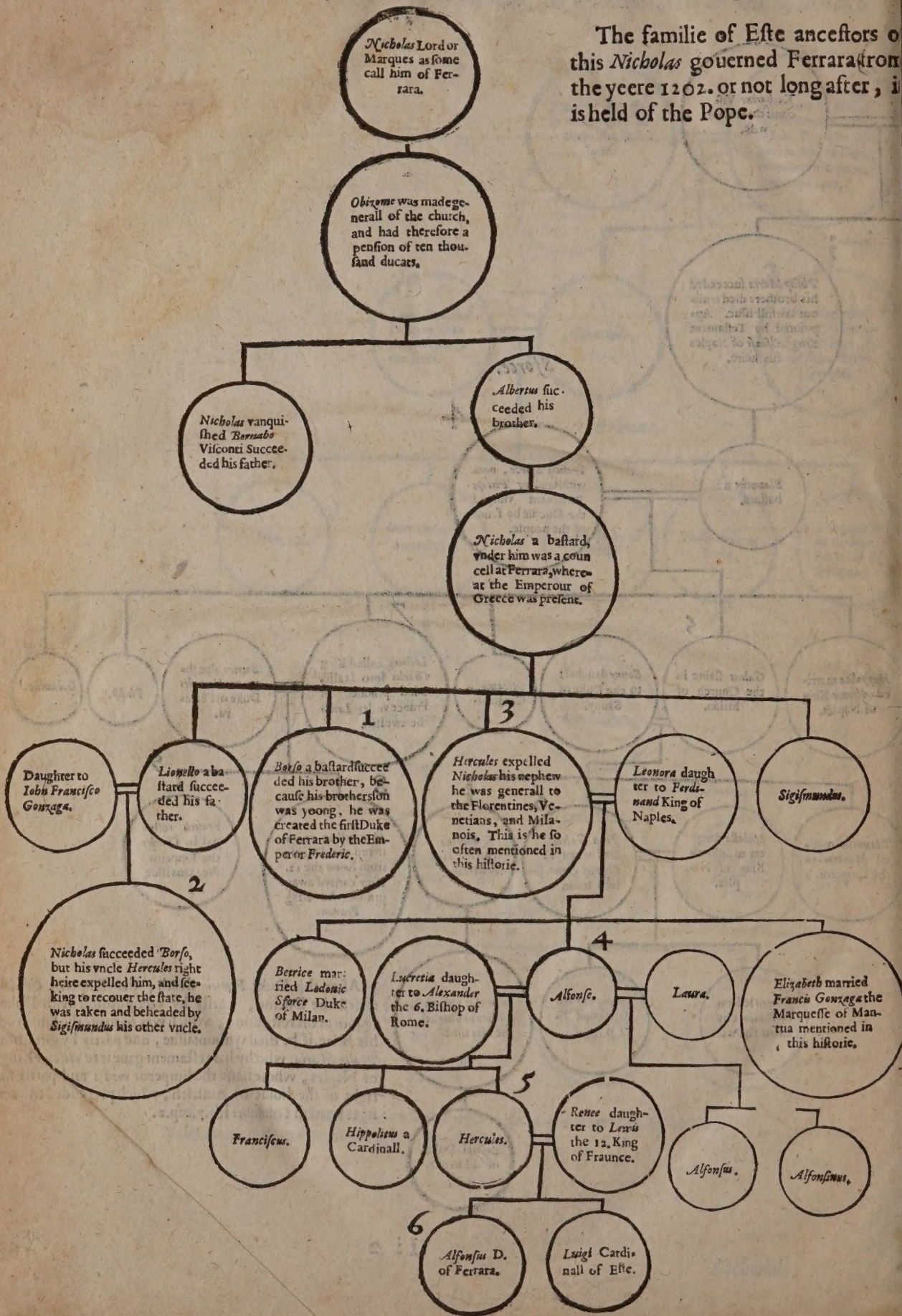
King *Lewis* the 12. pretended title to the Duchie
Lib. 7. cap. 6. and in diuers other places.



After this Duke Francis death, the Emperor Charles seized the Duchy, partly by composition with Duke Francis at his restitution, which was to make the Emperor his heir if he died without issue, and partly by gift from Philip Maria, who by his testament gave it to Alfonso King of Naples, whose heir the Emperor was; and partly in right of the house of Austria; which pretended title to it, as writeth *Commynes lib. 7. cap. 2.*

The pedegree of *Hercules* Duke of Ferrara, of whom
so often mention is made in this historie.

The familie of Este ancestors of
this *Nicholas* governed Ferrara from
the yeere 1202. or not long after, it
is held of the Pope.



The Pedegree of *Francis* Marques of Mantua, so often mentioned in this history.

The familie of *Gonzagua* had gouerned Mantua before this *Francis*, from the yeere 1322. vnder this *Francis* *Iohn Galliazzo* belieged Mantua a yeere, but preuailed not: this *Francis* serued the Duke of Milan and the Venetians.

Francis died
anno 1407

Pao'a daughter to
Malatesta, Lord of
Rimini.

Iohn Francis first Mar-
ques of Mantua made by
the Emperor *Sigismundus*,
was thrice generall
to the Venetians, died
anno 1443.

Barbara daughter
to the Marques of
Brandenburg.

Luigi liued in
the time of
Frederick the
third.

Margaret daugh-
ter to the Duke
of *Bauiera*.

Charles troubled his
brother, but was cha-
sed away by him, &
died in very poore
estate.

Lucianus was
mishapen.

Alexander cro-
ked backed
was a monke.

Luigi.

Francis a car-
dinall.

Frederick was ge-
nerall to the Duke
of Milan and the
Venetians.

Margarita Te-
desca.

Iohn Francis.

Rodolfe.

Francis in the age of
38. yeeres fought
with *Charles* the 8.
at *Taro*, died 1530.

Elizabeth daughter
to *Heracles* Duke
of *Ferrara*.

Montferrat:

Heracles a Cardinall.

Frederick made generall
of the Church by Pope
Leo, & so confirmed by
his successors, made D.
by *Charles* the first, he
died 1539.

Margaret daughter and
heire of *William Palcola-
gu*, Marques of *Montfer-
rat*.

Ferdinandus generall
of Milan to the Em-
peror *Charles* the
first.

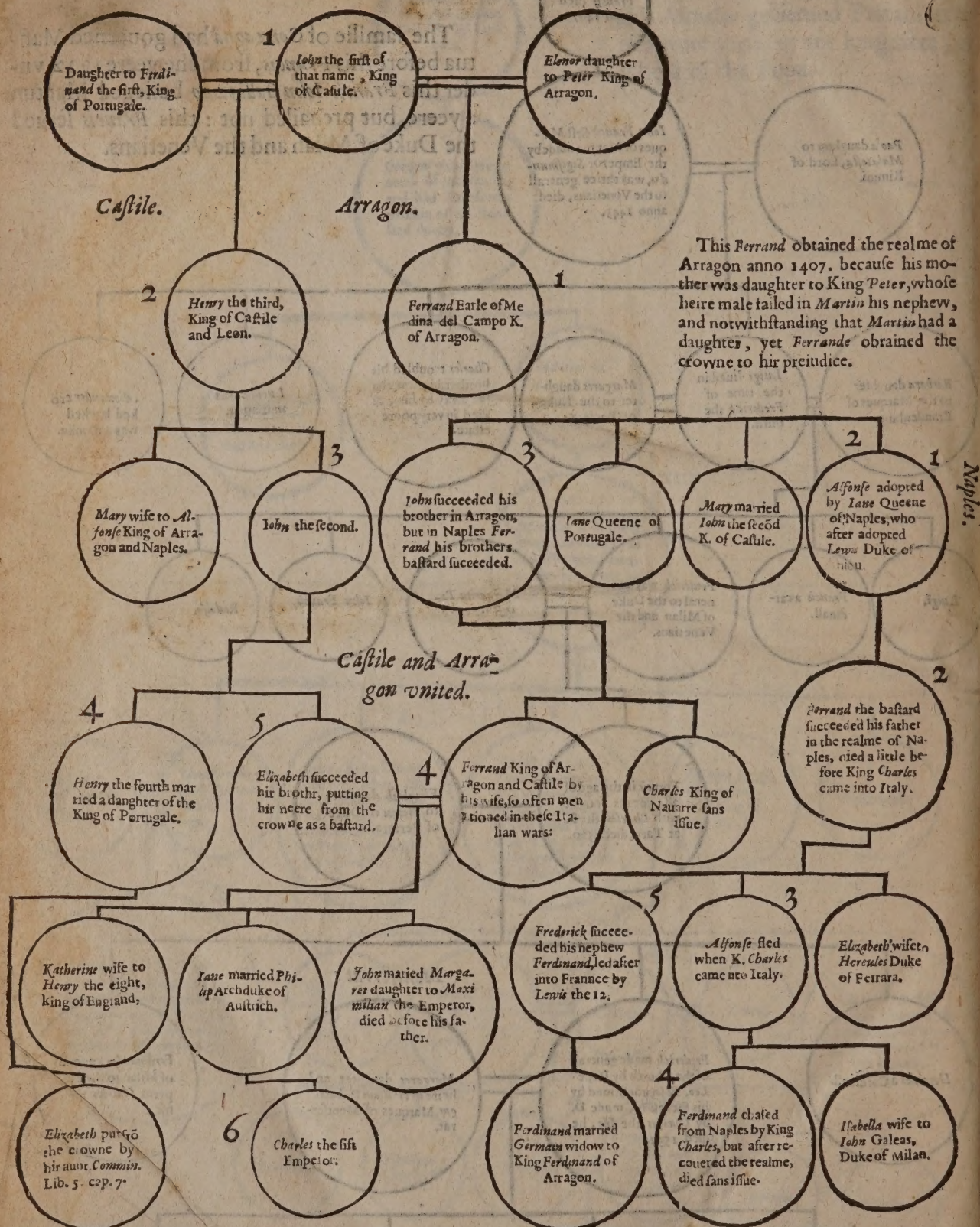
William di-
ed 1587.

Francis died
1550.

Lewis.

Frederick.

How *Ferdinand* King of Arragon had more right to the realme of *Naples* than the Kings of the house of Arragon that possessed it, as writeth *Commynes* Lib. 8. cap. 17.



The King of *Spaine* had better right to *Naples*, than *Alfonse* that possessed it when King *Charles* came into *Italy*, because *Alfonse's* father was a bastard, and King *Ferrand's* father being the first *Alfonse's* brother, ought to have succeeded him before his base son. Further, you shall understand, that after *Frederick* was led into *France* by *Lewis* the 12. the said K. *Lewis* enioied *Naples*, but within forer yeeres *Ferrand* King of *Arragon* by the great capitaine *Consalvo* chased King *Lewis* out of the realme, and left it to his nephew *Charles* the Emperor, from whom the French K. could never recover it: but at this day it is in the possession of the King of *Spaine* sonne to the said Emperor *Charles*.

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